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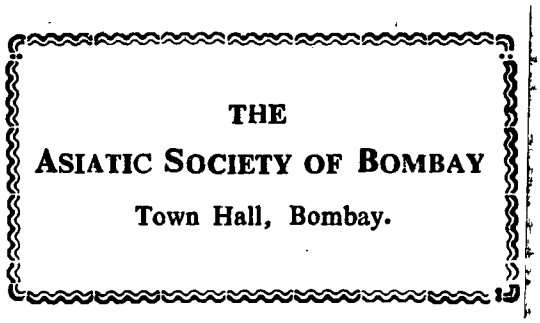

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A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE AND VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

INTERESTING AND ENTERTAINING SUBJECTS:

BUT CHIEFLY SUCH AS RELATE TO THE

HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION

OF

THESE KINGDOMS.

93641

SELECTED FROM AN INFINITE NUMBER IN PRINT AND MANUSCRIPT, IN THE ROYAL, COTTON, SION, AND OTHER PUBLIC, AS WELL AS PRIVATE, LIBRARIES;

PARTICULARLY

THAT OF THE LATE LORD SOMERS.

THE SECOND EDITION,

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND ARRANGED,

BY

WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

VOLUME FIRST.

The bent and genius of the age is best known in a free country, by the pamphlets and papers that come daily out, as the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation. PREFACE TO KENNET'S REGISTER.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, una parte audita tantum et inaudita altera, licet æquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.
LD. COOK & JUST. INST.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND;
W. MILLER, ALBEMARLE-STREET;
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AND J. HARDING, ST JAMES'S-STREET.

1809.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Tracts were chiefly selected from the valuable and extensive Library of the celebrated Lord SOMERS. The collection was published in four divisions, of four volumes each, in the years 1748, 1750, 1751, 1752. The original compilers prefixed the following preface to the first volume of the Miscellany:

"Of the general utility of collections of this kind, nothing need be said, because nothing is more generally acknowledged. Unless, therefore, it can be supposed, that those already extant contain all the pieces worth preserving, no material objection can lie against a new one. But there is no room for any such supposition: Even Rushworth himself, notwithstanding all his care, and all the opportunities he had to make his own complete, has not been able to effect it. Some of the scattered papers of those times have either escaped his notice, or fallen out of his reach; besides, at the death of the king (Charles I.) he closed his work, and the press was never more fruitful than between that time and the Restoration. The collection set forth by Baldwin, commonly called the State Tracts of the Reign of Charles II., does not contain the tenth part of those published in that interval; and, among the numbers omitted, are many of the most material. That in three folio volumes, treasured up in every library, cited by every historian, and which is composed principally of such pieces as made way for, or grew out of, the Revolution, is liable to the same objection as Baldwin's: Many dull tracts have found admittance, many very important ones have been excluded: Most of them are of one side; and, what is worse than all, some are given without their answers, and some answers are given without the leading papers which gave occasion to them. It may be thought invidious to speak with equal truth and freedom of any more recent collections: but

thus much we cannot avoid saying, that none have supplied the defects of the former; that neither of the long and interesting controversies, nor of the occasional pieces of wit and humour, which alternately amused and disturbed the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I., has any collection been made; and that one of the great points endeavoured in this, will be to render any other undertaking of the same kind, within the several periods above mentioned, unnecessary, by rendering it as complete as possible."

The collection, under the title of SOMERS' TRACTS, has maintained, since its first appearance, the high credit which such a name required. There is, indeed, no repository of fugitive pieces which rivals it in variety, extent, and importance, excepting the Harleian Miscellany; and it would be difficult to draw a parallel between these celebrated collections. If the Harleian Miscellany exhibits a more curious assortment of ancient pamphlets, and, in general, a greater variety of miscellaneous information, the present work may boast of containing a greater selection of tracts immediately connected with English history, and with English politics. Indeed from the reign of Elizabeth down to that of Queen Anne, the tracts upon all controversies, civil and religious, are so numerous and well selected, that, if the Harleian Miscellany afford most amusement to the antiquary, it may be safely said, that Somers' Tracts promise most information to the historian.

This celebrated Collection of Tracts having become extremely scarce and high-priced, this edition has been judged an acceptable offering to the British Public; and it becomes necessary to state what alterations and improvements are presented in its further recommendation.

The order of the Tracts, on their first publication, was utterly miscellaneous, because it was almost impossible that the compilers could select and arrange their mass of materials before sending them to the press. But the advantages of a lucid arrangement being so visible and important, there seemed no occasion for following by choice, a measure which they adopted from necessity. The present edition, therefore, has been arranged on the following principles.

I. A chronological classification and division of the Tracts under the reigns of the different monarchs of England, regulating the precedence of the essays

by the date of the subject rather than by that of publication. As there are but few Tracts prior to the reign of Elizabeth, these are thrown together without subdivision, as preliminary to the Collection.

II. From the time of Elizabeth downwards, the Tracts of each reign are divided, according to their subjects, into Four Classes, under the distinct heads of Ecclesiastical, Civil, Military, and Miscellaneous. The last division is intended to contain all those pamphlets which do not naturally belong to any of the preceding branches of history. It must be obvious, that although the lines of distinction here laid down are, generally speaking, plain and decided, yet some Tracts, from the variety of subjects of which they treat, may be ascribed, with equal propriety, to more than one class. Where such occasion of doubt occurred, the Editor has exercised the best of his judgment; and any mistake he has committed may be rectified by reference to the Table of Contents and the Index.

III. The Tracts in each subdivision are arranged, either with reference to the subjects which they regard, or, where totally unconnected, in the order of chronology.

The benefit of this system of arrangement may be felt as well by the general reader, who dips into the collection for amusement, as by the student, who consults it for authority or information. The former will find the chain of his studies unbroken, and the latter will be enabled at once to refer to the particular Tracts which he has occasion to quote, or to consult.

The enlargement of the collection was a favourite object of the Editor, and he originally thought of blending together, in one uniform edition, the Harleian Miscellany and Somers's Tracts. But an edition of the former being at present publishing, under inspection of that excellent antiquary Mr Parke, such an union became equally improper and unnecessary. The Editor has therefore confined his additions in the present volume to a few Tracts, either of intrinsic curiosity, or which, from their subject, formed suitable companions to those of the first edition. The Memoirs of the Wars in the Low Countries by the gallant Williams, and the very singular Account of Ireland by Derrick, are the most curious of those now published for the first time. It might also have

been desireable to have retrenched some parts of the original collection, and substituted in their room pamphlets of greater interest. But, by such an attempt, the new edition would certainly have lost much value in the eyes of those purchasers, by whom an omission of any kind, or for any cause, is considered as an imperfection. And when the variety of literary pursuits, and the fluctuation of fashionable study, is considered, it may seem rash to pass a hasty sentence of exclusion, even upon the dullest and most despised of the essays which this ample collection offers to the public. There may be among the learned, even now, individuals, to whom the rabbinical lore of Hugh Broughton presents more charms than the verses of Homer; and a future day may arise when Tracts on Chronology will bear as high a value among antiquaries as "Greene's Groat's Worth of Wit," or "George Peele's Jests," the present respectable objects of research and reverence.

The introductory remarks and notes have been added by the present Editor, at the expense of some time and labour. It is needless to observe, that both have been expended upon a humble and unambitious, though not, it is hoped, an useless task. The object of the introductions was to present such a short and summary view of the circumstances under which the Historical and Controversial Tracts were respectively written, as to prevent the necessity of referring to other works. Such, therefore, as refer to events of universal notoriety are but slightly and generally mentioned; such as concern less remarkable points of history are more fully explained. The Notes are in general illustrative of obscure passages, or brief notices of authorities, whether corroborative or contradictory of the text.

The Editor has only further to hope, that the circumstance of his name having been prefixed to works of a lighter and more popular nature, will not be objected to him as a personal disqualification for his present task. The Muse (to use the established language) found him engaged in the pursuit of historical and traditional antiquities, and the excursions which he has made in her company, have been of a nature which increases his attachment to his original study.

Edinburgh, 1st January 1809.

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THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

VOL I.

THE

SOMERS

COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

KING JOHN.[1]

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY.

Nero C. III. 28. Fol. 184, b.

Inventaria Catalorum tempore R. Johannis, ex quibus pretium et valor Bovis, Vaccæ, aliarumque rerum seculo illo cognosci potest.

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Dominus de habet 4 boves, quilibet de 5s. et 2 bovetos 6s. 1 Vaccam 5s. 2 Bovetos 5s. 2 Averes 8s. 1 Porcum 12d. 20 Quart frumenti, quolibet de 4s. 16 Quart. de mistilione, quolibet de 2s. 10 Quart de Fabis et pisis, quolibet de 2s. Summa 8 l. 17 s.

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[1] These tracts being few in number, it has not been judged necessary to divide them into classes according to their subjects.

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Edid vidua, habet 1 bulloccum 2s. & 6d. 2 Juvencos 5s. 1 Vitulum 12d. 1 Averam 3s. 6 Oves quilibet de 6d. 3 Porcellos quilibet de 4d. Summa 15s. & 3d.

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Gene Pricke, 1 juvencam, et 1 vitulum 3s.

Catalla Dominæ Matildis de Hakelinton.

Habet 4 boves quilibet de 4s. 2 Bovetos 5s. 1 Vaccam 4s. 1 Juvencam 2s. 3d. 1 Vitulum 13d. 1 Averam 2s. 4 Porcos quilibet de 6d. 8 Porcellos quilibet de 3d. 2 Oves 12d. 4 Quart. frumenti quilibet de 4s. 2 Quart. de mistilione quilibet de 18d. 1 Quart. de fabis 2s. Summa 56s. 3d.

Simon de Lisurs, 1 Bovet 3s. 5 Oves quilibet de 6d. Summa 5s. 6d.

Randulfus filius Roberti, 1 Bovem 4s. 2d. ob. 1 Juvencam 2s. 1 Bovet 2s. 1 Vitulum 10d. 12 Oves quilibet de 6d. 2 Porcos quilibet de 6d. 4 Porcellos quilibet de 3d. Dim. quart. de mistilione 8d. Summa 16s. 10d. ob.

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Ricardus filius Margeriæ, 1 Averam 4s. 1 Juvencam 3s. Summa 7s.

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Galfridus de Crusule, 1 Averam 3s. 1 Bovet 3s. 2 Juvencas 6s. 3d. 2 Vitulos 2s. 10 Oves quilibet de 6d. 1 Quart. de fabis 2s. Summa 21s. 3d.

Simon fil. Walteri habet, 1 Juvencam pretii 3s. 1 Bulloc. pretii 12d. 2 Quart. mistilionis pretii cujuslibet 18d. Summa 7s.

EDWARD II.

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY,

(Which was destroyed by the Fire there,)

Claudius D. II. 60. Fol. 149.

In the unfortunate reign of Edward II., scarcity was added to the evils of war abroad, and dissention at home. The Parliament, assembled at London, judged the following assize of provisions, to be the natural remedy for the first of these evils. Yet, notwithstanding, saith Stowe, " all things were sold dearer than before: no flesh could be hadde, capons and geese could not be found, eggs were hard to come bye, sheepe dyed of the rot, swine were out of the way; a quarter of wheat, beans, and pease, were sold for twentie shillings, a quarter of malt for a marke, a quarter of salt for thirty-five shillings," &c. The reader may compare the prices in this assize, with the valuation of the cattle, &c. in the preceding document.

De Pretio Victualium, 8 *E. II. A. D.* 1315.

Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Anglie dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitanie majori et vicecomitibus London salutem. Querelam archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, comitum, baronum, et aliorum de communitate regni nostri per petitionem suam coram nobis et consilio nostro exhibitam recepimus, continentem quod de bobus, vaccis, multonibus, porcis, aucis, gallinis, caponibus, pulcinis, columbellis, et ovis, magna et quasi intolerabilis est caristia hüs diebus in ipsorum et omnium aliorum infra idem regnum degentium dampnum non modicum et gravamen. Propter quod nobis cum instantia supplicarunt ut super hoc cararemus de congras remedio providere. Nos igitur supplicationi predicte pro communi utilitate populi dicti regni prout expediens visum fuerat annuentes ordinavimus de consilio et assensu prelatorum, comitum, baronum, et aliorum de consilio nostro existentium in ultimo parliamento nostro apud Westmonasterium habito quod melior bos vivas venalis crassus de grano non pastus vendatur de cetero pro 16s. et non ultra: et si de grano pastus fuerit et sit crassus pro 24s. ad plus tunc vendatur. Et quod melior vacca viva crassa pro 12s. Quodque porcus duorum annorum crassus pro 40d. Multo lanutus crassus pro 20d. Multo tonsus crassus pro 14d. Auca crassa in civitate nostra predicta pro 3d. Capo bonus et crassus pro 2½d. Gallina crassa pro 1½d. Duo pulcini pro 1½d. Tres columbelle pro 1d. et 20 ova pro 1d. de cetero vendantur. Et quod si aliquos vel aliquem qui hujesmodi res venales pro pretio ut premittitur ordinato vendere noluerint vel noluerit contigerit inveniri tunc predicte res venales nobis remaneant forisfacte. Et quia ordinationem predictam volumus ex nunc in civitate nostro predicta et suburbio ejusdem firmiter et inviolabiliter observari vobis precipimus firmiter injungentes quod in civitate nostra predicta et suburbio ejusdem ubi videritis expedire ordinationem predicta publice et destinate proclamari et ipsam in omnibus et singulis suis articulis sub forisfactura predicta per totam ballivam vestram de cetero faciatis inviolabiliter observari. Et hoc sicut indignationem nostram vitare et vos ipsos indempnes servare volucritis nullo modo omittatis. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium 14 die Martii anno regni nostri 8°.

The same Englished.

EDWARD, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to the mayor and sheriffs of London, greeting. We have received a complaint of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and others of the commonalty of our kingdom, presented before us and our council; that there is now a great and intolerable dearth of oxen, cows, sheep, hogs, geese, hens, capons, chickens, pigeons, and eggs, to the no small damage and grievance of them and all others living within the said kingdom. Wherefore they have pressingly besought us, that we should take care to provide a fit remedy thereof. We therefore, for the common benefit of the people of the said kingdom, assenting to the foresaid supplication, as seemed meet, have ordained, by the advice and assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and others, being of our council, in our last parliament held at Westminster, that a good saleable fat live ox, not fed with grain, be henceforth sold for 16s. and no more; and if he have been fed with corn, and be fat, then he may be sold for 24s. at the most; and a good fat live cow for 12s. A fat hog of two years of age for 40d. A fat sheep with the wool for 20d. A fat sheep shorn for 14d. A fat goose in our city aforesaid for 3d. A good and fat capon for 2½d., a fat hen for 1½d., and two chickens for 1½d., and three pigeons for 1d., and 20 eggs for 1d. And that if it happen that any person or persons be found that will not sell the said saleable goods at the settled price aforesaid, then let the foresaid saleable goods be forfeited to us. And forasmuch as we will that the foresaid ordinance be henceforth firmly and inviolably kept in our said city and the suburbs thereof, we strictly order and command you, that you cause the foresaid ordinance to be proclaimed publicly and distinctly in our foresaid city and the suburbs thereof, where you shall think meet, and to be henceforth inviolably kept, in all and singular its articles, throughout your whole liberty, under the foresaid forfeiture; and by no means fail herein, as you are minded to avoid our indignation, and to save yourselves harmless. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 14th day of March, in the eighth year of our reign.

EDWARD III.

Cicely de Rydgeway, in the 31. *Edward III. being indicted and condemned for killing her Husband, fasted forty days together in Arcta Prisona, without any Meat or Drink: For proof of this extraordinary Abstinence, the Copy of the following Record, lodged in the Tower of London, is a proof.*[1]

Ex Rot. de Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Tertii 31. *Parte* 1, *Memb.* 11.

REX omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, ad quos, &c. Salutem sciatis quod cum Cecilia quæ fuit uxor Johannis de Rygeway, nuper indictata de morte ipsius Johannis viri sui,

[1] This extraordinary instance of abstinence is not altogether singular, as will appear by the following extract from Spottiswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*:—

"With this I shall join another, not for any commendation of his learning, for he had none, nor for his good qualities, which were as few; but for strange and extraordinary things seen in him, which in the time ministred occasion of great talk and wondering to many. This man, named John Scot, having succumbed in a plea at law, and knowing himself unable to pay that wherein he was adjudged, took sanctuary in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, where, out of a deep displeasure, he abstained from all meat and drink the space of thirty or forty days together.

et de morte illa coram dilect. et fidelibus nostris Henrico Grove, et sociis suis justic. nostris gaolam nostram Notyngh. deliberand. assign. allocuta, pro eo quod se tenuit mutam ad pœnam suam extitit adjudicata, ut dicitur, in qua sine cibo et potu, in Arcta Prisona per quadraginta dies vitam sustinuit, via miraculi, et quasi contra naturam humanam, sicut ex testimonio accepimus fide digno. Nos ea de causa, pietate moti, ad laudem Dei, et gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ matris suæ, unde dictum miraculum processit, ut creditur. De gratia nostra speciali pardonavimus eidem Ceciliæ executionem judicii prædicti; volentes quod eadem Cecilia a prisona prædicta deliberetur, et de corpore suo ulterius non sit impetita, occasione judicii supradicti: in cujus, &c. Testimonium, R. apud West. xxv. die Aprilis.

Per Bre. de Privato Sigillo.

Convenit cum Record,

LAUR. HALSTEAD, Deput.
ALGERN. MAY, Mil.

RICHARD II.

The Manner of holding Parliaments in the Reign of Richard the Second. Copied from an Ancient Manuscript.

THE monition or summons of the parliament ought to be made or done forty days before the beginning of the parliament. All archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and all

Public rumour bringing this abroad, the king would have it put to trial, and to that effect shut him up in a private room within the castle of Edinburgh, whereunto no man had access; he caused a little bread and water to be set by him, which he was found not to have tasted in the space of thirty-two days. This proof given of his abstinence, he was dimitted; and coming forth into the street half naked, made a speech to the people that flocked about him, wherein he professed to do all this by the help of the Blessed Virgin, and that he could fast as long as he pleased. Many did take it for a miracle, esteeming him a person of wonderful holiness; others thought him to be frantic and mad; so as in a short time he came to be neglected, and thereupon leaving the country, went to Rome, where he gave the like proof of his fasting to Pope Clement the Seventh.

"From Rome he came to Venice, apparelled with holy vestures, such as the priests use when they say mass, and carrying in his hand a testimonial of his abstinence under the pope's seal, he gave there the like proof, and was allowed some five ducats to make his expense towards the Holy Sepulchre, which he pretended to visit. This voyage he performed, and then returned home, bringing with him some palm-tree leaves, and a scripful of stones, which he said were a part of the pillar to which our Saviour was tied when he was scourged; and coming by London went up into the pulpit in Paul's Church-yard, where he cast forth many speeches against the divorce of King Henry from Katherine his queen, inveighing bitterly against him for his defection from the Roman see, and thereupon was thrust in prison, where he continued fifty days fasting.

"After that being dimitted, (for they held him to be a madman,) he came directly into Scotland, and remained in company with one Thomas Doughty, who a little before was returned from Italy, and had built a little chapel to the Holy Virgin with the money he had begged in his travel. This man, by his counterfeit miracles, made great advantage among the simple people; and albeit he was known to be a cosening fellow, and in life extremely vicious, yet was he suffered by the clergy to abuse the ignorant multitude, for that the opinion of purgatory, pardons, and prayers to saints, which began then every where to be despised, was by this mean nourished amongst the people.

"Scot grudging that Doughty did appropriate all the gain he made to himself, and did not admit him a partner in the same, retired to a house in the suburbs of Edinburgh, at the western part of the town, and therein erected a religious altar, which he adorned in the best manner he could, setting up his daughter, a young maid of reasonable beauty, upon the altar, and placing lights and torches round about her: the simple sort for a long time believed her to be the Virgin Mary, and frequented the place in great numbers to do her worship: but the knavery coming to be detected, he forsook his altar, and forgetting all devotion, returned to his first trade and manner of life. Lesley in his story saith, that he prophesied many things concerning the decay of the Romish religion, and the restitution of it in a short time; of the decay he might speak, having seen it begun, but for other things, he was a dreamer rather than a prophet."

Walter Scott of Satchels, the metrical genealogist of his clan, calls this ascetic, John Scott of Borthwick.

other great clerks, that holdeth by committee or barony, by reason of their holding, they ought to be monished, and also ought to come to the parliament, and no other inferior of the clergy, unless their presence were profitable and necessary for the parliament, and to those the king is bound to give their costs, coming and tarrying at the parliament; nor none such inferior clerks should not be monished to come to the parliament, but the king was accustomed to send his writings unto such discreet men, desiring them to be at the parliament; also the king was accustomed to send his commission or summons to the archbishops, bishops, and other exempt persons, that is to say, abbots, priors, divines, and other ecclesiastical persons that hath jurisdiction by such emption, and distinct privileges, that they for every deanry, and arch-deaconry through England, should elect and choose, or cause to be elected and chosen, two discreet and wise proctors of their own arch-deaconry, that shall come and be at the parliament, to sustain, allocat, and allow, and to do that thing that every man of the deanry, or arch-deaconry might do, if they were there in their own proper persons, and choose proctors to defend for the clergy, should bring with them their double proxies, sealed with double seals of their superiors, one of the said proxies to remain with the clerk of the parliament, and the other to remain with the said proctors; and under this manner the clergy ought to be called to the parliament.

For the Temporalty.

Also, all and every earl, baron, and their peers; that is to say, such as hath lands and rents to the value of an earldom, or of a whole barony, that is to say, twenty knights fees, every fee containing 20 l. that amounteth to the sum of 400 l. in the whole; or to the value of a whole barony, that is to say thirteen fees, and the third part of a knight's fee, every fee containing 20 l. that maketh in the whole 400 merks, and no inferior persons of the temporalty shall come to the parliament by reason of his hold, unless his presence be profitable and necessary, and then there to be ordered as it is spoken of before of the inferior clerks.

Of the Barons of the Five Ports.

Also, the king ought to send his writs to the warden of the Five Ports, that he should cause to be elect or chosen for every of the said ports two discreet and wise barons that should come and be present in the parliament, there to answer, sustain, allege, and do all things concerning the said parliament, as well as if all and every of the barons were there personally; and those barons so elected and chosen shall bring with them their double proxies, double sealed with the common seal of the port, the one thereof to be delivered to the clerks of the parliament, and the other to remain with the said barons so elect and chosen; and when shall chance the said barons of the ports licence obtain to depart, that they were accustomed to have a writ sealed with the great seal to the warden of the Cinque Ports, addressed for their reasonable expences down from the first of their coming to the parliament unto the time of their going home, to be allowed of the communalty of every port, having express mention made in writing the first day of their coming, unto the time of their licence obtained; and it was accustomed that mention should be made in the said writ what every baron should take of the commons for a day, that is to say, some more, some less, a consideration or respect to be had to the honestest tarrying labours and expenses of the said barons, nor it was not accustomed that any certain sum was limited by the said court.

For the Knights of the Parliament.

Also, the king was accustomed to send his writts to all sherifs within the realm of England, that they should cause to be chosen too honeste, wise, and discrete knights for every shire, to come to the parliament with such proxyes as is spoken of before for the barons of the Chink Ports; but for their expensis of two knights of everi shire was not accustomed to be granted above xiijs. iiiid. for a day.

For the Citizeyns of the Parliament.

In like manner, the maier of London, and the sherifs, the maier, and the baili of York, or the maier and the citizens of York, and of all other citteis, were wonte to be warned, that therefore the comunalte of their citteis should electe and choose too discreet, honest, and wise cittizens, to come and be at the parliament, under the forme as is spoken of before of the barons of the Chink Ports, and of the knights of the shires; and the said cittizens were accustomed to be like and equall in their expensis, for comeing, abideing, and returning from the parliament.

Of the Burgesses of the Parliament.

In like manner, the bailiffs and wise men of burrowes were accustomed, and ought to be warned, that thei should chose two discrete, honest, and wise burgesses of themselfs, and by themself to come and be at the parliament, in like manner as is spoken of the cittizens; but it was accustomed that two burgesses should have for their charges not above 10s. and sometimes not above 6s. 8d. and that shall be taxed by the court, after the ability of the burrow, and the discrete and honest of the burgesses.

Of the Principall Clerks of the Parliament.

Also, two principall clerks of the parliament shall sit in middis of the justice, the which clerks shall inroll all plaints and matters of the parliament; and it is to be known, that those two clerks be not subject to any of the justices, nor no justice of England hath any authority in the parliament, unlesse he be assigned to any thing by the king and prayers of the parliament; and when they be soe assigned, with other tuters of the parliament to here and determin diverse peticions and pleis to be finished by the parliament; yet the ii clerks to be imediate subjects to the king and the parliament in continen, unlesse one of the judges or two be assigned to examine and amend the inrolling, and the peares of the parliament be assigned to hear and examine any speciall petition, and after they have beten the matter, they shall give their sentence or judgment in the full parliament, and the ii principall clerks shall inroll it, and all other judgments and plaints of the parliament, in the principall roll of the parliament; and they to deliver those rolls to the treasurers before the parliament be finished, provided that the said clerks shall have for a transumpte, or a copy of it if they liste; and those too clerks shal have for their expensis xiijs. iiijd. unlesse thei have any feis or office by the king, that thei be dayly waiters, having meat and drink of the king's cost, then he shall have vis. viijd. every day during the parliament.

Of the Five Clerkes belonging to the Parliament.

Also, the king shall assigne v clerks, wise and approbate, of whom the first shall attend the bishop; the second, the proctours of the clergy; the third, earles and barons; the fourth, the knights of the shire; the fifth, the cittizens and burgesses; and every of them shall have ij's. a-day, unlesse thei be the king's *huantis*,[1] and have a sufficient liveing by the king, then they shall have xij s. a-day. The which clerks shall write all doubts and answers between the king and the parliament, and thei to be at their councells whereso-ever thei be commanded; and in case that thei be vacant, then thei shall help the ii principall clerks to inroll their business.

Of the Cases and Doubts of the Parliament.

When any breach, doubte, or defuse, case, war, or peace, which within the realm or without, that case most ought to be declared in writeing in full parliament, there to be treated and disputed amongst the peares of the parliament; and if it be needful, the king shall command, or in the king's name it shall be commanded, that degree, or the persons of every degree of the parliament shall be present in the parliament; and to the clerk of every degree of the parliament shall be, the said cause, breach, or doubt shall be delivered in writeing, * and then every degree of the parliament shall cause the said doubt, breach, or cause bi the said clerk, and a certain place to them to be declared, and thereupon they study, consider, and imagin how this doubt or breach may best be provided for, as thei shall time cumeing before God make answer, for the preservacion of the king, themself, and the commons, whose persons they do represent; and so in this behalf thei shall make their answer or counsell to be written, so that everi degrees answer, or advisement hearde, the whole parliament to admit and allow the best and wisest counsell, and thereafter to do; and whereas been diverse opinions, then to incline to the more part of the parliament; and in case there be any discord between the king and any of the states, or between the states, whereby the peace of the realm might be disturbed, or the people, or the country, this case, if the king think it expedient, ought to be commend or informed by all the peeres of the realm; or in case the king and the realm be troubled with warres, or a doubtful case be depending before the chancellour of England, or a defuse judgment be depending before the justices, and in this the peeres, or the peares, or the degrees of the parliament cannot agree, then the erle-steward, the erle-cunstable, the erle-marshal, or two of them, shall elect xxv persons of every degree of the peers of the realm, that is to say, two bishops, iii proctors for the clergy, ii erles, iii barons, v knights of the shires, v citizens, and v burgesses; and these xxv may condescend in xij of themself, and these xij in vj of themself, and the vj into iij may condescend, but those ij may not condescend in a less number without the king assences, and then these iij in two, and ij in one, may condescend; and after his opinion and determinacion shall be ordered, unless the king shall discend as he may, and then he and his councell may examine and amend the ordination so before written and doon, so it be not out of the parliament with ther consents.

[1] This uncommon word occurs below, where mention is made of the king's *huant* at arms. The meaning is obviously derived from the French *huer*, and the word seems equivalent to crier. Probably the *huant* was a kind of herald or pursuivant.

Of the Matters of the Parliament.

The matters wherefor the parliament is holden or kepid, ought or should be delivered into the parliament, and to be called upon in manner of a calender, according to everi man's peticions, no respect to be had to any mannys person; but he that first laieth in his bille shall be first harde in the calendar of the parliament. Everi matter ought to be had in memory under this fourme; *First*, Of war, if there be any, and of matters concerning the king and queen's persons, or their children. *Secondarily*, Of the matters concerning the common weale, and to ordeyne new laws, debarring of laws made time paste, whose execution has been prejudicial. *Thirdly*, The matters concerning the private weal, and there be examined according to the file or calendar, as it is spoken on before.

Of the Days and Howers of the Parliament.

The parliament shall be holden or kept every day, Sundays, All-Souls day, All-Hollows day, and the Nativity of St John Baptist only excepte; and every ferial day it should begin at Midprime time, and that hour the king is bound to be there in the parliament, and all the peers of the realm; on the halidays the parliament shall begin at Prime time, because divine service should be first hearde.

Of the Degrees of the Parliament.

The king is head and chief, the beginning of the parliament, and the end; so that to him is no comparison to be made, and so the king is one degree by himself. The second degree is of the archbishops, abbotts, and priours holding the baronys. The third is of the proctors of the clergy. The fourth is of the erles, barons, and other estates, and gentilys holding to the value of an earldome or a barony, as it is spoken of in the chapter of the laie people or temporalte. The fifth is of the knights of the shires. The sixth of the cittizens and burgesses; and so the parliament is of vj degrees. And it is to be notid, that if any of the said degrees, the king excepte, being absent, after the first lawfull monicions or summoning, the parliament is of sufficient effect.

The Fourme of the Parliament.

Sith it is first shewid under what fourme every man ought to be monyshed, it is to be known who thei be, and what thei be, that ought to be monyshed to come to the parliament bi reason of the offices, and how it is to be noted. That the ii principall clerks of the parliament, clerks for the king and his councell, and other secundary clerks, of whom and in whose office especial mention shall be made hereafter, the chief cryer of England with his deputes, and the chief porter of England, howbeit those ii offices were accustomed to be occupied by one person, which ought to be the first day of the parliament; the chancellour of England, the treasurer, the chamberlaine, the barons of the exchequer, the justices all, the king's clerks, and knights, with servants of the law, of the king's retineu or fee, ought to be there the second daei, unlesse they have a reasonable impediment or excuse.

Of the Begining of the Parliament.

The kyng ought to be in the parliament the first day, and should sitt in the middes of the high bench. The vith day of the parliament, the chancellour of England, the treasurer, the barons of the exchequer, the justices, were accustomed to the record, the defaults done in the parliament in forme following:—The ist day thei shall call for the citizens and burgesses of all England; and, for lack of ther appearance, a cite shall be amercied iii cl. a burrows ccc marks. The secund daie they shall call the knights of the shires of England; and in the default of ther appearance, the shire to be amercied iii cl. The third daie shall the barons of the Chincts Ports be called, after them the other barons, and after them the erles; and for lack of appearance of the barons of the Chinck Ports, the barony shall be amercied iij c marks, an erle iij cl. In like manner shall be done to them, that the erles and barons, peres, that is to say, thei that have landis and rentis to the yearly valu of an erledom, or of a barony, as it is expressed before in the tytle of commons.

The fourth daie the proctours of the clergy shall be called; and for lack of ther appearance, the bishops shall be amercied iij c. mark, for every arch-deaconry that maketh default. The fifth daie, deans, priours, abbots, bishops, and archbishops; and for lack of their appearances, of an archbishop, he shall be amercied cl.; a bishop that holdeth a barony, iij c. marks; and so of abbots and priours.

For Proclamations of the Parliament.

The first day of the parliament proclamacions should be made first in the haule, or in the monestery, or in some open place, where the parliament shall be holden or kepid, and after in the cite or town openly, that every man that have bille or peticion to be examined or determined in the parliament, that it should be laid in within 5 days after the begining of the parliament.

Of the Preaching at the Parliament.

An archbishop, bishop, or famous clerk, discrete and eloquente, by the archbishop in whose province the parliament shall be kepid, to be assigned, shall preach on the first five dayes in the full parliament, and in the king's presence, and he shall beginn when all the parliament or the more part assembled. And in his orison or prayer, he shall require all the hool parliament, that thei humbly beseech Almighty God for the peace and tranquility of the realme.

Of the Speaker of the Parliament.

After the sermon in the parliament is done, the chancellour of England, or chief justice of England, or a justice that is eloquent, discret, and honest, or a clerk of like qualities, by the said chancellour assigned or elected, standing in the parliament house, shall declare first generally, and secundarily speciali, the causes of the parliament, or the causes wherefore the sayd parliament is holden; and it is to be notid, that everi man, the kyng excepte, shall stand while the said speaker doth declare his matter, to the intent that everi man may hear him; and in cause he do speak obscure or darkeli, or so lowe that he cannot be heard, he must begynn again, or else another to speak in his place.

What the Kyng shall say after the Speaker hath done.

The kyng, after the speaker hath declared the causes wherefore the parliament is kepid, shall desire the spiritualte and temporalte, naming every degree, that is to say, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priours, archdeacons, proctors, and other of the clergi; erles, barons, knights, cittizens, and burgesses, and other of the temporalte, that thei diligentli, studiousli, and lovingly endeavour themself to examine, and partakte or handle, the causes of the parliament, to the honour of God principalli, and secondarily to the king, honour and welfare of the realme.

Of the King's Absence from the Parliament.

The king ought daily to be present in the parliament, unless he be sick or diseased, and then he may kepe his chamber, so that he lodge not out of the mannour and towne where the parliament is kepid or holden; and then he owght to send for 12 persons of the great estates, that be monished or summoned to the parliament, that is to say, ii bishops, ii erles, ii baronyes, ii knights of the shire, ii citizens, and ii burgesses, to see his person, and to testify of his estate; and in ther presence he ought to commit power to the archbishop of the province, to the lord steward, and to the chief justices, that thei junctly and severally shall beginne and continew the parliament in the king's name, makeing express mencion in the commission of his disease to the other estates, and that the persons above named can report the same; for it is a perillous case and a dangerous, the king to be absent from the parliament, nor he ought not, nor may not be absent but only for bodily sicknesse.

Of the Places and Seats of the Parliament.

Firste, As it is spoken before, the king shall sitte in the middes of the high bench, upon his right hand the archbishop of Canterbury, and upon his left hand the archbishop of York, and after, bishops, abbots, and priours in order, everi man in his degree, and among his peers; and that this order be keepid, the lord-steward of England is bound to take heed, unless the king assigne any other at his right, for the chancellour of England, the chief justice of England, with his fellows and their clerks, that be of the parliament; and at his left foot shall sit the chamberlaine, the treasurer, the barons of the exchequer, the judge of the common place, with ther clerks that be of the parliament.

Of the Porters of the Parliament.

The chief porter of the parliament shall stand within the great gate of the monastery, the haule, or place where the parliament is holden or kepid, and shall attend, that no man enter into the parliament, but they that ought to come to the parliament, excepte he be called for matters that he sheweth in the parliament; and it is expedient that the said porter have knowledge of every man's person that shall come and enter into that parliament, and if need require, to have many porters.

Of the Cryer of the Parliament.

The cryer of the parliament shall stand without the parliament door, and the porter shall shew him whom and what he shall call. The king was wont to appoint his huant at armes to kepe the parliament door, that no thrust, preace, or noyse were made ther, by means whereof the parliament might be lettid. That such thrust, preace, or noyse should be avoyded, proclamacions should be made, that no man enterprize such things there, under payne of imprisonment; for by the law, the parliament door should not be shutt, but should be kepid by the porter and huant at armes.

Of the Help[1] *of the King.*

The king was not accustomed to demand help of his realme, but only for war that was instant; for the creation of his sonns to be knights, or his daughters to be married; and for these causes help ought to be demanded in the full parliament, and in writing to be deliverid to every degree of the parliament, and they in writing to make answer; and if such help ought to be granted, then every degree of the parliament should consent thereto; and it is to be known, that two knights that come to the parliament for a shire, in granting or denying any things demanded in the parliament, have more authority than any erle in England; and two proctours for the clergy in oon diocese have more authority than ther bishops in things to be granted or denyed in parliament. This is the case, for the king may hold his parliament for the commonalte of his realme without bishops, erles, or baronyes, so that they have lawful monicions or summons: howbeit, they come not for some time, there was neither bishop, erle, nor baron, and yet the king did kepe and hold his parliament; but of the contrary, if the comonalty of the clergy and of the temporalte be monished to the parliament, as by the law thei ought to be, and for certain causes they do not, nor will not come, as if they pretended the king hath not ruled nor governed them accordingly, and so do not come. In this case, though the king with his bishops, erles, and barons, do hold a parliament, it is of none effect; and therefore, in all such things that should be granted or denyed, stablished or broken by parliament of necessite, the commonalte of the parliament must consent thereto, that be contained in degrees of the parliament; that is to say, the spectators of the clergy, knights of the shires, citizens, and burgesses; for these persons doth represent the hoole communalte of England, and the estates doth represent but their own persons.

Of the Ending of the Parliament.

The parliament ought not to be ended while any petitions dependeth undiscussed, or at the least to whom a determinable answer is not made, and if the king permitteth the contrary; nor no peer of the parliament shall depart from the parliament with licence obtained of the king and his peers, but of all the whole parliament; and that licence to be recorded in the roll of the parliament; and if it happen any of the peers to be sicke during the parliament, so that he cannot come to the parliament, then iii days he shall send his excuse to the parliament, the which iii days passed, if he come not, then two of his peers shall be sent unto him to vieue his person, and thereupon to asscertain the parliament; and in case that any suspicion be had, those two peers shall be sworne to say and testifie the very trouch; and if it appear that he hath feigned himself sike, then,

[1] Aid or supply voted by parliament to the king.

before them, he shall make a sufficient depute to appear in the parliament for him. No person of the parliament can be excused having his health and memory.

The Finishing of the Parliament.

The ending of the parliament must be assigned or appointed, and openly proclaimed in the parliament, and within the place of the parliament; and if there be any man that will say, that he hath none answer of his bill delivered into the parliament, then to continue it till he hath an answer; and at the proclamacion made, if there be no bills to be laid in, the king may lycence his parliament.

Of the Copyes of the Records of the Parliament.

The clerk of the parliament shall deny no man the copy of his processe, but shalle deliver it to every man that demandeth it, taking for the lines writing 1s., and if the parte be poor, and thereupon give an oath, then thei to have nothing. The rolls of the parliament ought to be x inches brood. The parliament shall be holden or kepid wheresoever it pleaseth the king.—*Thus endeth the Manner and Forme of the Parliament.*

A Charge exhibited in Parliament [1386] *against Michael de la Pool, created Earl of Suffolk, and Chancellor of England, by Richard II.*

Richard's propensity towards favouritism is well known. Robert de la Vere, Earl of Oxford, stood so high in his favour, as to be created Duke of Ireland. Michael de la Pool, his chancellor, was, in 1379, made Earl of Suffolk, with a grant of an annuity of a thousand marks. These extravagant donations excited the jealousy of the nobles and commons, who, headed by the Duke, impeached the Earl of Suffolk, as mentioned in the following narrative. The tract was probably compiled or translated in the reign of Charles I., with a view to the Duke of Buckingham.

MANY of the more experienced nobility, and graver gentry, represented to the king, that the new glory of Robert de Vere, created Marquess of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland, and his exorbitant ambitious views, did reflect high indignity upon the reputation of the English and Irish nations, to be unworthily abused and oppressed by a fellow subject, the king, Richard, sent them home without thanks, his nature being against any wholesome counsels, though as true as oracles, not failing to acquaint either the chancellor or the Duke of Ireland, not only with the advice, but the adviser, which his grace as childishly again discovered on every little motion of his coler; and consequently, this, amongst other violences, gave him the character not of a wise, no not of a faithfull subject, such visible similitude there is between folly and infidelity, that oftentimes they are mistaken for one another.

His ambition was now grown to so high a point, that moderate persons, much more the haughty, thought it full time to launce it; the lords and ministers of state had many private meetings about it; were most of opinion, at the meeting of the parliament, he should,

by both Houses be remonstrated against, as the common grievance of the whole kingdom, and consequently be brought to trial, having matter enough in his crimes to compose a weighty charge; but others, more experienced in the ways of those assemblies, differed in their opinion, holding it best to begin with the new Earl of Suffolk, a man out of danger of being pittyed, which the Duke of Ireland, as Earl of Oxford, was not; besides the chancellor, they held him steersman in affaires of state, and, removing the rudder, the ship would leave sailing of itself; and, consequently, 'twas resolved to exhibit this charge againast him the second day of parliament:

First, For deceiving the crown of sundrie goodly lands and tenements, contrary to his oath, as chancellor, giving little or nothing at all in regard of the value.

Secondly, That he had broken his faith in parliament, for not sealing a commission to certain trustees, authorised by the whole body of the three estates, which he ought to have done by virtue of his place.

Thirdly, That he had expended the best subsidies, contrary to the ordinances of parliament, made by the king, the lordes, and the commons.

Fourthly, When payments were made to the king's grace, by process of law, he, the said chancellor, would, for bribes, procure releases to be made thereof again unto the parties fined, against the king's profit, and contrary to common justice.

Fifthly, He took in farm, of the great master of St Anthonie, then a schismatic convict by due process of law, all his leases, tenements, and messages, at twenty marks *per annum*, which were well worth above a thousand; the said master of St Anthonie and his son, having indentured to pay the chancellor and his son, a hundred marks a-year, for so protecting of him against the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil.

Sixthly, During the time of his chancellorship, he hath passed diverse pardons for tumults, murders, felonies, and treasons, as also to rasers of rolles, and sellers of laws.

Seventhly, Diverse sums of monyes, which were, by parliament, assigned for the defence of the strong holds of the kingdom, whereby both the places and treasure were lost, to the great disrepute and peril of the crown.

The chancellor heard all these computations very quietly, and like enough intended some reply, but that a knight, deputed by the House of Commons, began to enforce the evidence thus.

The Prosecution of the Charge against the Chancellor.

My Lords the Peers,

These omissions in my lord chancellor, discovered by the industrie of the commons, deserve some explanation, that at least their sence may be clearly expressed here; for we do not only complain the publick should faint under such oppression, but, as being next neighbours to your lordships, in the steps of honour, wonder how the son of a laborious artist should so easily work himself into the order of nobilite; being only the right of the ancient gentry, to be called up into this House, or else soldiers of merit, who, with doing bravely, become capable of such promotions, as many of your lordships' ancestors have done by desert in camps abroad, and loyalty at home, the right of sitting in this House. My lords, these frauds in the chancellor, are so many slight skarres in the sides of the government, punishable in courts fit enough to sit upon the meanesse of his condition; but his inclination to ease, luxury, and mimical pastimes, with which he hath visibly both allured and debauched the king from the paths of his ancestors, are ulcers within the vitals of the commonwealth, which the commons House doth chiefly apprehend, because this island is a mixed situation both for warr and peace, so enterwoven as no good peace or alliance can probably be made, without a certaine means, if need, of waging war.

His avarice, perhaps, may not be natural, rather enforced by those riotous courses which he is known to support at court, to the destruction of all industry and prowess, for the Persian life is opposite to all parts of vertue, bewitches the understanding with pangs of alteration, laughter to scorn, the old ways and rules of government having actually lost both the Eastern and the Western Empires. It doth, like an evil spirit, whisper in the king's ear, they are never absolute till they take extravagant courses, as if a monarch were the children of will, and no kinne to laws or justice.

Therefore we desire that this disease may reign no longer amongst us, for though the chancellor's own person be but a defluction upon the publick health, yet it falleth upon places of great concernment, and becometh a calenture through all the blood; making him widely act, and others suffer with an implicit faith.

The charge you see, my lords, is a plain charge, yet what is meet for gownmen to open, the House of Commons have appointed some of the long robe to deliver it to your lordships, my profession being only arms, wherefore had in charge the point of honour; neither do the commons hold it according to the franchize, to impeach men upon such crimes as only the extremity of law, or eloquence of an orator, are able to make faults.

This bold wholsom speech, uttered by a gentleman of repute, and one of the Veterani, retired home out of France to follow the business of his country, and make up his last accompte, as all men in time must submit to age, did thoroughly warm the lords, who often want some such fomentations, when businesses are depending between the will of the prince, and the good of the people; it also seemed to reclaim some men, who were almost enticed with hopes of court benediction, to the Duke of Ireland, and the chancellor's party: I observe, in these parliamentary proceedings, the managers of the evidence sought not after men's reputations or estates, neither, as I guess, had an instruction so to do, but only an amends; and though they modestly desired the removall of some few from the king's house, the houses undertook it with a great deal of gravity, tender of the government, not apt to do any thing out of private discontent, which might disparage former establishments; but stood upon the old foundations as the surest maxim of state, never to dislike an institution for the ministerial part, or to judge of things merely by success, since the Aconite hath both a poisonous and a healing faculty; and 'tis only the right application of time and matter, brings good success to the greatest negociations ever were. After the House had been in some whisper with itself, the chancellor recollected his thoughts, and desired leave to speak: it was accordingly granted him, because in those days men evermore underwent quick and speedy trials, unless further respite were petitioned for to better their defences, which likewise was rarely denyed.

The Chancellor's Replie.

My lords, the charge of the commons is an ill influence of that importance to be blasted by the whole mouth of our country, as whosoever cometh to answer, cannot denie he is either guilty or unfortunate. Guilt is of a double nature, 'tis either general or particular guilt; and he that is accused, may safely deny the one, though forced to confess the other. Who is it can say in a heavy visitation, *non peccavi contra te, domine?* when the man of holy writ, the man after God's own heart, crieth out, *I have sinned seven times a day.* And sure 'twere presumption in the midst of this affliction, I see hath besieged me round, so to confess I am both guilty and innocent, since no man is bound to accuse himself, or to aggravate ill saviour of his offences; yet happily this specifical charge now exhibited against me, may not reach the next part of my sinnes, it rather borders upon the confines of my weak fraile errors, the symptom of humaine kind, from which none is free, the judge no more than the delinquent, the jaylor than the prisoner, or the accuser, no less than the accused. To the first part of the knight's enforcement, I joyne issue with

him, and deny not, like Prometheus, I have attempted forbidden fire; 'tis true, your lordships do justly conceive I ought to have attended the motion of the starrs, without endeavouring to become (pointing at the lords) one of the constellations; yet, my lords, not as judges, but men full of the same will and affections, consider whether to be admitted into this sphere, were easily to be refused, or rather not heartily to be endeavoured. Transgressions of nature are the common pleas of all offenders.

'Tis not enough for a minister of state to say he knew not what he did, because matter of right should be his rule to protect him from ignorance; and excuse me therefore if I digress to say, I am no less confident of my innocence, than distrustfull of my abilitys to discharge the office and duty of a chancellor, having more skill to guide battles and martial affairs, than process at law; wherefore indeed the late libel justly calleth me the unlearned chancellor. Ask my valiant brother, Sir Richard le Scrope, if these thirty years I have not faithfully served at banner in the king's warrs, passing through many degrees of command? And do your lordships expect a skilful gownman of such a nursery? My lords, the right of a peer, though never so unproperly seated, is ever more inherent in my blood, and, like the purple fishes' tincture dyed the dog's teeth that bit it, my posterity, I hope, may live to make this House satisfaction for the misdemeanor of so weak an ancestor, and wipe off the blackness of this day, if those seeds can any thing abate these bitter clouds of disfavour; let the dying plead for them that are to live, and the longer lived something extenuate the paines of the sacrifice.

'Tis sayd I have defrauded the king both of lands and moneys, yet I can safely affirm my estate, since the chancellorship was conferred on me, is not much bettered above four thousand marks; too small a proportion, I should think, either to enrich or corrupt the first minister of state, belonging to the crown of England: 'tis true, great sums of treasure have passed through my hands, to several uses good and bad, wherein, may be, I have erred in countenancing some of those frivolous expences; but then likewise consider the great distance between the king and the chiefest of his subjects, for indeed, to flatter my own ambition, I esteem them gods, forgetting they do both err, and dye like men.

I shall only now plead one thing more, which is, the king has made me his chancellor, and I do thereby represent his person; therefore my suite to your lordships is, I may not answer particularly, but before the king himself, praying, whatever becometh of me, my story, in after ages, will stand like a sea mark in the ocean of greatness, to dissuade men of inferior rank from aspiring so high, nor to shipwrack thus upon every rock of vanity. Your lordships then command, I do answer to the matters of fact objected against me; truly, I am right willing so to be heard, hoping by the help of God and his Saints, to make some good justification. First, Concerning the article they chargeth me with certain bargains and contracts passed between the king and me, to the damage and disherison of the crown, thereupon I speak with the faith of a knight, as well as a liege man, how, never since I was a chancellor, have I purchased any rent or tenement of the king, neither did his grace incline to bestow them upon me till he conferred the earldom of Suffolk, and then no more than one hundred marks a year, out of the customs of Hull, was assigned for my better support; a small proportion, heaven woteth, for such estate as an earldom is: this, to the best of my remembrance, was done in shillings, last road towards Scotland, indeed to enable to attend upon his grace there; and had other men from low beginnings got no more, the exchequer would be fuller than it is. Mortimer's vile peace with the Scots was not more exclaimed against, than a poor pension of a hundred marks: nor Gaveston, that cost the nobility of England so many bloody wars. Think on them, my lords, when you repine at me; review the glass of those times equalie with the speculation of those, and then tell the age to come which were the days of worst consequence, or the most dangerous ministers of state. And let me further vindicate my master's honour, to affirm boldly, though a spectacle of misery, his reign,

compared with Edward the First, and Edward the Second, if indifferently censured, will be found, perhaps, lesse politique than the first, yet far more candid than the second; besides, 'tis yet a climate any dispassionate subject may quietly live under, without esteeming his prince either defective or tyrannical.

Was I not the king's messenger, employed in the treaty of his marriage? I grant the employment above my merit, yet would not undergoe the perills accompanied that negociation for ten times this estate; the commons accuse of having unjustly gotten what is not enough to support nature, and, were my abilities of that ill influence they are suspected to be, certainly I would have sold my integrity at a dearer rate; but what is sublime in other men, is made despicable; and, for gaining an estate, I am reputed a felon, which getteth some more successfull persons the reputation of industrie. The commission I should have sealed according to my promise in parliament, I well remember the first motion of it, when such a commission was conceived by both Houses, and confess it was a great omission I did not seal it, though to be wise at all times is not the part of every man, neither doth it benefit the parties accused to strive with the extenuation of such faults as are not defensible.

However, consider the bye-deeds of others heretofore, and, I am confident, your lordships will find eminenter negligences have been punished at lower rates; the example likewise of my president in the future, may concern you all. I beg no pardon of this House, that only belongeth to the king; nor strive to out-face this impeachment in parliament, wishing only to escape from the malice of my accusers, and the prejudice of my own infirmities.

Your lordships have now heard the summe of defence, and offences, the matter of fact, proofs, and answers; other crimes of less moment, wherein I am most conscious to myself of being guilty, you do not hear me go about to excuse; only sighed past errors were not to be recalled, they are many; progresse of time may diminish the present ill countenance they bear, then some will pittie me, others take warning by me; but in adversity I see few ready to stand by me, submitting all to him, who setteth bounds to the sentence of the judge, and the transgressions of the offender.

After these last words, the chancellor made a low reverence to the cloth of state, and retired into the chamberlain's room, where he expected his final sentence; his delivery had gained very much upon the lords, for that it was more generous than learned, yet accurate too, and caused many of the worst nature present enclined towards compassion.[1]—*Translated from a Manuscript History of Richard II., kept in the University Library in Cambridge.*

[1] The Earl of Suffolk was committed to the castle of Windsor, from whence he was soon delivered by the king. His sentence was otherwise mild, being neither forfaulted nor degraded, but only amerced in a fine of 20,000 marks, besides the resumption of lands to the amount of L. 1000 yearly, which he had purchased by the benefactions of the crown.

A Speech delivered from the Parliament, by the Lord Thomas de Woodstock, Duke of Glocester, and Thomas de Arundell, Bishop of Ely, To King Richard the II., in the 11th year of his reign, on his absenting himself from his Parliament.

This article refers to the preceding one, being a remembrance by the nobility and commons in the parliament of 1386, upon the king's absenting himself from parliament. It was grounded, according to Hollinshed, upon an old ordinance, by which it was enacted, "That if the king should absent himself forty days, not being sick, and refuse to come to the parliament, without regard to the charges of his people, they may then lawfully return to their homes; and therefore sith he had been absent for a long time, and yet refused to come among them, it was greatly to their discomfort." The argument is here put into a rhetorical shape, probably for the use of Charles I.

SIR,

THE lords, and all the commons of your parliament, have themselves commended to your most excellent majesty, desiring the success of your invincable honour, against the power of your enemies, and most firm bond of peace and love in your heart towards your subjects, for your good God-wards, and the good of your soul, and to the unspeakable comfort of all your people, whom you govern: on whose behalf we intimate these things to you: That it appears to us, (by an antient statute, and by laudable and approved usage, which cannot be deny'd,) that our king can call together the peers of the realm, and the commons, once a year to his parliament, as to the supream court of the whole kingdom, in which all right and justice ought to shine forth without any doubt or stain, as the sun at noon-day, where poor and rich may find an infallible refuge, to enjoy the refreshments of tranquillity and peace, and for repelling of injuries, where also errors in government are to be reformed, and the state and government of king and kingdom treated upon by sage advice, and the destroying and repelling of both intestine and foreign enemies to the king and kingdom, with most convenience and honour, may be debated upon, and provided for; as also in what manner the charges incumbent upon the king and kingdom, may be born with most ease to the commonality. They conceive likewise, that since they bear the incumbent charges, it concerns them to inspect how, and by whom, their goods and chattels are expended. They say also, that it appears to them (by an ancient statute,) that if the king absent himself from his parliament voluntarily, not by reason of sickness, or for any other necessary cause, but through an inordinate will, shall wantonly absent himself by the space of forty days, as not regarding the vexation of his people, and their great expences, it shall then be lawful to all and singular of them, to return to their own homes without the king's leave: and you have now been longer absent, and have refused to come to them, for what cause they know not.

Then, said the king, I now plainly see that my people and the commons design to oppose me with force, and are about to make an insurrection against me: and if I be so infested, I think the best course I can take will be to go to my cousin, the King of France, and ask his advice, and pray in aid of him against those that way-lay me, and rather to submit myself to him, than be foiled by my own subjects. To which they replied, That counsel is not for your good, but will inevitably tend to your ruin; for the King of France is your capital enemy, and the greatest adversary that your kingdom has; and if he should set his foot within your kingdom, he would rather endeavour to prey

upon you, and invade your realm, and to depose you from your royal dignity, than afford you any assistance, if, which God forbid, you should stand in need of his help. Call to mind, therefore, how your grand-father, King Edward the III., and your father, Prince Edward for him, fought indefatigably in sweat and sorrow all their days, and went through innumerable hardships of cold and heat, to acquire the kingdom of France, which by hereditary right appertained to them, and does now to you by succession after them. Remember, likewise, how innumerable lords and commons of both realms, and kings and gentlemen of other kingdoms, and people innumerable, perished, or hazarded perishing, in that war; and that the commons of this realm poured out goods of inestimable value, and innumerable sums of money, for the carrying on of that same war; and, which is more to be lamented, they have now, in your days, undergone such heavy taxes, towards the maintaining of your wars, that they are reduced to such incredible poverty, that they cannot so much as pay their rents for their farms, nor aid the king, nor afford themselves necessaries; and the king himself is impoverished, and the lords become uneasy, and all the people faint; for a king cannot become poor, that has a rich people; nor can he be rich, whose people are poor.

And all these mischiefs redound not to the king only, but also to all and singular the peers of the realm, in proportion: and all these mischiefs happen by means of the king's evil ministers, who have hitherto misgoverned both the king and kingdom; and if some course be not taken, the kingdom of England will be miserably diminished sooner than we are aware of. But there remains yet another part of your message, which we have to impart to you, on the behalf of your people. They find it an (ancient statute) and it has been done in fact not long ago, That if the king, through any evil counsel, or foolish contumacy, or out of scorn, or some singular petulant will of his own, or by any other irregular means, shall alienate himself from his people, and shall (refuse to be governed and guided by the laws of the realm, and the statutes and laudable ordinances thereof,) together with the wholesome advice of the lords and great men of his realm, but persisting headstrong in his own hair-brained councils, shall petulantly prosecute his own humour, That then (it shall be lawful for them, with the common assent and consent of the people of the realm,) to depose that same king from his regal throne, and to set up some other of the royal blood in his room.

BIBL. COTTON.

Julius B. III. 8. Fol. 49.

Bulla Gregorii P. R. de Denariis Petri in Anglia.

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabilibus fratribus Cant. et Ebor. Archiepiscopus et eorum suffrag. et dilectis filiis abbatibus et prioribus archidiac. et eorum officialibus per regnum Anglie, constitutis ad quos iste litere pervenerint salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Qualiter denarius sancti Petri qui debetur camere nostre colligatur in Anglia et in quibus episcopatibus et diocesibus debeatur ne super hoc dubitare contingat presentibus fecimus annotari sicut in registro sedis apostolice continetur. De Cant. dioc. 8l et 18s. ster. De Lond. dioc. 16l. et 10s. De Roffen. dioc. 5l. et 7s. De Lincoln dioc. 42l. De Norwic. 21l. 10s. De Elien dioc. 5l. De Cicest. dioc. 8l. De Winton dioc 18l. 6s. et 8d. De Exon. dioc. 20l. 5s. De Wigorn. dioc. 10l. 5s. De Herford dioc. 6l. Coventr. et Litch. dioc. 10l. 5s. De Bathen. dioc. 12l. 5s. De Saresber. 17l. De Ebor. 11l. 10s. Dat. apud urbem veterem decimo kal. Maii, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY,

(Which was destroyed by the Fire there.)

Julius, B. XII. 5.

The Christening of Prince Arthur, Son to H. VII., with the ceremonies then used.

Hollinshed places the birth of Prince Arthur in 1488, being the fourth year of the reign of Henry VII. This document shews his inaccuracy.

And sone after the king departed from Westm. towarde the west parties, and hunted so to Wynchestre, where on St Eusta's day, the Prince Arture was borne, and christenede in maner and forme as ensuethe, which was the furste-begoten sonne of oure said soueureigne lorde King H. the VII., whiche was in the yere of oure Lord 1486, the dominical letter A, and the 2d yere of the reigne of oure saide soveraigne, whiche was not christene unto the Soneday thene next folowing, bycause the Erle of Oxinforde[1] was at that tyme at Lanam, in Suff. whiche shulde have ben one of the godfaders at the font; and also that seasone was al rayny. Incontynent after the birth, *Te Deum*, with processione, was songe in the cathedrall chirche, and in all the chyrches of that citie, and great and many fiers made in the stretis, and messengers sent to all the astatez and cities of the realme, with that comfortable and good tydyngis, to whom were given great giftes, and over all *Te Deum Laudamus* songon with ringging of belles, and, in the moost parties fiers made in the prasing of God, and the rejoysing of everie true Englisheman; the body of al the cathedrall chyrche of Wynchestre was hangede with clothes of arras. And in the medelle, beside the font of the said chirche, was ordeignede and preparede, a solempne fonte, in maner and forme as ensuethe: furst, there was ordeignede, in maner of a stage of 7 steppes, square or rounde, like an high crosse, coverede with rede worstede, and up in the myddes a poost, with a made of iron, to bear the fount of silver, overgilte, which within fourth was wele dressede with fyne linnen clothe, and nere the same, on the west side, a steppe like a blokk for the bishop to stonde on, coverde also with rede say; and over the font, of a good height, a riche canape, with a great gilte bolle, celid and fringede, without curteyns; and over the north side was ordeignede a travers, hanged with cloth of arras; and uppon the on side therof within fourth another travers of redde sarsenet, wherof James Hide and Robert Brent had the charge; and ther was fyer with fumygations redy agenste the Prince comyng; and withoute the grese of the sayde fount, was raylede with good tymber,and coverde as the gresis were, havyng two entres, on on the este, and another in the weste, whiche were kept by 5 yomen of the coronne, that is to say, Rake, Burle, Robert Walker, William Vaughan, and John Hoo. And aftre the Lord John Alkok, Busshop of Worcester, had halowed the fount, it was kepte by Sir David Owen, and Sir Hugh Persall, knyghtis, for the body, and Richarde Wodevile, Thomas Poyntz, John Crokker, and Thomas Braindon, esquiers, for the body, on the Sonday, when the chapell was come into the priour's great hall, whiche was the quene's great chambre: the tresourer of householde toke the say of salt to the sar-

[1] De la Vere, Earl of Oxford, a zealous partizan of the house of Lancaster. He escaped from Hammes castle, where he had been confined after the battle of Tewksbury, and joining Henry VII., contributed materially to his success at the battle of Bosworth.

geaunt of the pantery, and delyvered it to the Erle of Essex, and a towell withall, whiche the saide Yerle caste aboute his nek. In likewise the sergeant of the chaunderye a taper garnisshede with 4 wrethen bowtes and bowles, and with bane rolls and penssell, with praty imagery and scripture, the whiche the Lorde Nevell, sonne and heire of th'Earl of Westmerlande, bare. *Item*, the sergeaunt of the Evry delyverde to the sayde trezorer, a pere of gilt basons, with a towell fowlden upon theym, whiche wer delyverde to the Lorde Straunge; and as foloweth they preceded towarde the chirche: furst, ther were 20 torches borne unlight, two and two togeders, by heuxmen, squiers, gentilmen, and yomen of the coronne; the governaunce of whom had Knyston, Gedding, Pers of Wreyton, and John Amyas; after them the chapell; after the chapell ther were, withoute order, certen knyghtis and esquiers; after them, kingis of armes, herauldes, and pursurvauntis, having ther cotis on ther armes, and sergeauntis of armes, as been accustumede, and th'Earl of Derbye, and the Lorde Maltravers; after theym the basouns, the tapers, then the salte of golde coverde; and then a riche cresome,[1] whiche was pinnyde on the right breast of my Lady Anna, sister of the Quene, hanging over her left arme, Sir Richarde Gilforde, knyght constable, on the right hand, and Sir John Turburvill, knyght marshall, on the lefte hande, bearing their staves of office; and after them my Lady Cecill, the quene's eldest sister, bare the Prince, wrappede in a mantell of cremesyn clothe of golde, furred with ermyn, with a trayne whiche was borne by my Lady the Marquesse of Dorset, and Sir John Cheyny supportede the medell of the same; and the Lorde Edwarde Widevill, the Lorde Lawarre, the sonne and heire of the Lorde Audeley, and Sir John of Aroundell, bare the canapie. The Marques of Dorcett, and th'Earl of Lincolln, gave assistance to my Lady Cecill. And at this christenyng was my Lady Margaret of Clarence, my Ladye Gray Rithyn, my Lady Straunge the elder, my Ladye Lawarre, Maistres Fenys, my Lady Vaux, my Lady Darcy, Ladye Maistresse, my Lady Bray, my Lady Dame Kateryn Grey, my Lady Dame Elyonour Hant, my Lady Wodall, with dyvers other gentilwomen; and thus procedede through the cloister of th'abbey unto a litill doore beside the weest ende of the chirche, in the south parte of the saide chirche, wher was ordeynede a riche and a large clothe of estate; for the wether was to cowlde and to fowlle to have been at the west ende of the chirche; and the Queen Elizabeth was in the chirche, abyding the comyng of the Prince; at whiche tyme tydingis came, that th'Erle of Oxinforde was within a myle; and ther was the Bisshop of Worcester, Lord John Alkok, whiche christende Prince in Pontificalibus; and the Bishop of Excester, Lorde Pers Courtnay, and the Bisshop of Saresbury, Lorde Thomas Langton, th'Abbot of Hide, and the Prior of the same place, in likewise accompanyede, with many noble doctours, in riche copes and grey amys, Mayster Robert Moreton, the Maister of the Rolles, the Dean of Welles, Maister John Gonthorp, Doctor Fox, the king's secretary, with many moo. How be it, they tarried 3 oures largely and more, after the said Erle of Oxinforde; and after that, by the kingis commaundement, procedede. And th'Erle of Derbye and the Lorde Maltravers weren godfaders at the fount, and Quene Elizabeth godmoder; and incontinent after the prince was put into the fount, the officers of armes put on their cotis, and all the torches weren light, and then entrede th'Erle of Oxinford; and from the fount the prince was had to his travers, and above his cremesyn clothede as byfore; and from thens, in faire order, was borne to the high auter, and leide therupon by his godmoder.

After certyn ceremony, whan the goospel was doon, *Veni Creator Spiritus* was begon, and solemnly song on by the kingis chapell, with orgons, and *Te Deum* also, during whiche season th'Erle of Oxinforde toke the prince in his right arme, and the bisshop of Excestre confermed him, and the bisshop of Saresbury knytt the band of lynnene about his nek, and then the Marquisse of Dorcet, th'Erle of Lyncollne, and the Lord Straunge,

[1] *Chrisome;* vial, or vase, for containing the hallowed oil.

seryede Quene Elizabeth of towell and water, and Sir Roger Coton, and Maister West, served the other gosseps.[1] And by side the said high auter was ordeynede a travers for the prince, wher Quene Elizabeth gave a riche cuppe of golde coverde, which was borne by Sir Davy Owen; and th'Erle of Oxinforde gave a pere of gilte basouns, with a sayer, whiche were borne by Sir William Stoner; and th'Erle of Derbye gave a riche salte of gold coverde, which was borne by Sir Raynolde Braye; and the Lord Maltravers gave a costor of golde, whiche was borne by Sir Charles Somersett; and from thens procedede to Seynt Swythens shryne; and ther offrede, where was another travers; and iste confessor with an antyme of Seint Swythine was song on; and spices and ipocras, with other swete wynys great pleyntye; whiche doon, the prince retournede, and was borne home by my lady Cecill, accompanyede as byfore, saving the salt, the basons, and the taper, and al the torches brennyng. And in the entering of the norserye were the kingis trumpets and mynstrellis pleying on ther instrumentis; and then was he borne to the king and the quene, and had the blessing of Almyghty God, our Lady, and Seint George, and of his fader and moder; and in the chirche yerde wer sett 2 pipes of wyne, that every man myght drynke ynow. And the king gave no great largesse, only but 20 li.[2] for sake of advertisement; but ther ben presidentys ynow to be shewde of 100 li. or 100 marcs. *Memorand.* That the bisshop weshede at the font with coverede basons.

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY,

(Which was destroyed by the Fire there.)

Claudius A. VIII. Fol. 71.

The Creation of Henry Duke of Yorke, seconde Sone to King Henry the VII., [1494] *afterwards Henry VIII.*

"Henry, the king's second sonne, was created Duke of York, on Alhalowne day, at which time were made knights, the Duke of Yorke, the Lorde Harington, Lord Clifton, Lorde Dacre of the South, Lord Waren, Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir John Arundell, Sir Walter Griffith, Sir Gerveyes Clifton, Sir Robert Harcourte, Syr Edwarde Traforde, Sir Henry Merney, Sir Robert Newbrough, Sir Raulph Ryder, Sir John Sparke, Sir Humphrey Fulforde, Sir Robert Litton, Sir Pierce Edgecombe, Sir Robert Clere, Sir Thomas Farfas, Sir Richard Knightley, Sir John Cheke."—STOWE, *ad annum* 1494.

The reason of Henry VIIth's conferring the title of Duke of York at this particular time upon his son, with circumstances of splendour inconsistent with his usual parsimony, seems to have been, that a title so long popular, and beloved, might no longer remain vacant, to be seized by every ambitious competitor, as had lately happened in the case of Perkin Warbeck. Henry's prudence well knew how far a bare name works upon the minds of the people.

FURSTE, upon Alhalowen-daye, the 10th yere of the raigne of Kynge Henry the VII. betwene mateynes and masse, the kyng ded on his robys of astate royall, and crouned,

[1] This first-born of the union of York and Lancaster, was christened Arthur, on account of his father's Welch descent, which, in default of a clearer pedigree, genealogists affected to deduce from that renowned champion of Britain.

[2] The joyful occasion did not, it would seem, surprise Henry out of his wonted parsimony, which seems hardly to have satisfied the author, who was probably a herald. The largesse was the bounty given, on public occasions, to heralds and minstrels.

cam into the parleament chambere at Westminster, and there stode under hys cloth of astate, accompanied wyth the cardynall of Canterbury, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Bokyngham, the Marques Dorsett, the Erle of Oxenford, the Erle of Essex, the Erle of Kente, with dyverse other erles, all in their robys of astate. And also the substance of all the barons of the realme in theyr robys; the juges, the master of the rolls, the mayer of London, and hys brethern the aldermen, and a great company of knyghts and esquiers and other noblemen; the trumpetts ded blowe forth with owte of the cloyster galery, which ys by the nether ende of the said chamber, proceded dyverse knyghts and other noblemen toward the kyngs presence, and stode on every side of the voyd place in maner of a lane kepte for the said purpose. The officers of armes folowed accordyng to theyre degreys, the gartier principall kyng of armes, whiche presented the letters patents of the said yonge prynce, the Lorde Henry, and the Erle of Derby, bare the cappe of astate with the coronatt, the Erle of Northumberland bare the rodde of golde, and the Erle of Suffolk bare the sworde, the pomell upwards, and the Erle of Shrewysbury bare the yonge prynce tyll they were sumwhat enterid the parleament chamber, all beyng in theyr robys of astate. And then twoe of the grettest astates did lede the sayd yonge prince to the kyng's presence, doyng all theyr obbeysances as appertayneth. And the Lorde Olyver Kynge, bishop of Excestre, and the kyng's secretary, did openly rede the patent of hys creacion; and, at the wordes accustomed, creatid him Duke of Yorke, with the gyfte of a thousand pounde by yere, and hys investure and all the ceremonies doon, and delyvery of the patent to the said Duke of Yorke. The kynge beyng crowned, proceded into the quyre of his chapell, and stode in the deanys stalle, taryeng the ordering of the procession, the quene, my lady the kyng's moder was as yet in theyr closett, the cardynall of Caunterbury, in pontificalibus ded the devyne servyce. The bysshop of Ely, gospeller, the bysshop of Excestre, epistoler, the bysshop of Rochester, croyser, the bysshop of Wyncester, the bysshop of Duresme, the bysshop of Salesbury, the bysshop of London, the bysshop of Saynt Asse, certaine abbotts, and all in pontificalibus. Thys procession exceded other processions that any persone cowde remembre to have ben within the realme of England: the archbyshop of Yorke was present, but not in pontificalibus.

The Order of the Procession.

Before the kynge the Erle of Arundell bare the sword, the Erle of Derby, constable of England, beryng the staff of his office on the ryght hande, the Duke of Yorke his patent, hys verge of gold in hys hande, his cappe with coronatt on his hedde, borne by the Erle of Shrewsbery, was on the lyfte hande of the constable, and Syr John Digby bare the staffe of the marshalsie before the said Duke of Yorke.

Gartyer, principall kynge of armes, not crowned, and the mayer of London on hys lyfte hande; and before them the archebyshop of Yorke, and before hym the ambassadour of Napallys, accompanyed wyth the kyng's aulmoner, and before them the lorde stewarde, and the lorde treasurer of England; then Norrey, kynge of armys, which accompanyed Marchemont herault of Scotland; and before them the treasurer and comptroller, and before them the carver in hys robys; the residu of all the officers of armes wente on eyther syde of the procession. And after the kynge followed the Duke of Bedford, and all the other astats and lords which had theyr robus in order; after them the judges, which shoulde have gone before the carver; then the queene crowned, my lady, the kyng's mother, with a ryche coronatt; and after folowed duchesses, countesses, baronesses, ladys and gentyllwomen in great numbre; and after them folowed certayn lordes which had no robus, whiche lackyd provysion; then banerets and knyghts; then Syr Charles Somersett, and the garde folowyng hym. And the offryng and mass doon,

the kynge went to hys chamber and did off hys robus of astate, and cam into the great chamber, and creatid an harault namid Dorsett, at the requeste of the Marques Dorsett, and then washed and sett to dyner; and the cardinall of Cantorbury on his ryght honde, and non oder sate at the kynge's borde that daye, but the cardynall oonly; all the dukes, fyrste the Duke of Yorke, the Duke of Bokyngham, and dyverse erles in theyre robys of astate, sate all a longe on the ensyde of the borde, and at the bords ende, in the said parleament chamber, and in the kyngs presence, satt the Duke of Bedford, Lord —, &c. — Lord — wythoute their robus. And the second course served, the kyng's style was proclaymed as is accustumed; and after that was proclaymed and publyshed the said Duke of Yorke's style, in maner folowyng.

The kyng's largesse, Du treshalt, puissant and excellent prince, 2de fils du roy, nostre Sr Duk de York, lieutenant generall d'Ireland, conte mareschall, mareschall d'Angleterre, and gardien de Cinq. Portz. And the dyner fynisshed, and the voyde don lordes ded off theyr robus, and dyd on other aparell, and attendyd upon the kyng. And all officers, as well officers of armes as other officers, were well and honorably contented and paid off their feez and deutyes; and other officers, which cowde chalenge no dewty, but only at pleasure, were honorably rewarded bothe for his bayne and creation in more ample manner than at lyke fests in tymes passed hath bene accustumed. And the kyng gave to Gartier, his principall kyng of armes, for his son the duke aforesaid, for his vesture a gowne of cloth of gold, wrought with pecock fethers, furred with blacke conyes; and thus wyth hygh honour fynysshed that daye with other dysports.

And the 9th day of Octobre followyng began the justys; which president remayneth and is write in the books of justys.

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY,

N. B. *(This was destroyed by the Fire there.)*

Vitellius, C. XI. 12. Fol. 113.

Remembrance for the Traduction of the Princesse Katherine, Daughter to the Right Highe and Mighty Prince the King and Queen of Spaine, as herein Articles it doth appear.

This remembrance or memorandum respects the orders given for the reception of the Princess Catharine of Spain, first married to Prince Arthur, then to Henry VIII., and by him divorced, to make way for Anne Boleyn. The subsequent narrative is written in a strange and romantic style, more like that of Amadis de Gaul, than of an official narrative.

Imprimus, It is agreed, that in the month of August or September next comeinge, the said Princesse Katherine, with her company, shall be transported, God willinge, into Hampton Water. It is thought good, for asmuch as the shippes which shall passe her noble person, shall not move to come neere by three or four miles unto the kinge's port and town of Hampton; that the two barkes which the kinge our soveraigne lord caused to be rigged against the last voyadge and armie by water, that his grace caused to be

made into Scotland,[1] be richly appointed, and other barges and great boats to attend upon her said companie, be likewise well arraied and well furnished, for to bringe her said noble grace and her companie the more easily and the more assured unto the kinge's towne and porte aforesaid.

Item, It is accorded, that in the said two barkes there be some noble personages of mine to receive the same princesse at her shippe.

Item, There be lords spirituall and temporall appointed to attend upon her landinge on lande, whose names be written in the roll of the first meetinge; and therefore letters be necessarie to be sent unto them for the same purpose in time convenient.

Item, There be ladyes also appointed for to give there attendance upon the said princesse at her landinge, whose names be in a roll specified; wherefore it is requisite that the queen's letters be semblably sent unto the same ladyes for the same intent.

Item, That a proposition be made, at the first receiveing of the said princesse unto my lord steward's hands, by such one as my lorde shall move the kinge to do the act. And sithence forthwith upon the landinge of the said princesse, it seemeth accordinge that she and her company ought to enter into the chardge of the king's grace, should appointe some officers and others of his most noble houshold to make her costs and expenses, and the provision of the same.

Item, These nine persons followinge be appointed to attende upon my lord stewarde, when he shall call or send for them:

The Lord St Jones,
Sir John Risley,
Sir James Tyrrell,
Sir Walter Hungerford,
Sir David Owen,
Sir Robert Poyntes,
Sir Edward Wingfield,
Sir William Sandys,
Sir Edward Darrell.

To the intent that he and they togither may debate and commune from time to time, for the orderinge of the receiveing of the said princesse off the water, for the first meeting on lande, for her conveyinge, lodginge, and dislodginge of her and of her company, as thereunto it shall apperteine, and soe to advertize the bishops and earles of the said first meetinge, for to have their counsell and assent for the same.

Item, These forenamed persons, that is to say, my lord steward, my Lord St Jones, &c. shall see every thing put in due execution accordingly as it shall be concluded betweene the lords of the said first meetinge, and them haveinge in remembrance that servantes be not suffered to ride before, but see as they be from time to time a sufficient nomber of horsemen to ride behinde for the better order and the more honor. And in semblablewise it is thought good to be donn in the seconde and thirde meetinge by my lord steward and the other nine persons to advertize the lordes, and further, to doe for these two later meetings, as for the first meetinge, it is devised and before rehearsed.

Item, These persons ensueinge, be appointed to attend upon my lord steward at the first meeting; Richmond, king at armes, Somerset harrolde, Rouge, Dragon, and Blewmantle, pursevants. John of Roydon, Thomas Footman, Lion Chawford, John of Leighe.

Item, That my said lord steward have the rolles of the estates, and the noblemen that be appointed for the firste, the seconde and the thirde meeting for himself, and for the advice of the lords and of the knights appointed to assist him, the better and the more assuredly to conduct every thing in his due order.

Item, Good it were, because he should knowe the whole ordinance of these said tra-

[1] In 1497, Henry made great preparation for invading Scotland.

ditions, that he had a copy of the book thereof, for the better to direct all that to his charge is conteyned in the same.

Item, That certaine officers be assigned to provide for letteres for chaires, and for palfreys for the saide princesse, and for her ladies.

Item, That boats be provided to bringe the stuffe and baggages of her, and of her company, from their shippes to lande; and that horses be ordeined for the company to journey by lande, and carriages for the stuffe and baggage aforesaid.

Item, That two litteres be prepared for the said princesse's own person, the one thereof to convey her by the way untill she come to Croyden; the other to be more richly garnished then the first, to make her entrie into London.

The first Chapter, how the Princesse departed from her Father and Mother, being in Spaine, and what winds and jeopardies she suffered in her passage.

When, that after the prefixed promises between the noble kings of the royal realmes of England and of Spaine, the daughter and princes of the said kinge of Spaine, for the intent of matrimonie, to bee lawfully finished and concluded to her, prepared navie of shipps with the right sufficient guard and companie of nobles of that countrie to her assistants, limited and assigned themselves, should breifelie order and conducte. The impatient winds of that coast seem to have been greatlie agreveed, and not peaceably to suffer the fore desired passage of the said princess to the coasts of England, fatally ordained and predestinate the guifts, and also the dowrie of so godlie a ladie and princess: whereupon they cruellie, with right great hugenes of stormes and tempests, opposed with their outrageous blastes the cloathes of the said ships, inhaunced their masts out of their socketts, distroubled their tacklinge and all their whole weighe, the perillous seas with waves soe fearfull wrought and areared, that unto the rulers and crafty mariners was most to theire freighte persons to be safegarded, expediently thought to some of theire owne latelie forsaken havens they should return their course, where, within shorte seas, it contented Almightie God, that more pleasant winds should goodlie rule the journeys of the cleare aires above, throughe whose helpe and aide unto the English partes they were right shortelie convenied, and fortunatelie they arrived at Plymouth, farr in the countrie of the west.

The second Chapter, of theire arrivinge in England, and of the meetinge of the King's Grace, and divers other Estates of the Land.

Then as soon as these glad entries of the lady was knowen and apperceaved to the states and gentiles, borders of the said countrey of the west, with all godlie manner and haste speed themselves, with right honnorable guiftes, to repaire to that noble princess, and there the goodlie, with all required points and features of curtesie, saluted and welcommed her, soe escaped graciouslie her perillous jepordies, with their pleasures, presents, and those attendances, as well in the first arrivinge, as in continuall service, wayting and guideinge the said princess into the further entrance of the realme of England, towards the honnorable and ancient cittie of London, where at that time the king's noble grace was lodged and abidinge.

And first the Lord Brooke, steward of the king's house, was, by the assignment of the king's grace, directed and sent to the intent to purvay and provide for the princess and her reteinue in their journey and passage, as well for their viand, horses, carriages, and as every other necessitie, and right convenientlie so he did.

After that, the Earle of Surrey, with divers other lords temporall of the land, ensued

unto the meetinge and attendance of this worthy estate, and the princess; and after then the Duchess of Norfolke, by a like assent and will of the kinge, with a goodlie companie with her of countesses, baronneses, and many other honourable gentlewomen, repaired unto the most noble princes, and therat, her such meetinge, had shee kept forth her continuall companie and waitinge.

Notwithstandinge his highness's grace was not so intentivelie satisfied with the service and diligent attendance of his said subjects, gentiles, but bounteously set himselfe with a semelie companie of his estates, dukes, earles, barons, with others divers of knights, esquires, and gentlemen, to bee, in the fourth day of November, removed from his mannor of Richmond, toward the meeting of this goodlie lady, whose speedful journey was annoied and suffered impediment, and of his increase was so abreviate by the enclusion, that he and his present liege servant the day right far spent, so late were horsed at the said remove, the silence of the eveninge did then approache, that they weere compelled, by connyviencie at Chertsey, not verie farr from the said mannor of Richmond, to purvey and herbage for theire reposeinge that night.

The third Chapter, of the meetinge that the Prince gave the King at Easthamstead.

To-morrow clowdes were usuallie, and after the course naturallie expelled, the clear beams full ofte times the middle aire with their reflections had stroken, then the sides of there coursers with there spurres, they began to cast and extend their passage to the village of Easthamstead; ther might the lovinge English people pleasantlie perceive the pure and proper presence of Prince Arthur, the heire of their lawfull landes, and successor by grace granted by God, full solemnlie to salute his sage father before their owne presence, the which was great gladnes to all trustie hearts, that of every eache realme by wise lawes are named for the treasure.

Loe thus with his sonne, the most noble Henry of Richmont, of England, the 7th kinge of that name, full pleasantlie passed over the season of that night, and in the next morrowe to the plaines he departed, wher met with him the prothonatarie of Spaine, and ensured him that they had receaved of him by straighte injunction and commandment of their soveraigne lord of their land, that they should in no manner of wise permitt, or their ladie and princes of Spaine, whome they had to guide, and in government, to have anie meeting, ne use anie manner of communication; neither companie unto the inception of the verie daie of the solemnization of marriage; whereupon after a certaine musing of this minde of the kinge of Spaine, immediatelie ther in the fieldes, the king's grace of our realme of England, let all then that weer of his honourable councell to be in that matter advertised, howe they thought most to reason agreeable to incline to this declared purpose, or as hee intended to that ladie, hee should maintaine his passage.

And soone after the prudent insearche of everie persons both spirituall and temporalls answer, it was held by their sentance concluded, that for asmuch as due agreements in a manner complished, sith they were soe farr entered into his empire and realme, they should seeme to be in parte dischardged anenst their soveraigne and of all governance of theire said princes avoyded and excluded, and the pleasure and commandment of her to lye in the power, in grace, and disposition of our noble kinge of England.

The fourth Chapter, of the Demeanor of the Kinge, and of the Princess, in their first Meeting.

Thus his highnes advanced himselfe, leavinge the prince behinde upon the plaine, and, in the time of two or three of the clocke at afternoone, his grace entered into the towne

of Degmersfield, where the princes was two or three houres before his said comminge right well accompanied, and right richelie be seen, so as heertofore have none been seen like her, haveing with her an archebyshope, a byshop, and an earle, with manie other nobles of Spaine, and manie ladies and gentlewomen of the same countrie, to the number of threescore, and ladies and gentlewomen of this region right nighe as manye.

And as soone as the prince's servants weer ascertained of the comminge of the kinge, as the archbyshops, the bysshop, the earle with other of her retinue and councell, they shewed him that the princes was in her reste; he answered in such form, that if shee weer in her bed, he would see and commone with her, for that was the minde and intent of his comminge; and thus, convenient leisure to her respited, she gave him an honnorable meeting in her third chamber, wher were perused the most goodlie words, and uttered of the languages of both parties to as great joye and gladness as in anie persons mighte ever convenientlie have been had.

After the which welcomes and communications ended, the king's grace deposed his ridinge garments, and changed him; and by halfe season of one hower the prince was alsoe knowne to bee present, and ensuinge the kinge's highness and the lord prince, made theire second resorte together to the chamber of the princess, and there, throughe the interpretation of bysshops, the speeches of both countries, by the meane of Latyn, weer both understood. Whereas to fore they weer by deputies contracted, they here now weer their and either of other presence sponsallie ensured, the which seemelie ensurance so as it is promised honnorably ended; the kinge sped him to his supper, and after that he had supped full courteouslie with the lorde prince, visited the ladie in her owne chamber, and then she and her ladies let call her minstrells, and with right goodlie behaviour and manner, they solaced themselves with the disportes of dancinge, and afterward the lord prince in like demeanore with the Lady Guildford, danced right pleasanlie and honorablye.

The first Chapter, howe the Princess departed from Dogmersfield to London-ward, and howe the Kinge removed another Waye to the same City.

Upon the morrowe, the seventh day of the rehearsed moneth of November, the princesse on her behalfe took her journey to Chertsey, and there lodged all that night, and from thence toward Lambeth; and, or ever she came fullye to the said towne beyond a village called Kingston upon Thames, the Duke of Bukingham on horse backe, full rightlie bee seene, the Earle of Kent, the Lord Henry, the Duke's brother, and the Abbot of Burge, the which after the duke had saluted her grace, declared in Latyne a certaine propersition of her welcomminge into the realme, with a greate manie of the dukes, gentlemen, and yeamen, in his libertie of black and redd, to the number of three or four hundred personns, mett this noble lady, and at that village they lodged all that night; and soe accompanied with her as a guide in the morne right honnorably conducted her to her saide lodginge at Lambethe, wher shee continued unto suche season as her enteringe into the citty of London might most convenientlie in everie manner behalfe bee prepared, as well on her partie of the retinewe of Spayne, as to her assistants of the realme of England by our soveraigne, assigned partely to the encrease and magnifying of her honnor and estate; secondly, to the maintenance of the old and famous appetites that the English people have ever used in the welcominge of their acceptable and well beloved strangers.

The kings highnes alsoe in his partie removed from the said princess another waye, towards the cittie of London, and the first nighte hee lodged at Easthamstead, where as his grace had beene before in his first comminge to the Lady Princess. And upon the morrowe the 8th daye of the rehearsed moneth of November, hee nighted at his Castle

of Windsore, the 9th daye of the same moneth,* in his mannor of Richmond, himselfe reporse where the queenes grace mett with him, whome he ascertained, and made privie of the acts and demeanors betwene himselfe, and the prince, and the princess, and howe hee liked her person and behaviour; and the tenth day ensuinge, he rode till hee came to Paris-garden, upon the further side of the river from London, and ther hee tooke his barge, and was sett up at his lodginge, called Bainards-castle, within the same cittie, seitt upon the Thames side, right pleasantlie towards the water, within forth full well garnished and arraied, full stronglie with walles encompassed withoute, wherto his prudent and noble audience all manner of matters had theire recourse, that to his owne person weer appertaininge for his owne honnor and right to all his whole realme for comforte and justice; and alsoe for the inductinge of this noble ladie and princess of Spayne, and his ther setteinge upp and landinge the queen's grace, by water, in her barge, with her godlie companie of ladies, was there presentlie landed and entered in. [1]

[1] Stowe thus narrates the ceremonies of the marriage between Arthur and his bride:—"The 9th of November Prince Arthur, with a goodly company, came through Fleet-street of London to St Paules, and so to the wardrobe by the Blake friers, and there was lodged. And the same day came the Lady Katherine Princesse vnto Lambeth, where she with her ladies was lodged in the Archbishop's inne of Canterbury: and upon the Friday next following, about two of the clock at afternoone, the said lady princes, accompained with many lords and ladies, in most sumptuous manner apparelled, came riding from Lambeth into Southwark, and so to London bridge, where was ordeined a costlie pageant of St Katherine and St Vrsula, with many virgins: from thence shee rode to Gracestreete, where was ordeined a second pageant, from thence to the condict in Cornehill, where was another pageant. The great condict in Cheape ran with Gascoine wine, and was furnished with musick. Against Soperlane-end was the fourth pageant. At the Standard in Cheape was ordeined the fifth pageant. At Pauls gate was ordeined the sixth pageant; by which the Princesse rode through Paules church-yard vnto the Bishop of London's palace, where she and her people were lodged.

"Now within the church of St Paul, to wit, from the west gate of it, vnto the uppermost greese or step at the going in of the quier, was made a pace of timber and boords to go vpon, from the said west doore vnto the forenamed greese, of the height of six foote from the ground, or more: and foreanenst the place where the commissaris court is kept within the said church, was ordeined a standing like vnto a mountaine, with steps on euery side, which was couered ouer with red wursted, and in likewise was all the railes: against which mountaine, vpon the north side, within the foresaid place of the commissaries court, was ordeigned a standing for the king, and such other as liked him to haue: and on the south side, almost for against the king's standing, was ordeigned a scaffold, whereupon stoode the maior and his brethren.

"Then vpon the 14. of Nouember, being Sunday, vpon the aboue named mountaine, was Prince Arthur, about the age of 15 yeares, and the Lady Katherine, about the age of 18 yeares, both clad in white sattine, married by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by 19 bishops and abbots mitered. And the king, the queene, the king's mother, stood in the place aforenamed, where they hearde and beheld the solemnization, which being finished, the said archbishop and bishops tooke their way from the mountaine, vpon the saide pace, couered vnder foote with blew rey-cloth vnto the quier, and so to the high altar, whom followed the spouse and spouses, the lady Cicile, sister to the quene, bearing her traine; after her followed 100 ladies and gentlewomen, in right costly apparell, then the maior in a gown of crimson veluet, and his brethren in scarlet, with the sword born before the maior, and sate in the quier the masse-while; the archbishop of Yorke sate in the deane's place, and offred as chiefe, and after him the Duke of Buckingham, &c. Woonderfull it was to behold the riches of apparel worn that day, with the poisant chaines of gold; of which, two were specially noted, to wit, Sir T. Brandon, knight, master of the king's horse, which that day wore a chain valued at 1400 pound; and the other, W. de Riuers, esquirere, master of the king haukes, whose chaine was valued at a thousand pound; many more were of 200, 300, and so foorth; these were not noted for length, but for the greatnesse of the linkes. Also, the Duke of Buckingham ware a gowne wrought of needle worke, and set upon clothe of tissue, furred with sables, the which gowne was valued at 1500l. and Sir Nicholas Vause, knight, ware a gown of purple veluet, pight with peeces of gold, so thick and massie, that it was valued in golde, besides the silke and fur, a thousand pound: which chaines and garments were valued by goldsmiths of best skill, and them that wrought them. The masse being finished, the princesse was led by Henry Duke of Yorke, and a legate of Spain, by the foresaid pace, into the palace, going before her men of honor, to the number of 160, with gentlemen and other. There came vnto the maior, Sir Richard Crofts, steward of the princes house, which brought him and his brethren the aldermen into the great hall, and at a table vpon the west side of the hall, caused them to bee set to dinner, where honorablie were they serued with 12 dishes to a masse at the first course, 15 the second course, and 18 dishes the third course. In this hall was a cupboord of five stages height, being triangled, the which was neuer mooved at that day: and in the vtter chamber, where the princesse dined, was a cupboord of gold plate, garnished with stone and pearle, valued aboue 20,000 pound. The Tuesday following the king and queene, being all this season at Bainards castle, came vnto Powles, and heard there masse, and then, accompanied with many noble, went into the palace, and there dined with

THE ENTRY OF CHARLES I. INTO LONDON.

The meeting of the Emperor, his Grace, with the Lord Mayor of London, and his Brethren, with all other Crafts of the said City in their Liveries.

These orders for preparing a solemn entry, refer to Charles V^th^'s second visit to England in 1522. In his first visit he was accompanied by the Queen of Arragon. Speed gives the following account of his reception upon the present occasion:—"Charles the Emperour, as he passed toward Spaine, landed at Douer, where King Henry met him, and in great estate brought him to London; which was so prepared with ornaments and pageants, as if it had been the king's coronation; and in the Blackfriers the emperour was lodged, in a most princely pallace, new built by the king; then was he feasted at Windsore, where he sate in his state, in his mantle and garter, and by receiving the sacrament these two potent monarches took their corporall oaths to obserue the couenants concluded betwixt them: whereof one was, that the Emperor Charles agreed to stay for, and to take to wife the young princesse, Lady Mary, King Henrie's then only daughter; and in such golden bands of loue, Charles and Henry seemed to be linked, as in London this sentence was set vp in the Guildhall, ouer the doore of the Counsell Chamber, where it still remaineth:

"*Carolus, Henricus, vivant, defensor vterque*
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesiæ."

FIRST, the said lord mayor must meet him at Deptford, and there shall receive him with procession.

Also at London bridge there shall be two great giants standing at either side of the gate, which shall deliver to the king's grace the keys, and the king to deliver them to the emperor.

Also upon the draw-bridge shall be one pageant of Jason with the golden fleece; because the emperor giveth the golden fleece, as the king of England doth give the garter.

the princesse. This day Sir Nicholas Vause ware a coller of esses, which weied, as the goldsmithes that made it reported, 800 pounde of nobles: and the same day, at afternoon, the said princes were conueied, with many lords and ladies, vnto Powles wharf, where the said estates took their barges, and were rowed to Westminster, vpon whom the maior attended, with the aldermen and fellowships in barges, garnished with banners and other deuises, musick, &c. Thus much for that marriage."—STOWE's *Annals, ad annum* 1501.

Master Edward Hall describes the splendour of the nuptials with yet more emphasis:—"I passe ouer (saith he) the wise deuises, the prudent speeches, the costlie works, the cunning portratures, practised and set forth in seuen goodlie beautifull pageants, erected and set foorth in diuerse places of the citie. I leave also the goodlie ballades, the sweet harmonies, the musical instruments, which sounded with heauenlie noise on euery side of the streets. I omit further, the costlie apparel, both of goldsmiths worke and embroiderie, the rich jewels, the massie chaines, the stirring horses, the beautifull bards, and the glittering trappers, both with belles and spangles of gold. I pretermit also the rich apparell of the princesse, the strange fashion of the Spanish nation, the beauty of the yoong damosels, the amorous countenance of the lustie bachelers. I passe ouer also the fine ingrained clothes, the costlie furs of the citizens, standing on scaffolds, raised from Gracechurch to Paules. What should I speake of the odoriferous scarlets, the fine velvets, the pleasant furres, the massie chaines, which the maior of London, sitting on horsebacke, at the little conduit in Cheape, ware on their bodies, and about their necks? I will not speake of the riche arras, the costlie tapestrie, the fine clothes, both of gold and silver, the curious veluets, the beautifull sattens, nor the pleasant silkes, which did hang in euerie street where she passed; the wine that ran continuallie out of the conduits, and the graueling of the streets needeth not to be remembered."

Also there shall be set, in the likeness of the emperor, and all the kings that hold of the emperor, with crowns on their heads.

Also at the conduit in Gracechurch-street, there shall sit one man, in likeness of King Charles, with an emperor's crown upon his head, the emperor sitting on the right hand, and the king of England on the left hand of him; and he shall have two swords in his hand, and deliver one sword to the emperor, the other to the king's grace.

That is to understand, to the emperor as heir apparent, and to the king's grace as heir and governor generall.

Also at the Leadenhall shall be one pageant of the Duke of Lancaster, how he was married in Spain, and of all his lineage that came of him since that time, and targetts upon them, that they may be known, and their arms upon the targetts, to be known thereby.

At the conduit in Cornehill shall sit King Arthur as an emperor, and all the kings crowned that did hold of him.

Then he shall present the king with one sword, and welcome the emperor with a speech.

Also at the conduit in the stocks, there shall be made one castle and an orchard, and one garden made by advice, and shall be with birds singing upon trees, and divers manner of wild beasts, and motes with sluices, with fishes swimming in them.

And out of two ports of the corners shall come two men, one like the king, another like the emperor, having two swords in their hands, clean armed, and shall meet and kiss, and the Father of heaven being over their heads, blessing them.

Also at the great conduit in Cheapside shall be two ports, one shall be the east gate, and the other shall be the west; and at the coming of the east gate there shall be there a rose, like to the bud of a rose, and so to come down and open more and more, and at the last it shall be opened all.

And there shall be a maiden with a red rose and a white in her hands, cloathed in cloath of gold, delivering unto the king the red rose, and to the emperor the white rose.

Also at the standard in the Cheap there shall be the storie of King Solomon, with his progeny.

Also a cross in the Cheap, gilded after the best manner.

Also at the little conduit in the Cheap shall be the assumption of Our Lady, as goodly as can be wrought, &c. angels, archangells, patriarchs, prophets, with the apostles in the heavenlyest manner. The sun, the moon, with the starrs shining bright, which shall open and bow down to the honour of Our Lady, with voices of young choiristers, the which shall sing most sweetly, as may be devised by musick.

SPEECHES IN THE TRIAL OF DIVORCE BETWEEN HENRY VIII. AND QUEEN CATHERINE.

The four following articles are the Speeches of the different parties at the famous trial of Divorce, before Wolsey and Campeius, as papal commissioners, 21st June, 1529. The Speeches are here given rather more fully than in the Chronicles.

The Speech of Queen Katherine, which she made when she was called upon, about the Divorce of her and the King, who rose out of her chair, and came to the King, and kneeling down at his feet, said as followeth:

Sir,

In what have I offended you? Or what occasion of displeasure have I given you, intending thus to put me from you? I take God to be my judge, I have been to you a

true and humble wife, ever comformable to your will and pleasure; never contradicting or gain-saying you in any thing: being always contented with all things, wherein you had any delight, or took any pleasure, without grudge, or countenance of discontent or displeasure. I loved, for your sake, all them whom you loved, whether I had cause or no; whether they were my friends, or my enemies. I have been your wife these twenty years or more, and you had by me divers children; and when you had me first, I take God to be my judge, that I was a maid: and whether it be true or no, I put it to your own conscience. If there be any just cause that you can alledge against me, either of dishonesty, or matter lawful to put me from you, I am content to depart, to my shame and confusion; and if there be none, then I pray you to let me have justice at your hands. The king, your father, was, in his time, of such an excellent wit, that he was accounted amongst all men for wisdom, to be a second Solomon; and the king of Spain, my father Fardinand, was accounted one of the wisest princes that had reigned in Spain for many years. It is not, therefore, to be doubted, but that they had gathered as wise counsellors unto them, of every realm, as to their wisdoms they thought meet: And I conceive, that there were in those days, as wise and well-learned men, in both the realms, as be now at this day, who thought the marriage between you and me good and lawful. Therefore it is a wonder to me, what new inventions are now invented against me. And now to put me to stand to the order and judgment of this court, seems very unreasonable. For you may condemn me for want of being able to answer for myself; as having no council, but such as you assigned me; who cannot be indifferent on my part, since they are your own subjects, and such as you have taken, and chosen out of your own council; whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your will, and intent. Therefore I humbly pray you, to spare me, untill I may know, what council my friends in Spain will advise me to take: and if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled.—*And with that she rose up, and departed, never more appearing in any court.*

King Henry the VIIIth's Speech upon the Queen's departure out of the Court.

I WILL now, in her absence, declare this unto you all, That she has been unto me as true and obedient a wife, as I could wish, or desire. She has all the virtuous qualities, that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of mean condition. She is also surely a noble woman born: Her condition will well declare it.

The Speech of Queen Katherine to Cardinal Campeius, and Wolsey, they being sent by the King.

MY lords, I cannot answer you so suddenly; for I was set, among my maids, at work, little thinking of any such matter; wherein there needs a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine, to make answer. For I have need of council in this case, which concerns me so near: and for any council, or friends that I can find in England, they are not for my profit. For it is not likely that any Englishman will council me, or be a friend to me against the king's pleasure, since they are his subjects; and for my council, in which I may trust, they are in Spain.

The Speech of Cardinal Campeius, upon King Henry the VIIIth's calling for Judgment.

I WILL not give judgment, till I have made relation to the pope of all our proceedings; whose council, and command, I will observe. The matter is too high for us to give an hasty judgment, considering the highness of the persons, and doubtfulness of the case; and also whose commissioners we be, under whose authority we sit. It were therefore reason that we should make our chief head a council in the same, before we proceed to a definitive sentence. I came not to please, for favour, need, or dread, of any person alive, be he king, or otherwise. I have no such respect to the person, that I will offend my conscience. I will not, for the favour or disfavour of any high estate, do that thing, which shall be against the will of God.—*I am an old man, (both weak and sickly) that look daily for death. I will not wade any farther in this matter, untill I have the opinion and assent of the pope.*

OATH MADE TO HENRY THE EIGHTH.

The Parliament which met 25 January 1534, formally abolished the papal authority in England, and settled the terms of an oath of supremacy, to be taken to the king as head of the church, and which was administered to the subjects by royal commissioners named for that purpose.

Formula seu Exemplar Professionis et Juramenti exhibiti Henrico Octavo Regi per Episcopos et Clerum in Convocatione in Parliamento, Anno Domini 1534. *Contra Authoritatem Romani Pontificis, &c.*

INVICTISSIMO ac pientissimo in Christo principi et domino nostro, Domino Henrico Octavo, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defensori, domino Hiberniæ, ac in terris supremo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sub Christo, capiti; vestri humiles subditi et devotissimi oratores.

Reverentiam et obedientiam tam excellenti et præpotenti principi, debitas et condignas, cum omni subjectionis honore.

Nos non vi aut metu coacti, dolove, aut aliqua alia sinistra machinatione ad hoc inducti, sive seducti, sed ex nostris certis scientiis, animis deliberatis, merisque et spontaneis voluntatibus, purè, spontè, et absolutè in verbo sacerdotii, profitemur, spondemus ac juramus illustrissimæ vestræ majestati, singulari ac summo domino nostro et patrono Henrico octavo, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defensori, domino Hiberniæ, ac in terris ecclesiæ supremo immediatè sub Christo, capiti, quod posthac, nulli externo imperatori, regi, principi aut prælato, nec Romano pontifici, quem papem vocant, fidelitatem aut obedientiam, verbo vel scripto, simpliciter vel sub juramento, promittemus, aut dabimus, vel dari curabimus: sed omni tempore, casu, et conditione, partes vestræ regiæ majestatis, ac successorum vestrorum, sequemur et observabimus, et pro virili defendemus contra omnem hominem, quem vestræ majestati, aut successoribus vestris adversarium cognoscemus, vel suspicabimur: solique vestræ regiæ majestati, velut supremo nostro principi et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ capiti fidelitatem et obedientiam, sincerè et ex animo

præstabimus. Papatum Romanum non esse a deo in sacris literis ordinatum, profitemur sed humanitùs traditum constantèr affirmamus et palam declaramus, ac declarabimu, et ut alii sic publicent diligentèr curabimus. Nec tractatum cum quocunque mortalium, privatìm aut publicè inibimus aut consentiemus, quod pontifex Romanus aliquam auctoritatem, vel jurisdictionem ampliùs hic habeat aut exerceat, aut ad ullam posthac restituatur. Ipsumque Romanum episcopum modernum, aut ejus in illo episcopatu successorem quemcunque non papam, non summum pontificem, non universalem episcopum nec santissimum dominum sed solum Romanum episcopum vel pontificem, ut priscis mos erat scienter publicè asseremus. Juraq. et statuta hujus regni pro extirpatione et sublatione papatus et auctoritatis ac jurisdictionis dicti Romani episcopi, quandocunq. ædita sive sancita pro viribus, licentiâ et ingeniolis nostris ipsi firmiter observabimus, et ab aliis sic observari, quantum in nobis fuerit curabimus atq. efficiemus. Nec posthac ad dictum Romanum episcopum appellabimus aut appellanti consentiemus; nec in ejus curiâ pro jure aut justitiâ agemus, aut agenti respondebimus, nec ibidem accusatoris vel rei personam sustinebimus. Et si quid dictus episcopus per nuncium vel per litteras nobis significaverit qualecunq id fuerit, illud quàm citissimè commodè poterimus, aut vestræ regiæ majestati, aut vestris a secretis consiliariis, vestrive successoribus aut eorum a secretis consiliariis significabimus aut significari faciemus. Nosq. litteras aut nuncium ad eundem Romanum episcopum vel ejus curiam nec mittemus nec mitti faciemus, nisi vestrâ majestate conscià et consciente aut vestro successore, quod dictæ littore vel nuncius, ad illum deferatur: bullas, brevia aut rescripta quecunq. pro nobis vel aliis ab episcopo Romano, vel ejus curia non impetrabimus, vel ut talia quovis impetrentur, non consulemus. Et si talia pro nobis insciis aut ignorantibus generalitèr vel specialitèr impetrabuntur, vel aliâs quomodolibet concedentur, eis renunciabimus et non consentiemus, nec utemur eisdem ullo modo: at eas vestræ majestati aut successoribus vestris tradi curabimus. Exemptioni vero, qua Romano episcopo, vel summo (quem vocant) pontifici aut ipsi quocunq. nomine appelletur, ejusve Romanæ ecclesiæ mediatè vel immediatè subjecti sumus vel fuimus, ipsiusq. concessionibus privilegiis, largitionibus indultis quibuscunq. expressè in his scriptis renuntiamus et soli vestræ majestati nos subditos et subjectos profitemur ac nos subjicimus et solummodò subditos fore spondemus. Nec eidem Romano pontifici, vel ejus nunciis, oratoribus, collectoribus aut legatis, ullam procurationem, pentionem, portionem, censum, aut quamcunq. aliam pecuniarum summam, quocunq. nomine appelletur, per nos aut interpositam personam vel personas, solvemus, nec solvi faciemus. Preterea in vim pacti, profitemur et spondemus ac in verbo sacerdotali et sub fidelitate vestrâ majestate debita, et nostra coram deo conscientia promittimus, quod contra hanc nostram prædictam professionem et sponsionem, nulla dispensatione, nulla exceptione, nulla appellatione aut provocatione, nullovè juris vel facti remedio, nos utebimur: et si quam protestationem in præjudicium hujus professionis et sponsionis fecimus, eam in præsens et in omne tempus, futurum revocamus et eidem renunciamus per præsentes litteras, quibus vel propriis vel procuratorum nostrorum de mandato nostro manibus nomina nostra subscripsimus ac eas nostri communis sigilli appensione et notarii publici infrascripti signo et subscriptione communiri curavimus. Dat. et acta in domo nostrâ capitulari.

Et ego Johannes Rheseus notarius, quia professioni sponsioni, juramenti præstationi, ac cæteris præmissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut præmittitur sub anno, mense, die, et loco prædictis agerentur et fierent una cum prænominatis testibus, personalitèr interfui, eaq. sic fieri et interponi vidi et audivi, ac mox ut gesta sunt in notam excepi. Ideo hoc præsens publicum instrumentum inde confeci et in hanc publicam et autenticam formam redegi. signoq. meo tabellionali, ac nomine et cognomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi, meq. hic subscripsi, in fidem et testimonium omnium et sigulorum præmissorum, rogatus legittimè et requisitus.

THE SAME IN ENGLISH.

The Forme, or Example of the Profession and Oath exhibited to Henry VIII. king of England, by the Bishops and Clergie assembled in the Convocation in Parliament, held anno Dom. 1534, *against the Pope's authoritie, &c.*

To the most invincible and our most pious lord in Christ, the Lord Henry the eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and on earth, under Christ, supreme head of the Church of England, your humble subjects and most obliged supplicants.

Reverence and obedience due to, and worthy of so excellent and mighty a prince, with all honour of subjection.

Wee, not constreyned by force or feare, not hereunto induced or seduced by anie deceipt or other sinister machination, but out of our own certain knowledge, deliberate mindes and meere and spontaneous wills, doe, purely of our owne accorde, and absolutely in the word of our priesthood, professe, promise, and sweare, unto your most illustrious majesty, our singular and most high lord and patron, Henry the eighth, by the grace of God, King of England and France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and on earth of the English Church, immediately under Christ, supream head: That from henceforth wee will promise or give, or cause to be given, to no forreigne emperor, king, prince, or prelat, nor to the bishop of Rome, (whom they call Pope) fidelity or obedience in word or writing, simple or by oath; but at all times, in every case and condition, wee will follow and observe, and to our power defend the parts of your royall majestie, and of your successors, against everie man whom wee shall know or suspect to be an adversarie to your majestie, or to your successors: and wee will sincerely and heartily perform fidelity and obedience to your royall majesty alone, as to our supreme prince, and head of the English Church: wee professe that the papacy of Rome is not ordayned by God in holy writte, but that it is of human tradition; wee constantly affirm, and openly doe declare, and will declare, and will diligently take care that others shall so publish the same. Neither will we privatly or publickly treate with anie mortall man, or give our consent, that the bishop of Rome maie here have, or exercise anie longer, anie authoritie or jurisdiction, or that he mai hereafter be restored to anie. And wee doe knowinglie, publikelie averre the modern bishop of Rome, or his successor in that bishoprick whosoever, not to be pope, nor high priest, nor universall bishop, nor the most high lord, but only bishop or prelate of Rome, as by our auncestors used: and the lawes and statutes of this realme, at any time set forth and enacted, for the extirpation and taking away of poperie, and of the authoritie and jurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome, wee will, after our strength, knowledge, and witt, firmly observe ourselves, and, as much as in us lies, will take care, and cause the same to be in like manner observed by others: neither will wee henceforth appeale to the said bishope of Rome, or consente to any that shall appeale: neither will wee act in his court for right or justice, nor will answer to anie that there doth act, nor will there take upon us the person of a plaintiffe or defendant: and if the said bishop, by message, or by his letters, shall signifie any thing unto us, whatsoever it be, wee will, as soon as convenientlie wee mai, signifie or cause the same to be signified, either to your royall majesty, or to your privye councell, or to your successors, or to their privye councell; and wee will neither send, or cause to be sent, anie letters or message to the said bishop of Rome, or to his court, unlesse your majestie, or your successor, first know or consent that such letter or message shall be sent to him. Wee will not procure anie bulls, briefes, or rescripts whatsoever, for ourselves or others, from the Bishop of Rome, or his court, neither will wee councell anie such to be procured by anie

other. And if anie such shall be procured generallie or speciallie for us without our knowledge, or any otherwise shall be granted, wee will renounce the same, nor will wee consent thereto, nor anie way use the same, but will take care that the same be delivered to your majestie, or to your successors. And wee do by this writing expresly renounce all exemption whereby, mediately or immediately, we are or have been subject to the bishop of Rome, highest prelate (as they call him,) or to him by what name soever he is called, or to his church of Rome, and all his graunts, priviledges, gifts, whatsoever conferred; and wee professe ourselves to be subjects and vassalls to your majestie alone, and wee doe thereto submit ourselves, and promise only to be subject thereunto. Neither will wee by ourselves, or by any other interposed person or persons, pay, or cause to be paid, to the said bishop of Rome, or to his messengers, orators, collectors, or legates, anie procuration, pention, portion, taxes, or any other summe of moneys, by what name soever it be called. Moreover, to confirme this our covenant, wee professe and undertake, and in the word of a priest, and under the fidelitie due to your majestie and our own conscience before God, we promise, that, against this our aforesaid profession and undertaking, wee will use no dispensation, noe exception, noe appellation or provocation, and noe remedie of law or of fact; and if wee have made anie protestation to the hinderance of this our profession and undertaking, wee do revoke the same, for the time present, and for all time to come, and do renounce the same by theise present letters; whereunto wee have subscribed our names, either under our owne hands, or the hands of our procurators at our request: and the same wee have caused to be confirmed by the fixing of our common seale thereto, and by the marke and subscription of the publike notarie under written. Dated and acted in our Chapter-House.

And I John Rhese notarie, forasmuch as I was personallie present at the profession, sponsion, performance of the oath, and all and singuler other the premisses, with the witnesses before named, when they were acted and done soe as aforesaid, in the yeare, month, daie and place aforesaid, and sawe and heard the same soe done, and interposed, and forthwith took notice of them as they were done: I have therefor caused thereupon this publike instrument to be made, and reduced it into this publike and authentique forme, and signed the same with my notarie signe, with my usuall and accustomed name and surname; and in faith and testimony of all and singuler the premisses being hereunto lawfullie desired and required, I have hereunto subscribed myselfe.

SPEECH AGAINST THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

A Speech made at the Council-Board, on the King's taking upon him the Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

This speech may have been made by the celebrated Sir Thomas More; at least it contains his sentiments.

Sir,

Your highness is come to a point which needs a strong and firm resolution; it being not only the most important in it self, that can be presented; but likewise of that consequence, that it will comprehend your kingdom and posterity. It is, whether in this business of your divorce, and second marriage, as well as in all other ecclesiastical affairs in your dominions, you would make use of your own, or the pope's authority. For my

own part, as an Englishman, and your highness's subject, I must wish all power in your highness. But when I consider the antient practice of this kingdom, I cannot but think any innovation dangerous. For, if in every temporal estate, it be necessary to come to some supream authority, whence all inferior magistracy should be derived; it seem much more necessary in religion; both, as the body thereof seems more susceptible of a head, than any else, and as that head, again must direct so many others; we should, therefore, above all things, labour to keep an unity in the parts thereof; as being the sacred bond, which knits and holds together, not its own alone, but all other government. But how much, sir, should we recede from the dignity thereof, if we (at once) retrenched this its chief and most eminent part? And, who ever liked that body long, whose head was taken away? Certainly, sir, an authority received for many ages, ought not rashly to be rejected. For, is not the pope *communis pater*, in the christian world, and arbiter of their differences? Does not he support the majesty of religion, and vindicate it from neglect? Does not the holding his authority from God, keep men in awe, not of temporal alone, but eternal punishments; and therein extend his power beyond death itself? And will it be secure to lay aside those potent means of reducing people to their duty, and trust only to the sword of justice, and secular arms? Besides, who shall mitigate the rigor of laws in those cases, which may admit exception, if the pope be taken away? Who shall presume to give orders, or administer the sacraments of the Church? Who shall be depository of the oaths and leagues of princes? or, fulminate against the perjured infractors of them? For my part (as affairs now stand) I find not, how either a general peace amongst princes, or any equal moderation in human affairs, can be well conserved without him. For, as his court is a kind of chancery to all other courts of justice in the Christian world; so if you take it away, you subvert that equity, and conscience, which should be the rule and interpreter of all laws and constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that I wish your highness (as my king and soveraign) all true greatness and happiness; but think it not fit (in this case) that your right ecclesiastical government is innovated; or enquire how far they are bound thereby; since, beside that it might cause division, and hazard the overthrow, both of the one and the other authority, it would give that offence and scandal abroad, that foreign princes would both reprove and disallow all our proceedings in this kind, and, upon occasion, be disposed easily to joyn against us.

SPEECH OF DR JOHN FISHER.

A Speech made in the Upper-House of Parliament, by Dr John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, in Opposition to the Suppressing of the Lesser Monastries.

This speech was delivered in November 1529. Hall says, that "some of the lords were pleased, others displeased. And the Duke of Norfolk, addressing himself to the Bishop, said, 'My lord of Rochester, many of these words might have been well spared; but I wis that it is often seen that the greatest clerks are not always the wisest men.' To which the Bishop replied, 'My lord, I do not remember any fools in my time that ever proved great clerks.' But when the commons heard of it, they were all in a flame, and sent their speaker, Thomas Audeley, to complain to the king: who thereupon sent for the Bishop, and asked him, 'Why he spake thus?' The Bishop answered, 'That being in counsel, he spake his mind in defence of the church, whom he saw daily injured, and oppressed by the common people, whose office it was not to judge of her manners, much less to reform them, and therefore he thought himself in conscience bound to defend her in all that lay within his power.' The king bid him 'use his words more temperately,' and that was all, which gave the commons little satisfaction."

The subsequent fate of the aged bishop is well known. He was beheaded on Towerhill after a year's imprisonment, for refusing the oath of supremacy, or, as the record expresses it, for having said, "the king our sovereign lord is not supreme head on earth of the church of England," 22 June, 1535.

MY HONORED LORDS,

THIS is the place where your glorious and noble progenitors have paternized the kingdom from oppression. Here is the sanctuary where, in all ages but this of ours, our mother church found still a sound protection. I should be infinitly sorrowful, that from you, that are so lovely branches of antiquity, and catholick honour, the catholick faith should be so deeply wounded. For God's and your own goodness-sake, leave not to posterity, so great a blemish, that you were the first, and only those that give it up to ruine. Where there is cause you nobly punish, and with justice; but beware of infringing so long continued priviliges, or denying the members of the church, the very parts of their advantage that is enjoyed by every private subject. The commons shoot their arrows at our livings, which are the motives that conceit us (or make us to be conceived) guilty. Is all the kingdom innocent, and we only faulty, that there is no room left for other considerations, far more weighty? the diligence, devotion, and liberality of your great forefathers endowed their mother church with fair and large revenues, making it still their greatest care to keep her upright, able, still in freedom: and will you give consent, that like a servile bond-maid, she now sinks lower to a naked thraldom, and, by degrees, be forced from her mansion? If not, to what end serves the flux of these positions, that taint your ears with language far unfit the ears of christian princes? These strike not at the withered branches, but at the tree, on which religion groweth. Certainly, all are not guilty. Admite that some, as they enforce (or urge) be vicious, must it conclude there is none good amongst us, or able to reform their proper vices? Will you assume a power, till now unheard of; give away their rites by new made statutes? If you will seek and sift our constitutions, you shall there find as strict injunctions, as you can make, for reformation. But, I suppose, it is not that is aimed at; pretence of restauration (or reformation) tends to ruine, else such beginings could not find such favour. My lords, consider well your actions; be advised. This cause seems only ours; it will be yours, if that the mother church do feel injustice. Your turns are next to feel the like oppression. When faith begins to fail, then all must perish. Heretick (or heretical) fancies taint the common people, whom novelties betray, even to perdition. Let neighbour nations tell you your own story. Husse, Luther, and such frantick teachers, cry out against the Church in all their sermons; they do pretend nothing but reformation, when they themselves are deepest dyed in mischief. What follows them, (to wit perdition) we may expect in justice. The churche's wealth occasioned this first moving. If that were poor, our vices would be vertues, and none would be forward to accuse us. What can we look for then but desolation, where private ends are made a publick grievance? Our lesser houses are desired from us; not that their value doth deserve the motion; but, that the greater may succeed their fortune; which soon will follow, if the gap be open'd. The king himself, I hope, is too gracious, to set abroach an action so disordered. Nor, can I think, the lower House of Commons will be so blind, to second this loose motion. Some giddy-brain, whose faiding fortunes lead him to hope to raise himself out of our ruins, betrays their judgments with a shew of justice; which seeks in truth but mearly innovation, which must succeed, unless you do oppose it. Wherefore, my lords, call back that antient virtue, that so long time hath sat in these your places. Now is the time to shew your worth; the church implores it, the church which you acknowledge for your mother. If liberty take place of faith, farewel religion. The Turk may than direct us how to guide in rapine, blood, and murder;

foul dissention proceeds from want of good devotion. The lack of faith, begets these strange conceptions, which time will make stark dead, if we continue.

HENRY VIII.

THE BEGGARS' PETITION AGAINST POPERY.

The very Beggars Petition against Popery; wherein they lamentably complain to King Henry the Eighth of the clergy: 1. *Of their abominable covetousness and oppression, in several particulars, from* § 3, *to* § 13. 2. *Of their insatiable lechery, being devils at women; and how they apply themselves, by all sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, daughter, and maid (as well ladies, as meaner persons, when they come in their way) from* § 13, *to* § 17. 3. *They brought in theft with them, and nourished it under them,* § 17. 4. *That they baffled all laws, that none could take hold of them, though they ravished men's wives and daughters (which that cursed crew would be at again, though not in that seeming holy method, but now in an open, odious, debauched way, like infernal incubusses, who now have naturalised succubusses for their turn, &c.) for the law was too weak to hold them; they making such as begin with them quickly to cease prosecuting them,* § 18. 5. *An example hereof see in the bishop of London,* § 19. 6. *Though the statute of mortmain was made to prevent giving them any more, yet still they got more than any Duke,* § 20 *and* 21. 7. *Their yearly exactions came by cursed pretensions of praying people's souls out of purgatory, &c.* § 22. 8. *This doctrine of purgatory was always opposed by godly, learned men,* § 23 *and* 24. 9. *Their hellish policy, in not suffering the New Testament to be translated into the mother-tongue, lest their hypocrisy and cheating should be discovered,* § 25, 26. 10. *The impudence of Dr Allen and Dr Horsey, fined to the king, but afterwards, therefore, amply rewarded by the clergy,* § 27. 11. *The reason of this was, because the chancellor was one of them,* viz. *a clergyman,* § 28. 12. *The cheat of giving lands, or money, to the church for the poor, or masses,* § 30. 13. *They petition to turn these blood-suppers out to labour, and get them wives of their own,* § 31. 14. *The benefits and advantages of so doing, &c.* § 31, 32. *These arguments, and the like, prevailed with this King to cast off the Pope's authority, and why any should be so foolishly wicked, as to think to return us to it, I know not; most certainly they will find themselves deceived, with a vengeance, &c.*

Presented to King Henry the Eighth, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, Anno Dom. 1538, *eight years before his death, and now printed, verbatim, from a very old copy, only mending the authography, for the ease of the reader, making the several sections, and collecting the foregoing contents. Worth perusing by both Papist and Protestant, for the one to see how his forefathers and he have been, and are, gulled; and the other to see how he is like to be eternally abused, if either through fear of death, or otherwise, embrace popery. Folio, containing six pages, with a wooden cut in the title, representing King Henry the Eighth on his throne, and a Committee of Beggars presenting their Petition.*

This petition seems to have been one of the devices used to excite the resentment of the common people against the church of Rome. Of course it contains all the charges, true or false, just or calumnious, which could be mustered against the doctrine of the catholics. The defender of the faith and the pope were now in a state of open and irreconcileable enmity; for in this same year [1538,] Paul III. published the Bull of Excommunication against Henry, who, to be even with the Pontiff, printed and published fifteen hundred copies of the Bible.

To the King, our Sovereign Lord.

Most lamentably complaineth, their woful misery unto your highness, your poor daily *bede-men*[1], the wretched, hideous monsters (on whom scarcely for horror any eye dare look) the foul, unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms; how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of the well-disposed people of this your realm is not half enough to sustain them; but that, for very constraint, they die for hunger.

2. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said bede-men, by the reason that *there is* (in the times of your noble predecessors passed) craftily crept into this your realm another sort[2], (not of impotent but) of strong, puissant, and counterfeit-holy, and idle beggars, and vagabonds, which, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are now increased unto your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

3. These are not the herds (or sheep,) but the ravenous wolves, going in herds-clothing, devouring the flock; the bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friers, pardonners, and somners: And who is able to number this idle, ravenous sort, which (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm: The goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories, are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wool, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of the wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter. Yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, shall be taken as an heretick; hereto have they their four offering-days.

4. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses. Every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges[3] to be sung for him, or else they will accuse the dead's friends and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries[4], by hearing of confessions, (and yet they will keep thereof no counsel) by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars[5], chapels, and bells, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money?

5. What multitude of money gather the pardonners[6] in a year? How much money get the somners, (i. e. parators) by extortion in a year? By citing the people to the commissaries court, and afterwards releasing the appearance for money. Finally, the infinite number of beggars friars, what get they in a year?

6. Here, if it please your grace to mark, ye shall see a thing far out of joint; there are within your realm of England fifty-two thousand parish-churches; and this standing, that there be but ten housholds in every parish, yet are there five hundred thousand, and twenty-thousand housholds; and of every of these housholds hath every one of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order, that is, for all the five orders, five pence

[1] This is an ancient word, signifying poor alms-men, who pray daily for their benefactors, derived from the *Saxon* word *bidden*, to pray.

[2] See them described in the third paragraph.

[3] The dead office in the church of Rome, which begins with, *Dirige me, Domine*, &c.

[4] A mortuary was a gift left by a man, at his death, to his parish-church, for the recompence of his personal tythes and offerings, not duly paid in his life-time.

[5] These are square stones, to be removed at the priest's pleasure, to say mass upon; by some called portable altars.

[6] Those employed by the pope to grant indulgences.

a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders twenty pence a year for every house: *summa*, five hundred thousand, and twenty-thousand quarters of angels; that is, two hundred and sixty thousand half angels; *summa*, one hundred and thirty thousand angels; *summa totalis*, forty-four thousand pounds, and three hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence sterling: Whereof, not four hundred years passed, they had not one penny. Oh grievous and painful exactions, thus yearly to be paid, from the which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons[1], ever stood free!

7. And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it them to be taken as an heretick. What tyrant ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengeable generation? What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good christian people can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your grace most tenderly of great compassion, hath taken among your people, to defend them from the threatened ruin of their common-wealth, have been so slothfully, yea painfully, levied? Seeing that almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied, hath been gathered before, verily by this ravenous, cruel, and insatiable generation.

8. The Danes, neither the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should never have been able to have brought their armies, from so far, hither unto your land to have conquered it, if they had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home. The noble King Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people.[2] The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to fine. The ancient Romans had never been able to put all the whole world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus oppressed.

9. The Turk, now in your time, should never be able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that you may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm, or not; so shall you find that it draweth far above.

10. Now let us then compare the number of this unkind, idle sort, unto the number of the lay-people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted or not, that they should have half? Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundreth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, then are they not the four hundreth person in number. One part therefore, in four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitudes, and are not the four hundreth person of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any commonwealth so sore oppressed, since the world began?

11. And what do all these greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience and dignity from your grace unto them; nothing, but that your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them: As they did unto your noble predecessor King John, which, because that he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired with the French king to have deposed him from his crown and dignity, (among the which a clerk called Stephen, whom, afterwards

[1] Before the Conquest: For William the Conqueror, having engaged the pope to countenance his unjust invasions upon this isle, in return, oppressed the subjects in this manner, to gratify the pope.

[2] The curious reader will find an account of this campaign in the veracious history of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

against the king's will, the pope made bishop of Canterbury, was one) interdicted [1] his land. For the which matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas, for shame!) hath stood tributary, not to any kind, temporal prince, but unto a cruel, devilish blood-supper, drunken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since. Here were a holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, all his realm, and succession, for doing right [2].

12. Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict an holy realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural liege lord and king, for his righteousness. Here was a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suppers, that could set the French king upon such a righteous prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed king, of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than the loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and conscience, had submitted himself unto them. O case most horrible, that ever so noble a king's realm and succession should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suppers! Where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this manner? Where was their obedience become, that should have been subject under his high power, in this matter? Yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects become, that, for maintenance of the common-wealth, should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suppers to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether, by their policy, translated from this good king to them?

13. Yea, and what do they more? Truly, nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid; that cuckoldry should reign over all among your subjects; that no man should know his own child, that their bastards, might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right begotten children clear beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage do let the generation of the people, whereby all the realm, at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and uninhabitable. *They mean, that for this sin of whoredom God's vengeance would fall on the land.*

14. These be they that have made an hundred thousand idle whores in your realm, which would have gotten their living honestly in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches elected them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they that corrupt the whole generation of mankind in your realm; that catch the pox of one woman, and bear it to another: Yea, some one of them will boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with an hundred women. These be they that, when they have once drawn men's wives to such incontinency, spend away their husbands goods, make women run away from their husbands, yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods, bring both man, wife, and children, to idleness, theft, and beggary.

15. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean, seafull of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished? Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity become, [3] that should punish (by punishment of death, even as other men be punished,) the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempted from your grace unto them? Yes truly. What an infinite number of people might have been increased, to have peopled the realm, if these sort of folk had been married like other men? What branch of matrimony is there brought in by them? Such truly, as was never since the world began among the whole multitude of the heathen.

[1] Excommunicated.

[2] The mendicant petitioners were not, it would seem, particularly well acquainted with the historical character of King John.

[3] This seems to be a favourite expression of the author. We had, a little higher, the same query addressed to King John, "where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity become?"

16. Who is she that will set her hands to work to get three pence a day, and may have at least twenty pence a day, to sleep an hour with a friar, a monk, or a priest? What is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at least twelve pence a day to be a bawd to a priest, a monk, or a friar? What a sort are there of them that marry priests' sovereign ladies, but to cloak the priests incontinency, and that they may have a living of the priests themselves, for their labour? How many thousands doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft, and idleness, which should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had not been this excessive treasure of the spirituality? What honest man dare to take any man or woman in his service, that hath been at school with a spiritual man?

17. Oh the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth! which in ancient time, before the coming in of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous that then there were but few thieves; yea, theft was at that time so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your grace may well perceive in his Institutes. There were also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked. For there were at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel, though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? No truly.

18. What remedy? Make laws against them? I am in doubt whether ye be able: are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than your-self? What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors, are lords of your parliament? Are not all the learned men in your realm in fee with them, to speak in your parliament-house against your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved never so sore) for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter; robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge, by any way of action? and, if he do, then is he, by and by, by their wiliness, accused of heresy. Yea, they will so handle him, before he pass, that, except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure,[1] he shall be excommunicated, and then be all his actions dashed! so captive are your laws unto them, that no man, that they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath, before the year goeth out, such a yoke of heresy laid in his neck, that it makes him wish that he had not done it.

19. Your grace may see what a work there is in London, how the bishop rageth for indicting of certain curates, of extortion and incontinency, the last year, in the warmol quest.[2] Had not Richard Hunne commenced an action of *Præmunire* against a priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretick at all, but an honest man.[3]

20. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof? among which, the statute of Mortmain was one; to the intent, that, after that time, they should have no more given unto them. But what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since than any duke in England, the statute notwithstanding? yea, have they not, for all that,

[1] Those who pleaded guilty to a charge of heresy, were compelled to do penance with a faggot on their shoulder, as an intimation of their having merited the stake.

[2] Or wardmote inquest, erected 32 Henry VIII. 17.

[3] Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor in London, was sued by the parson of his parish for a bearing sheet belonging to his infant child deceased. Hunné denied the child had any property in the sheet; and being troubled in the spiritual court, pursued a writ of premunire against the priest. In resentment, it was supposed, of his obstinacy, he was apprehended as a heretic, and commited by Fitz-James, bishop of London, to close imprisonment, in what was called the Lollards Tower. Here the unfortunate man was found hanging in his own silk girdle; and, by the sentence of the coroners inquest, was judged to have been murdered by the keepers of his prison. But cardinal Wolsey being then in plenitude of power, the matter was hushed up.

translated into their hands from your grace half your kingdom thoroughly? The whole name, as reason is for the ancienty of your kingdom, which was before theirs, and out of the which theirs is grown, only abiding with your grace, and of one kingdom made twain; the spiritual kingdom (as they call it) for they will be named first, and your temporal kindom: and which of these two kingdoms, suppose ye, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other out of memory? truly, the kingdom of the blood-suppers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom. And that, that is once given them, cometh never from them again: such laws have they, that none of them may neither give, nor sell nothing.

21. What law can be made so strong against them, that they, either with money or else with other policy, will not break and set at nought? What kingdom can endure that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the substance of your realm, forthwith your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy goulafres to be swallowed and devoured!

22. Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say, they pray for us to God to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory, without whose prayer, they say, or at least, without the pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence; which, if it be true, then is it good reason, we give them all these things, all, were it a hundred times as much.

23. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, for the love they have unto the truth, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea, in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter: which is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the spiritualty, only to translate all kingdoms from all other princes unto them, and there is not one word spoken of it in holy scripture. They say also, that, if there were a purgatory, and also if that the pope, with his pardons for money, deliver one soul thus, he may deliver him as well without money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and also destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruel tyrant without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain till men will give him money.

24. Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the spiritualty, that, if they will not pray for no man, but for them that give them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably, for lack of their prayers. These sort of folk, they call Hereticks, these they burn, these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear faggots. But whether they be hereticks or no, well I wot, that this purgatory, and the pope's pardons, is all the cause of translation of your kingdom so fast into their hands; wherefore it is manifest, it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporal kingdom; he himself paid tribute to Cæsar; he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea, himself (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers, unto death.

25. This is the great scab, why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother-tongue, lest men should espy, that their cloaked hypocrisy do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust we have in him. Here may your grace well perceive, that, except ye suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands, and, as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give them. For this I am sure your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my father, why may I not give them as much as my father did? And of this mind I am sure are all the lords, knights,

esquires, gentlemen, yeomen in England: yea, and untill it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of Mortmain was never made with a good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory, by giving to the spiritualty, as their predecessors did in times past.

26. Wherefore, if you will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered; and that shall be more speedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they never so strong. For, to make a law, for to punish any offender, except it were more for to give other men an ensample to beware to commit such like offence, what should it avail? Did not Dr Allen, most presumptuously, now in your time, against all his allegiance, all that ever he could to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas, as belong unto your high courts, unto another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity?

27. Did not also Dr Horsey† and his complices, most heinously, as all the world knoweth, murder, in prison, that honest merchant, Richard Hunne? For that he used your writ of *præmunire* against a priest, that wrongfully held him in plea, in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high courts: and what punishment was there done, that any man might take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred pounds, (as it is said, to the building of your star-chamber) and, when that payment was once passed, the captains of his kingdom (because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity) have heaped to him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, as it is said, paid six hundred pounds, for him and his complices, which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of his kingdom with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of this punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men, for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword, to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

28. And this is, by reason that the chief instrument of your law, yea, the chief of your council, and he which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man, which hath ever such an inordinate love to his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should utterly therefore be undone.

29. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, lest we, declaring such an horrible carrion of evil, against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister, of tightwiseness, which is to be hid, till he may be learned, by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself. But what remedy to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people; nay, truly, the more the worse; for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards.

30. Divers of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the people, whereof for the ancient of the time, they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them to have certain masses said daily for them, *(the dead)* whereof they never said one: if the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few.

† Dr Horsey, chancellor of the bishop of London, to whose charge the person of Hunne had been committed. The verdict of the inquest, charged the murder upon William Horsey clerk, Charles Joseph sumner, and John Spalding bell-ringer. Foxe's *Martyrology*, vol ii. p. 16.

31. Wherefore if your grace will build a sure hospital, that never shall fail to relieve us, your bede-men, so take from them all those things: set their sturdy loobies abroad in the world to get them wives of their own; to get their living with their labour, in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God, Gen. iii. to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour: tye these holy idle thieves to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market-town, till they will fall to labour, that they may, by their importunate begging, not take away the alms that the good christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your bede-men. Then shall as well the number of our foresaid monstrous sort, as bawds, whores, thieves, and idle people, decrease: then shall these great yearly exactions cease: then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, be translated from you: then shall you have full obedience of your people: then shall the idle people be set to work.

32. *Lastly*, Then shall matrimony be much better kept: then shall the generation of your people be increased: then shall your commons increase in riches: *N. B.* Then shall the gospel be preached: then shall none beg our alms from us: then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us, which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.—*Domine, salvum fac regem.* Or, God save the king.

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY,

N. B. *(This was destroyed by the Fire there.)*

Cleopatra. F. I. 20. Fol. 261.

An original Letter of Archbishop Cranmer, to Lord Cromwell, containing a Vindication of himself for using the stile Totius Angliæ Primas, *and his so soon visiting Winton Diocese; against the complaints of Stephen Gardinar, Bishop of Winton.*

In Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, the reader will find some account of this dispute concerning the visitation of the diocese of Winchester, in which both parties shewed much heat. Winchester combined his complaint of the insult to himself with an artful insinuation, that the style of *primate of all England*, assumed by the archbishop of Canterbury, was prejudicial to the king's supremacy. An inference which might have been fatal to Cranmer, had he not been able to parry it by the subsequent explanation of the title.

RIGHT worshipfull in my most heartie wise, I commend me unto you, most hartely, thankyng you, for that you have signified unto me by my chapleyn, Master Champion, the complainte of the bushoppe of Wynchester, unto the king's highness, in two thyngs concerning my visitacion. The one is, that in my stile, I am written *Totius Anglie Primus*, to the derrogation and prejudice of the kyng's highe power and authoritie, beyng supreme hedde of the church. The other is, that his dioces, not past 5 yeres agone, was visited by my predicessour, and muste from hencefurth paye the 10th part of the spiritualities accordynge to the act granted in the last session of this parliamente. Wherefore he thynketh that this dioces should not be charged with my visitacion at this tyme. Fyrst, as concerning my stile, wherein I am named *Totius Anglie Primas;* I suppose, that to make his cause goode, (which els indede were nawghte) he doth myxte it with the kyng's cause, (as ye knowe the man lacketh neither lernyng in the lawe,

neither witty invention, ne crafte to sette furth his matters to the beste,) that he myghte appere not to maynteyne his own cause, but the kyng's, againste whos highness he knoweth right well, that I will maynteyne no cause, but gyve place, and lay both my cause and myselfe at my prince's feet. But, to be playne, what I thynke of the bishop of Wynchester, I cannot persuade with myself, that he so much tendereth the king's cause, as he dothe his own, that I shulde not visite him. And that appeareth by the veray tyme. For if he cast no farther but the defence of the kyng's graces authoritie, or if he intended that at all, why moved he not the matier before he receyvid my monytion for my visitacion, which was within 4 miles of Wynchester, delyvered unto hym the 20th daye of Aprill laste, as he cam up to the courte? Moreover, I do not a little mervaile why he should now fynde fawte, rather than he did before, whan he toke the bishop of Rome as cheffe hedde. For though the bishop of Rome was taken for supreme hedde, notwithstanding that he had a great number of primates under hym, and by havyng his primates under him, his supreme authoritie was not lesse esteemed, but moche the more; why then may not the kyng's highness, beyng supreme hedde, have primates under him withoute any dymynishing, but without the augmenting of his said supreme authoritie? And of this I doubt not at all but that the bushoppe of Wynchester knoweth as well as any man lyving, that in case this said stile or title had byn in any poynte, impediment, or hinderance to the bushoppe of Rome's usurped authoritie, it would not have so long ben unreformed as it hath byn. For I doubt not butt all the bushopps of England would ever gladly have had the archbushopps both authoritie and title taken awaye, that they myghte have byn equell together, which well appeareth by the many contencions against the archbushopps, for jurisdiction in the court of Rome, whiche hadd he easely brought to passe, if the bushopps of Rome had thought the archbushopps titles and stiles to be any derogation to their supreme authority. All this notwithstandyng, yf the bushopps of this realme passe no more of their names, stiles, and titles, than I do of myn, the kyng's highnes shall sone ordre the matier betwen us all. And yf I sawe that my stile were agaynste the kyng's authoritie, (whereunto I am specially sworne) I woulde sew myself unto his grace, that I myghte leave it, and so wold have don before this tyme. For I pray Gode never be mercifull unto me at the generall judgement, yf I perceve in my heart that I sett more by my title, name, or stile, that I write, than I do by the paryng of an apple, farther then it shal be to the settyng furthe of God's wourd and will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herein: for God must be judge, who knoweth the botome of my harte, and so do not I myself; but I speake for so moche as I do feale in my harte. For many evill affections lye lurkyng ther, and will not lightely be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any juste thyng, at the pleasure and sute of the bushop of Wynchester, he beyng none otherwise affectionate unto me than he is. Even at the begynyng firste of Christ's profession Diatrephes desyred *gerere primatum in ecclesia*, as saith Sainte John in his last epistell. And syns he hath had mo successours than all the apostells hadd, of whom have come all theis glorious titles, stiles, and pompes into the churche But I would that I and all my brethren the bushopps wold leave all our stiles, and writte the stile of our offices, callyng our selves *Appostelos Jesu Christi*, so that we take not upon us the name vaynly, but were so even in deade, so that we myghte ordre our dioces in suche sorte, that neither paper, parchemente, leade, nor waxe, but the veray christan conversation of the people might be the letters and seales of our offices, as the Corinthians were unto Paule, to whome he said, *Litere nostre et signa apostolatus nostri vel estis*.

Now, for the seconde, where the bushop of Wynchester alledgeth the visitacion of my predecessour, and the 10th parte now to be paid to the kyng: truthe it is, that my predecessour visited the dioces of Wynchester, after the decesse of my Lorde Cardynall, as he did all other dioces, *(sede vacante)* but els I thynke it was not visited by none of my predecessours this 40 years. And notwithstandyng that, he hymself nott consideryng

thair chargis, at that tyme charged theym with a new visitation within lesse than half a yere after, and that agaynste all righte, as Doctour Innocent hath reported to my chancellour, the clergie at that time paying to the kyng half of their benefices in 5 yeres, whiche is the 10 parte every yere, as thei paid before, and have paid syns, and shall pay still for ever by the laste acte. But I am veray gladde, that he hath nowe some compassion of his dioces, although at that tyme he had very smale, whan he did visite theym the same yere that my predicessour did visite. And also other bushopps whos course is to visite this yere, kepe thair visitation, (where I did visett the last yere) notwithstandyng the 10th parte to be paid to the kyng's grace. Howbeit I do not se in Wynchester dioces: for it is nowe the 3d yere syns that dioces was visited by any man. So that he hath the least cause to complayn of any bushop. For it is longer syns his dioces was visited than the other. Therefore whare he layeth to aggravate the matier, the charges of the late acte graunted, it is no more agaynste me than agaynste all other bushopps, that do visett this yere, nor maketh no more againste me this yere, than it made agaynste me the laste yere, and shall do every yere hereafter. For if they were true men in accomptyng and paying the king's subsidie, thei are no more charged by this new acte, than thei were for the space of 10 yeres past, and shal be charged ever hereafter And thus to conclude, yf my said Lord of Whynchester's objections should be allowed this yere, he myghte, by such arguments, both disalowe all maner of visitacions, that hath be donn thes 10 yeres past, and that ever shal be donn hereafter. Nowe I pray you, good Maister Secretary, of your advice, whether I shall neede to write unto the king's highness herein. And thus our Lord have you ever in his observation. Otterforde, the 12 day of Maye.

Your own ever assured
THOMAS CANTUAR.

QUEEN MARY.

The Instrument, by which Queen Jane was proclaimed Queen of England, &c. setting forth the Reasons of her Claim, and her Right to the Crown.

WHOEVER reads the latter part of the life of Henry the Eighth, will soon be convinced, that he left the succession of the crown so disputable, that it could only be owing to the hand of Providence, that the nation had not, for ever after, been distracted with contrary claims.

His divorces from Catharine of Arragon, and Ann Bullen; the acts of parliament confirming those divorces; other subsequent acts, which seemed to repeal what the first had ordained; the power given to the king, to appoint his successors, and to place them in what order he pleased; and his last will itself so embroiled the affair of the succession, that it was left full of obscurity and contradiction. For as the makers of these new laws were not swayed with justice and equity, and calculated merely to gratify the ambition and schemes of a prince, who would have taken vengeance on those that should act in opposition to his directions, it was not possible to act in such emergencies according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm.

He, after cohabiting with Catharine of Arragon eighteen years, and having several children by her, obliged the archbishop of Canterbury to pronounce him divorced from her, and his marriage with her to be null and void; but not before he had

contracted a second marriage with Ann Bullen, of which he also grew weary; and, accusing his second queen of adultery, he ordered her to be beheaded, after he had been also publickly divorced from her.

His next step was to obtain an act of parliament (1536,) to confirm both these divorces, and to declare Mary and Elizabeth, the children of these two marriages, illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the crown, without his special will and appointment. But in an act, made in 1544, Mary and Elizabeth were declared successively to inherit the crown after Edward, still allowing the king to impose conditions on these two princesses, without which they could have no right to succeed. And Henry made his last will and testament in the same manner; by which, preferring Edward to be his immediate successor, he left it as his opinion, that his daughters were illegitimate.

Thus far the succession was much disturbed; but what still conduced to embroil it more, was the not mentioning, in his will, the issue of Margaret queen of Scotland, Henry's eldest sister, and placing the children of his younger sister, Mary, queen dowager of France, and Duchess of Suffolk, next to his daughter Elizabeth. And,

To compleat this confusion of claims to the crown, Edward the Sixth confirmed the act, which declared Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate; abrogated, by his own authority, the act which gave his father power to settle the succession, and, by his own will, excluded Mary, Elizabeth, and the queen of Scotland, from the throne, and conveyed the crown to Jane Grey, by the importunity and ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, who was known to hold Edward's council in subjection; and therefore, whatever methods were taken before, or after the young king's death, to secure and settle Jane on the throne, and the drawing up and publishing the following proclamation, must be looked upon as the act and deed of the said duke, and not to be ascribed to the council.

This was the state of affairs, when Edward the Sixth was removed by death, and by this short recapitulation it may easily be perceived, what a door of divisions and civil wars was opened by Henry the Eighth and his successor. For, according to their acts and wills, and letters patent, Mary, Elizabeth, the Queen of Scotland, and Jane Grey, four princessess, could claim the crown after Edward's death, and each of these princesses could find in these very acts, &c. arguments to oppose the claim of her competitors. Yet only Jane, who, though by far the youngest, was not less endowed with the gifts of nature, and preferable to all her adversaries in the endowments of her mind, and least tainted with the ambitious desire of a crown, was forced, by the importunity of her relations, to accept of it, and thereby fell a sacrifice to their ambition; as it is excellently well related by Dr Heylin, in these words, in his History of the Reformation.

" She was eldest daughter of Henry Lord Grey, Duke of Suffolk. Her mother was the Lady Frances, daughter, and, in fine, one of the coheirs of Charles Brandon, the late Duke of Suffolk, by Mary his wife, queen dowager to Lewis the Twelfth of France, and youngest daughter of King Henry the Seventh. She seemed to have been born with those attractions, which seat a sovereignty in the face of most beautiful persons; yet was her mind endued with more excellent charms, than the attractions of her face; modest and mild of disposition, courteous of carriage, and of such affable deportment, as might intitle her to the name of *Queen of Hearts*, before she was designed for queen over any subjects.

" These her native and obliging graces, were accompanied with some more profitable ones, of her own acquiring; which set an higher value on them, and much increased the same, both in worth and lustre. Having attained unto that age, in which other young ladies used to apply themselves to the sports and exercises of their sex, she wholly gave her mind to good arts and sciences; much furthered in that pursuit by the loving

care of Mr Elmer, under whose charge she came to such a large proficiency, that she spake the Latin and Greek tongues, with as sweet a fluency, as if they had been natural and native to her; exactly skilled in the liberal sciences, and perfectly well studied in both kinds of philosophy."

Take here a story out of Mr Ascham's Schoolm, pag. 11, in his own words: "One example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child, for virtue or learning, I will gladly report; which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany, I came to Broadgate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholden. Her parents, the duke and the duchess, with all the houshold, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park; I found her in her chamber, reading *Phædon Platonis* in Greek, and that with as much delight, as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in *Boccace*. After salutation, and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, why she would lose such pastime in the park? Smiling, she answered me, I know, all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that I find in Plato: Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant. And how came you, madame, quoth I, to this deep knowledge, and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not any women, but very few men have attained thereunto? I will tell you, saith she, and tell you a truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits, that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For, when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go; eat, drink, be merry, or sad; be sowing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly, as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes, with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name, for the honour I bear them,) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till the time come, that I must go to Mr Elmer; who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing, whilst I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall to weeping, because whatsoever I do else, but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me. I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady." Thus far Mr Ascham.

By this eminent proficiency in all parts of learning, and an agreeableness in disposition, she became very dear to the young King Edward; to whom Fox not only makes her equal, but doth acknowledge her also to be his superior, in those noble studies. And for an ornament superadded to her other perfections, she was most zealously affected to the true Protestant religion, then by law established; which she embraced, not out of any outward compliance with the present current of the times, but because her own most excellent judgment had been fully satisfied in the truth and purity thereof. All which did so endear her to the king, that he took great delight in her conversation.

Thus lived she in these sweet contentments, till she came unto the years of marriage, when she, that never found in herself the least spark of ambition, was made the most unhappy instrument of another man's. The proud and aspiring Duke of Northumberland treats with the Duke of Suffolk, about a marriage between the Lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son, and the Lady Jane. The marriage is concluded, and, by Northumberland's policy, the crown is transferred from King Edward, to his cousin the Lady Jane, his two sisters, the Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, being passed by.

Memorable is the speech she made to the two dukes, when they owned her for queen, to this effect: "That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right, standing for the king's sisters[1], she would beware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke, which did belong to them: That she understood the infamy of those, who had permitted the violation of right, to gain a scepter: That it was to mock God, and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown. Besides, (said she,) I am not so young, nor so little read in the guiles of fortune, to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she inrich any, it is but to make them the subjects of her spoil: If she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins. What she adored but yesterday, is to-day her pastime. And, if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me in pieces," &c. But the ambition of the two dukes was too strong and violent, to be kept down by such prudent considerations. So that being wearied at last with their importunities, and overcome by the intreaties of her husband, whom she dearly loved, she submitted unto that necessity which she could not vanquish, yielding her head with more unwillingness to the ravishing glories of a crown, than afterward she did to the stroke of the ax.

Accordingly the Duke of Northumberland declared, in his Report to the Council, that this good Lady Jane was so far from aspiring to the crown, as to be rather made to accept of it, by enticement and force. And,

The duke had no sooner obtained Lady Jane's consent, but it was resolved that the council should move with her into the Tower of London, and that she should be proclaimed in the manner following: A proclamation, which, for its substance, antiquity, curiosity, and scarceness, well deserves the attention of the reader, and to be preserved, in this miscellany, from the injuries of time.

JANE, by the grace of God, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ, in earth the supreme head. To all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, and to every of them greeting. Whereas our most dear cousin, Edward the Sixth, late king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth the supreme head, under Christ, of the church of England and Ireland, by his letters patents, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his great seal of England, bearing date the twenty-first day of June, in the seventh year of his reign, in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers others grave and sage personages, for the profit and surety of the whole realm thereto assenting, and subscribing their names to the same, hath by the same his letters patents recited, that forasmuch as the imperial crown of this realm, by an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the late king of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, was for lack of issue of his body lawfully begotten, and for lack of issue of the body of our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, by the same act limited, and appointed to remain to the Lady Mary, by the name of the Lady Mary, his eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and, for default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the Lady Elizabeth, by the name of the Lady Elizabeth, his second daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, with such conditions, as should be limitted and appointed by the said late king of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, by his letters patents, under his great seal, or by his last will in writing, signed with his hand. And forasmuch as the said limitation of the imperial crown of this realm, being limited (as is aforesaid,) to the said Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had between the said late king, King Henry the

[1] Mary and Elizabeth.

Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle; and the Lady Catharine, mother to the said Lady Mary; and also the marriage had between the said late king, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle; and the Lady Ann, mother to the said Lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone, by sentences of divorces, according to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical laws: And which said several divorcements have been severally ratified, and confirmed by authority of parliament, and especially in the twenty eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our said progenitor and great uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby as well the said Lady Mary, as also the said Lady Elizabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and have been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge, the said imperial crown, or any other of the honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as heir, or heirs to our late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, or as heir, or heirs to any other person, or persons whosoever, as well for the cause before rehearsed, as also, for that the said Lady Mary, and Lady Elizabeth, were unto our said late cousin but of the half blood, and therefore, by the ancient laws,, statutes, and customs of this realm, be not inheritable unto our said late cousin, although they had been born in lawful matrimony, as indeed they were not, as by the said sentences of divorce, and the said statute of the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our said progenitor and great uncle, plainly appeareth.

And forasmuch also as it is to be thought, or, at the least, much to be doubted, that if the said Lady Mary, or Lady Elizabeth, should hereafter have, and enjoy the said imperial crown of this realm, and should then happen to marry a stranger, born out of this realm, that then the same stranger, having the government and imperial crown in his hands, would adhere and practise, not only to bring this noble free realm into the tyranny and servitude of the bishop of Rome, but also to have the laws and customs of his or their own native country or countries to be practised, and put in use within this realm, rather than the laws, statutes, and customs here of long time used; whereupon the title of inheritance of all and singular the subjects of this realm do depend, to the peril of conscience, and the utter subversion of the commonweal of this realm. Whereupon our said late dear cousin, weighing and considering with himself, what ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said succession in the said imperial crown, if it should please God to call our said late cousin out of this transitory life, having no issue of his body, and calling to his remembrance, that we and the Lady Catharine, and the Lady Mary, our sisters, being the daughters of the Lady Frances, our natural mother, and then and yet wife to our natural and most loving father, Henry, Duke of Suffolk, and the Lady Margaret, daughter of the Lady Eleanor, then deceased sister to the said Lady Frances, and the late wife of our cousin, Henry, Earl of Cumberland, were very nigh of his grace's blood, of the part of his father's side, our said progenitor and great uncle, and being naturally born here within the realm, and for the very good opinion our said late cousin had of our, and our said sisters and cousin Margaret's good education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had and taken, by his said letters patents declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself our said late cousin, king Edward the Sixth, to decease, having no issue of his body, lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown of England and Ireland, and the confines of the same, and his title to the crown of the realm of France, and all and singular honours, castles, prerogatives, privileges, pre-eminences, authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments, to our said late cousin, king Edward the Sixth, or to the said imperial crown belonging, or in any wise appertaining, should, for lack of such issue of his body, remain, come, and be unto the eldest son of the body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in his life-time, and to the heirs male of the body of the same eldest son, lawfully begotten, and so from son to son, as he should be of antienty in birth, of the body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our said late cousin's life-

time, and to the heirs male of the body of every such son, lawfully begotten; and for default of such son born into the world, in his life-time, of the body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten; and, for lack of heirs male of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all and singular other the premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the name of the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said Lady Frances, and to the heirs male of our body lawfully begotten; and for lack of such heir male of our body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all other the premises, should, remain, come, and be to the said Lady Catharine, our said second sister, and to the heirs male of the body of the said Lady Catharine, lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the same letters patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithens the making of which letters patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the sixth day of this instant month of July, it hath pleased God to call to his infinite mercy, our said most dear and intire beloved cousin, Edward the Sixth, whose soul, God pardon, and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no heirs of his body begotten; and that also there remain, at this present time, no heirs lawfully begotten of the body of our said progenitor and great uncle, King Henry the Eighth; and forasmuch also as the said Lady Frances, our said mother, had no issue, male begotten of her body, and born into the world, in the life-time of our said cousin, King Edward the Sixth, so as the said imperial crown, and other the premises to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us in our actual and royal possession, by authority of the said letters patents: We do therefore, by these presents, signify unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that like as we, for our part, shall, by God's grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benign sovereign queen and lady to all our good subjects, in all their just and lawful suits and causes; and to the uttermost of our power shall preserve and maintain God's most holy word, christian policy, and the good laws, customs, and liberties of these our realms and dominions; so we mistrust not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all times, and in all cases, shew themselves unto us, their natural liege queen and lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances, whereby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend to their own preservations and sureties; willing and commanding all men of all estates, degrees, and conditions, to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary, at their extreme perils. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself, at our Tower of London, the tenth day of July, in the first year of our reign.—God save the Queen.

Anno Domini
M. D. LIII.

Londini in ædibus Richardi Graftoni Reginæ a typographia excusum.
Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

A Speech of Queen Mary's to her Council, upon her resolution of restoring Church Lands. Anno Reg. Mar. 4.

The parliament 1554, which past a statute for reconciling England with the see of Rome, added a proviso, which, it would seem, lay heavy on Queen Mary's conscience, "that the settlement of the lands of any bishoprics, monasteries, or other religious houses, might continue as they were, without trouble by the eccesiastical censures or laws." But the canon law connected the church

lands so indissolubly with the church, that during the whole reign of this bigotted queen, the lay intruders were in perpetual apprehension of ejection. At length she raised their anxiety to the height, by sending for Sir Robert Rochester comptroller, Sir William Peter secretary of state, and Sir Fancis Inglefield master of the wards, to whom, on the 28th of March 1555, she disburthened her conscience, by declaring her intention to surrender such of the church lands as remained in possession of the crown. She was the more scrupulous at this time, as she believed herself with child, and near her delivery.

We have willed you to be called to us, to the intent you might hear of me, my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions, as well of monasteries, as other churches whatsoever, being now in my possession.

First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in time of schism; and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God, and of the church: for which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them. And therefore I here expressly refuse, either to claim, or retain those lands for mine: but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here, and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever; and renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best likeing to the pope, or his legate, to the honour of God, and the wealth of this our realm. And abeit you may object to me again, That the state of my kingdom, the dignity thereof, and my crown imperial, cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding (and so she had affirmed before, when she was bent upon the restitution of the tenths and first fruits,) I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten such kingdoms: and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold, after that sort and title: and I give most hearty thanks to God, who hath given me a husband of the same mind, who hath no less good affection in this behalf, than I myself. Wherefore I charge and command that my chancellor,[1] (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter,) and you four, to resort to-morrow together, to the legate, signifying to him the premises in my name. And give your attendance upon me, for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the aforesaid possessions, according as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same. —*Upon this opening of her mind, the lords thought it requisite to direct some course, whereby she might satisfie her desires, to her own great honour, and yet not alienate too much at once of the publick patrimony.*

The Lady Elizabeth hir Grace's Aunsweare, made at Hattfeilde, the 26th of April, 1558; to Sir Thomas Pope, Knight, being sent from the Queen's Majesty to the same, to understande howe hir Grace lyked of the Motion of Marriage, made by the King Ellect of Swethland's Messenger.

The King of Sweden had sent a private message to Elizabeth, who was at this time residing at Hatfield, soliciting her hand. But her prudence easily descried the danger attending any such proposal, coming without the knowlege and authority of the jealous Mary, and she hesitated not to

[1] The celebrated Bishop Gardiner.

reject the overture. She must have had some reason to applaud her sagacity, when Sir Thomas Pope was dispatched as her sister's inquisitor, to discover, by conferring with her, how her affections had stood in this delicate conjuncture.

First after I had declared to hir grace, howe well the queen's majestie lyked of her prudent and honorable aunsweare, made to the said messenger; I then opened unto hir grace, the effect of the said messenger's credence; which after hir grace had hearde, I said, the queene's highness had sent me to her grace, not onelye to declare the same, but also to understande, howe her grace lyked the said motion; whereunto, after a little pawse taken, hir grace aunsweared in forme followinge: Mr Pope, I requyer you after my most humble commendations to the queene's majesty, to render unto the same lyke thanckes, that it pleased hir highnes of hir goodness to conceyve soe well of my aunsweare made to the same messenger, and therewithall of hir princelye consideration, with such speede to commaunde you by your letters to signifye the same unto me, whoe before remained wonderfully perplexed, fearing least hir majestie might mistake the same, for which her goodnes I recognize myself bound to honour, love, obey, and serve hir highnes durynge my life, requyring you also to saye unto hir majestie, that in the kinge my brother's tyme, there was offered me a very honourable marryage or two, and ambassadors sent to treate with me touching the same, whereupon I made my humble suite unto his highnes, (as some of honour yet lyveinge can be testimonyes) that it would lyke the same, to give me leave, with his grace's favour, to remayne in that estate I was, which of all other best lyked, and pleased me; and in good fayth, I praye you saye unto hir highnes, I am even at this present of the sayme mynde, and soe entende to contynnewe; with hir majestie's favoure, and assureinge hir highnes, I soe well lyke this estate, as I perswade unto myselfe, there is not any kinde of lyfe comperable unto it. And as concerninge my lykeinge of the motion made by the said messenger, I beseech you say unto hir majestie, that, to my remembrance, I never hearde of his master before this tyme, and that I soe well lyke, both the message, and the messenger; as I shall moste humblye praye God, upon my knees, that from henceforth, I never heare of the one, nor of the other, assureinge you, yf hee should eftsoones repayre to me, I would forbeare to speake with him, and were there noething els to move me to dislyke the motion, other then that his master would attempt the same, without makeinge the queene's majestie privye thereunto, it were cause sufficyent; and when hir grace had thus ended, I was soe boulde as of myselfe to saye unto hir grace (hir pardon first requyred) that I thought fewe, or none, would beleive, but that hir grace could be right well content to marrye, so that there were some honourable marryage offered hir by the queene's highnes, or by hir majestie's assent, whereunto hir grace aunsweared, what I shall doe hereafter I knowe not, but I assuer you, upon my truthe, and fidelitye, and as God be mercyefull unto me, I am not at this present otherwyse mynded, then I have declared unto you, noe thoughe I were offered the greatest prince of all Europe, and yet percase the queen's majestie may conceyve this my aunswere raythe to proceede of a maidenlye shamefastness, then upon any such certayne determination.

THO. POPE.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY.

(This was destroyed by the Fire there.)

Julius F. VI. 67. Fol. 156.

A Copy of the Devise for alteratione of Religione, at the first Year of Q. Eliz.

This important tract contains the *memoranda* for the deliberations of a committee appointed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, to consider the settlement of the protestant religion. The Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, John Grey of Pyrgo, and Cecil, were the principal counsellors to whom this weighty matter was referred. The care of reforming the Liturgy of Edward VI. was referred to Parker, Pilkington, Bill, May, Cox, Grindall, and Whitehead, divines noted for learning and moderation.—*Camden's Life of Elizabeth.* The difficulties are plainly stated in this tract, and the mode of overcoming them speaks the uniform sagacity of Elizabeth's councils. By some, this paper has been ascribed to John Hales; by others, to Sir Thomas Smith, or to Beale, the clerk of council. But the probability is that it was the work of Cecil.

WHEN the alteratione shal be first attempted?

At the next parliament; so that the daungers be foreseen and remedies therefore provided, for the sooner that religione is restored, God is the more glorified; and, as wee trust, will be more mercifull unto us, and better save and defend her highnes from all daungers.

What daungers maye ensue upon the alteratione?

1. *First*, The bishop of Rome, all that hee maye, will be insensed; he will excommunicate the queen's highness, interdighte the realme, and give it to praye to all princes that will enter upon it, and incite them thereto by all manner of means.

2. The French kinge will be incouraged more to the warre, and make his peopell more redie to fight against us, not only as enemyes but as hereticks; hee will be in great hope of aide from hence, of them that are discontented with this alteratione, looking for tumults and discords, he will also staye concluding peace upon hope of some alteratione.

Scotland will have the same causes of bouldnes, and by that waye the French king will seame sonest to attempte to invade us.

Ireland also will be very difficulty staied in there obediance by reason of the clergie, that is so addicted to Roome. * *

Manye peopell of our owne will be very muche discontented, espetially in—sortes. All suche as governed in the late Queen Marye's time, and were chosen thereto for noe other cause, or were then moste esteemed f—whott and earnest in the other religione, and now remayne implaced and uncauld to criddite, will thinke themselves discredited, and all ther—defaced, and studdie all the wayes they cane to mayntayne their doings, and dispute all this alteratione.

Bishoppes and all the clergie will see their owne ruine, in confesion and preaching, and all other wayes they cane they will perswade the peopell from it; they will conspier with whosoever will attempte, and pretend to do God a sacrifice, in letting the alteratione, though it be with murder of christenmen or tresonemen, which be of the papeste secte; which late were in manner all the judges of the lawe, the justices of peace, chosen out by the late queen, in all the shires, suche as were beloved to be of that secte, and the more earnest therin the more then in estimatione. Thes are licke to joine and conspier with the bisshoppes and clergie.

Some when the subsidye shall be granted and monye levied, (as it appereth that necessarily it must be done) will be therewith offended, and licke anough to conspier and arise, if they have anye head to stire them to it, or hope of gayne or spoyle.

Manye suche as would gladly have the alteratione, from the churche of Rome[1] when they shall see peradventure that some ould ceremones be lefte still, or that theire doctrine which they embrace is not allowed and commaunded onley, and all othor abolished and disproved, shall be discontented, and call the alteratione a clocked papistrye, or a mingle mangle.

What remedie for thes matters?

Firste, For France, to practise a peace, or if it be offered, not to refuse it.[2] If controvercie of religione be ther amongst them to healp to kindle it.

Roome is lesse to be dowbted, from whom nothing is to be fered but evil-will, cursing, and practising.[3]

Scotland will follow France for peace; but there maye be practised to healpe forwarde ther divisione, and especiallye to augment the hope of them, whoe inclyneth them to good religione.

For certayntie to fortifie Barwicke, and to employe demelances and horsmen for safitie of the frontiers, and save expence of monye.

Ireland,

The 4 devided into 5 partes. The *First*, is of them which were of Queen Mary's counsail, elected and enhaunced then to authoritie, only or chifly for being of the pope's religione, and earnest in the same. Every augmentation or conservation of suche men in authoritie or reputatione, is an encoragement of those of their secte, and giveth hope to them that it shall revive and continue, although it have a contrayrie blaste, seing the old piller stand still untowched, a confermation to them that are wavering dayly, and a discouraging of suche as are but haulfe inclined to this alteration.

Dum in dubio est animus, Paulo memento huc illuc impellitur.

These must be searched by all lawe, as farre as justice may extend, and the queen's majestie's clemency to be extended, not before they do fully acknowledge themselves to have fallen in the lapse of the lawe.

They must be based of authoritie, discredited in their countries, so long as they seeme

[1] Those who were afterwards called Puritans.

[2] Negociations for peace were about this time commenced at Cambray.

[3] The pope had already taken his ground, by a most insolent answer to the English envoy, who communicated to him the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

to repugne to the true religion, or to maintaine their ould proceedings. And if they should seeme to alow or to beare with the new alteration, yet not lightly to be in creditt, *quia neophiti*, and no man but he loveth that time wherein he did flowrish. And (when he can and as he can) those auncient lawes and orders he will maintaine and defend with whom and in whome he was in estimation, authority, and a doer. For every man naturally loveth that which is his owne worke and creature. And contrary as these men must be based so must her highnes ould and sure servants, who have taryed with her, and not shronke in the late stormes, be advanced with authoritie, and creditt, that the world may see that her highness is not unkind or unmundfull; and throughout all England, such persons as are knowne to be sure in religion, everie one according to his abilitie to serve in the commonwealth, to be set in place, whom (if in the cause of religion and God's cause shal be slacke) yet their owne safety and estate shall cause to be vigilant, carefull, and earnest for the conservation of her estate, and maintenance of this alteratione. And in all this she shall doe but the same that the late queen Mary did to maintaine and establish her religione.

The second of these 5 is the bishops and cleargie, being in manner all made and chosen such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest champions of the pope's church, who, in the late queen's time, taking from the Cr... impoverishing it by extorting from private men, and all other meanes possible, *per fas et ne fas*, have sought to enriche and advance themselves. *Th*.... her majesties being inclined to so much clemencie, yet must seeke as well by parliament, as by the just lawes of England in the premunire, or other such penall lawes, to bring agayne in order, and being founde in defaults no... not to pardon till they confess their faute, put themselves to the new alteratione. And by this meanes well handled her majesties necessitie of manage may be somewhat releved.

The 3d is to be amended even as all the rest above, by such means as queen Mary taught; that none such as ware, as may be, in commissione of peace in the Sh.... but rather men meaner in substance and younge in yeares, so that they have discretione to be put in place. A sharpe lawe made and executed against assemblies of peopell without authoritie. Lievtenants made in ever .. one or two men knowne to be sure of the queen's devotione. In the musters and Captaynes apoynted young gentlemen which earnestly do favor her higness. No office of jurisdictione or authoritie to be in anye discontented man's hand, so farre as justice or lawe maye extende.

The 4th is to be remeded, otherwise then by gentell and dulce handling of it by the commissiones, and by the readiness and goodwill of the lievtenant and captaynes to reprefe them if any shoulde begin a tumulte or muster, or pretend anye assemblie or stowtness to the contrarye.

The 5th for the discontentione of such as coulde be content to have religione altered, but would have it goe to farre strayte laws upon the promulgation of the booke, and the severe execusione of the same at the firste, will so represse them, that it is great hope it shall touche but a fewe; and better it were that they did suffer then her highness or commonwealthe shake or be in danger, and to this they must well take heed that drawe the booke.

And herein the universities must not be neglected, and the hurte that the late visitation in queen Maries time did, must be amended; likewise such colleges wher childrine be instructed to come to the universite, as Eaton and Winchester, that as well the encrese hearafter as this present time be provided for.

What shall be the manner of the doing of it?

This consultation is to be referred to such learned men as be met to showe theyre myndes herein, and to bring a platt or booke hereof ready drawne to her highness, which being approved by her Majestie maye be so putt into the parliament house, to the which for the time it is thought that these are apte men, D. Bill, D. Parker, D. Mory,

D. Cox, Mr Whitehead Grindall, Mr Pilkentone, and Sir Thomas Smythe, to call them together; and be amongst them. And after the consultatione with these to drawe in other men of learning and gravitie, and apte men for the purpose and credit to have their assents, as for that it is necessary to be done before, it is thought most necessary that a strayt prohibition to be made of all innovation untill such time as the book come forth, as well that there should be noe often changes in religione, which would take awaye authoritie in the common people's estimatione, as also to exercise the queen's majesties subjects to obedience.

To the 5th, what may be done of her highness for her own conscience openly, before the whole alteration? Or if the alteration must tarry longer, what orders be fitt to be in the wholl realm as an interim?

To alter noe further then her majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion as her highnes pleaseth on the feasts. And that where ther be more chaplines at masse, that they doe alwayes communicat with the executor in both kindes, and for her highnes's conscience till then, if ther be some other devote sorte of prayer or memory said, and the seldomer masse.

To the 6th, what noblemen be most fit to be made prevye to these proceedings before it be opened to the wholl counsaill?

The lord marques Northampton; the earl of Bedford; the earl of Pembroke; the lord John Graye.

To the 7th, what allowance thes learned men shall have for the time they are about to reviewe the booke of common-prayer, and order of ceremonies and service in the churche, and where they shall meet?

Being so many persones which must attende still upon that, two messe of meate,[1] is thought yet indifferent to suffice for them and their servants. The place is thought most meete in some sett place, or rather at sir Thomas Smythes lodgine in Channon Row; at one of those places must provision be laid in of wodd, of coolle, and drink.

Injunctions given by the Queenes Majestie concerning both the Clergie and Laity of this Realme. Published Anno Dom. 1559; *being the first yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth.*

These injunctions are reprinted from a copy, bearing date 1641, and having prefixed a copperplate of Queen Elizabeth, with this motto beneath her titles:

> She was, she is, what can there more be said,
> In earth the first, in Heaven the second made!

This couplet, according to Granger, is the last of an inscription upon a cenotaph of Queen Elizabeth, which was in Bow-church, though Cibber has published the lines as written by Budgell.

The Injunctions were the fruit of the labours of the learned committee of divines, appointed in consequence of the "Device for the alteration of Religion." This great work was gone about with a deliberation that insured its stability. Queen Mary died on the 17th of November 1558, and on the 27th of the December following, the scriptures, with the creed and liturgy, were appointed to be read in English. But the mass was not abolished, nor the English liturgy introduced, until the end of June; and in July, the oath of supremacy being imposed on the clergy, the reformation of the church may be then accounted complete.

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[1] Two messes of meat would perhaps, in modern times, be deemed a slender provision for seven dignified churchmen.

The queenes most royall majestie, by the advice of her most honourable councell, intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of superstition throughout all her highnesse realmes and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all hypocrisie, enormities, and abuses, (as to her duty appertaineth,) doth minister unto her loving subjects these godly injunctions hereafter following. All which injunctions, her hignesse willeth and commandeth her loving subjects obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keepe, every man in their offices, degrees, and states, as they will avoyd her hignesse displeasure, and the paines of the same hereafter expressed.

1. THE first is, that all deanes, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and all other ecclesiasticall persons, shall faithfully keepe and observe, and as farre as in them may lye, shall cause to be observed and kept of other, all and singular lawes and statutes made for the restoring of the crowne, the antient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiasticall, and abolishing of all forraigne power, repugnant to the same. And furthermore, all ecclesiasticall persons having cure of soules, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely and sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open foure times every yeare at the least, in their sermons and other collations, that all usurped and foraigne power, having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, is for most just causes taken away and abolished; and that therefore no manner of obedience and subjection within her highnesse realmes and dominions is due unto any such forraigne power. And that the queenes power within her realmes and dominions is the highest power under God, to whom all men within the same realmes and dominions by God's lawes owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth. Usurped and forraign authority.

2. Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisie crept into divers mens hearts may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extoll the dignity of any images, reliques, or miracles; but declaring the abuse of the same, they shall teach, that all goodnesse, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for onely of God, as of the very author and giver of the same, and of none other. Images.

3. *Item*, That they, the parsons above rehearsed, shall preach in their churches, and every other cure they have, one sermon every moneth of the yeare at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God, and in the same exhort their hearers to the workes of faith, as mercy and charity, especially prescribed and commanded in scripture, and that the works devised by mans fantasies, besides scripture (as wandring of pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beades, or such like superstition,) have not onely no promise of reward in scripture for doing of them, but contrariwise great threatnings and maledictions of God, for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhorre, for that the same diminish most his honour and glorie. A sermon every moneth. Workes of faith. Workes of mans devise.

4. *Item*, That they, the parsons above rehearsed, shall preach in their owne persons once in every quarter of the yeare at least one sermon, being licenced especially thereunto, as is specified hereafter: or else shall read some homilie prescribed to be used by the queene's authoritie, every Sunday at the least, unlesse some other preacher sufficiently lycenced, as hereafter, chance to come to the parish for the same purpose of preaching. Quarter sermon, or homilie.

5. *Item*, That every holiday through the yeare, when they have no sermon, they shall immediatly after the gospell, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit, the Pater-noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandements, in English, to the intent the people may learne the same by heart; exhorting all parents, and housholders, to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God and conscience to doe. The Pater-noster, Creed, and Ten Commandements.

6. Also, that they shall provide within three moneths next after this visitation, at the charges of the parish, one booke of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English: and within one twelve moneths next after the said visitation, the Paraphrases of Erasmus, also in English, upon the gospell; and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have cure of, whereas the parishioners may most commodiously resort unto the same, and read the same, out of the time of common service. The charges of the Paraphrases shall be by the parson or propriatorie and parishioners, borne by equall portions, and they shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latine or in English, but shall rather exhort every person to reade the same with great humility and reverence, as the very lively word of God, and the especiall food of mans soule, which all christian persons are bound to embrace, beleeve, and follow, if they looke to be saved, whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their soveraigne lady the queene, and their neighbour, ever gently and charitably exhorting them, and in her majesties name straightly charging and commanding them, that in the reading thereof, no man to reason or contend, but quietly to heare the reader.

Haunting of ale-houses by ecclesiasticall persons.

7. Also, the said ecclesiasticall persons shall in no wise at any unlawfull time, nor for any other cause then for their honest necessities, haunt or resort to any tavernes or ale-houses. And after their meates, they shall not give themselves to drinking or ryot, spending their time idly by day and by night, at dice, cards, or tables playing, or any other unlawfull game, but at all times as they shall have leasure, they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scripture, or shall busie themselves with some other honest study or exercise, and that they alwaies doe the things which appertaine to honesty, and endeavour to profite the common-wealth, having alwaies in mind that they ought to excell all other in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianly.

Preachers not lycensed.

8. Also, that they shall admit no man to preach within any their cures, but such as shall appeare unto them to be sufficiently lycenced thereunto by the queenes majestie, or the archbishop of Canterbury, or the archbishop of Yorke, in either their provinces, or the bishop of the diocesse, or by the queenes majesties visitors. And such as shall be so lycenced, they shall gladly receive to declare the word of God at convenient times, without any resistance or contradiction. And that no other be suffered to preach out of his owne cure or parish, then such as shall be lycenced, as is above expressed.

Letters of the word.

Fautors of the usurped power.

9. Also, if they doe or shall know any man within their parish, or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these the queenes majesties injunctions, or a fautor of any usurped and forraigne power, now by the lawes of this realme, justly rejected and taken away, they shall detect and present the same to the queenes majestie, or to her counsell, or to the ordinary, or to the justice of peace next adjoyning.

10. Also, that the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishioners of every parish within this realme, shall in their churches and chappels keepe one booke of register, wherein they shall write the day and yeare of every wedding, christning, and buriall made within their parish for their time, and so every man succeeding them likewise; and also therein shall write every persons name that shall be so wedded, christned, and buried. And for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide of their common charges, one sure coffer with two lockes and keyes, whereof the one to remaine with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish church or chappell, wherein the said booke shall be layd up. Which booke they shall every Sunday take forth, and, in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christnings, and burialls made the whole weeke before: And that done, to lay up the booke in the said coffer as before, and for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the

said church 3s. 4d. to be employed the one halfe to the poore mens box of that parish, the other halfe towards the repairing of the church.

11. Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poore, and at these daies nothing lesse seene then the poore to be sustained with the same; all parsons, vicars, pentionaries, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanry, not being resident upon their benefices which may dispend yearely twenty pounds or above, either within this deanry, or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter among their poore parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens, or some other honest man of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruites and revenues of their said benefice, lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof among the poore people of that parish, that is so fruitfull and profitable unto them. Distribution of the fortieth part.

12. And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring, the more for the execution of the premisses, every parson, vicar, clarke, or beneficed man within this deanry, having yearely to dispend in benefices and other promotions of the church, an hundred pounds, shall give 3l. 6s. 8d. in exhibition to one scholler in any of the universities, and for as many c. li. more as he may dispend, to so many schollers more shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar-schoole, which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patrones cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise in executing of their offices, or may, when time shall be, otherwise profit the common weale with their counsell and wisedome. Exhibition for schollers.

13. Also that all proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clarkes, having churches, chappels, or mansions within this deanry, shall bestow yearely hereafter upon the same mansions, or chancels of their churches, being in decay, the fifth part of that their benefices, till they be fully repaired, and shall alwaies keepe and maintaine in good estate. The fift part for reparations.

14. Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and clarks, shall once every quarter of the yeare reade these injunctions given unto them, openly and deliberately, before all their parishioners at one time, or at two severall times in one day, to the intent that both they may be the better admonished of their duty, and their said parishioners the more mooved to follow the same for their part. Reading of the injunctions.

15. Also, for as much as by lawes established, every man is bound to pay his tythes: no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tythes, and so requite one wrong with another, or be his owne judge, but shall truely pay the same, as he hath beene accustomed, to their parsons, vicars, and curates, without any restraint or diminution, and such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for reformation thereof at their ordinaries, and other superiours, who, upon complaint and due proofe thereof, shall reforme the same accordingly. Payment of tythes.

16. Also, that every parson, vicar, curate, and stipendary priest, being under the degree of a master of art, shall provide and have his owne within three moneths after this visitation, the New Testament both in Latine and in English, with Paraphrases upon the same; conferring the one with the other. And the bishops and other ordinaries, by themselves or their officers, in their synods and visitations, shall examine the said ecclesiasticall persons, how they have profited in the study of holy scripture. The New Testament and Paraphrases.

17. Also, that the vice of damnable despaire may be clearly taken away, and that firme beleefe and stedfast hope may be surely conceived of all their parishioners, being in any danger, they shall learne, and have alwaies in a readinesse, such comfortable places and sentences of scripture, as doe set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodnesse of Almighty God, towards all penitent and beleeving persons; that they may at all times, when necessity shall require, promptly comfort their flock with the lively word of God, which is the onely stay of man's conscience. Comfortable sentences for the sicke.

18. Also, to avoyd all contention and strife which heretofore hath risen among the queenes majesties subjects, in sundry places of her realmes and dominions, by reason of Procession to be left.

fond courtesie, and challenging of places in the procession, and also that they may the more quietly heare that which is said or song, to their edifying; they shall not from henceforth, in any parish church, at any time, use any procession, about the church or church-yard, or at any place, but immediately before the time of communion of the sacrament, the priests, with others of the quier, shall kneele in the middest of the church, and

The letanie. sing, or say plainly and distinctly, the letanie, which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following, to the intent the people may heare and answere, and none other procession or letany to be had or used, but the said letanie in English, adding nothing thereto, but as it is now appointed. And in cathedrall or collegiate churches, the same shall be done in such places, and in such sort, as our commissioners in our visitation

Let. of hearing of divine service. shall appoint. And in the time of the letanie, of the common prayer, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall use any walking in the church, nor shall depart out of the church; and all ringing and knolling of bells shall be utterly forborne for at that time, except one bell in convenient time to be rong or knolled before the sermon. But yet for the retaining of the perambulation of the circuites of parishes, they shall once in the yeare, at the time accustomed, with the curate and the substantiall men of the parish, walke about the parishes as they were accustomed, and at their returne to the churche, make their common prayers.

Perambulation of parishes. 19. Provided, that the curate, in their said common perambulations, used heretofore in the days of rogations, at certaine convenient places, shall admonish the people to give thankes to God, in the beholding of God's benefits, for the encrease and abundance of his fruites upon the face of the earth, with the saying of the ciii. psalme: *Benedic anima mea*, &c. or such like. At which time also the same minister shall inculke these or such sentences, "Cursed be he which translateth the bounds and dolles of his neighbour." Or such other order of prayers as shall be hereafter appointed.

Spending of the holy day. *Item*, All the queenes faithfull and loving subjects, shall from henceforth celebrate and keepe their holiday according to God's holy will and pleasure, that is, in hearing the word of God read and taught in private and publike prayers, in knowledging their offences unto God, and amendment of the same, in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours, where displeasure hath been, in oftentimes receiving the communion of the very body and blood of Christ, in visiting of the poore and sicke, using all sobernesse and godly conversation; yet notwithstanding all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, That they may, with a safe and quiet conscience, after their common prayer in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festivall dayes, and save that thing which God hath sent: and if for any scrupulosity or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstaine from working upon those dayes, that then they should grievously offend and displease God.

Open contenders to be reconciled openly. 21. Also, for as much as variance and contention is a thing that most displeaseth God, and is most contrary to the blessed communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, curates shall in no wise admit to the receiving thereof, any of their cure and flocke, which be openly knowne to live in sinne without repentance, or who hath maliciously and openly contended with his neighbour, unlesse the same doe first charitably and openly reconcile himselfe againe, remitting all rancour and malice, whatsoever controversie hath beene betweene them. And neverthelesse, the just titles and rights they may charitably prosecute before such as have authority to heare the same.

Contemners of laudable ceremonies. 22. Also, that they shall instruct and teach in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to breake and violate the laudable ceremonies of the church, commanded by publique authority to be observed.

The abolishment of all things superstitious. 23. Also, that they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy, all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlestickes, trindals, and rolles of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of fained miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so

that there remaine no memory of the same in walls, glasse-windowes, or else-where within their churches and houses; preserving neverthelesse, or repairing, both the walls and glasse windowes, and they shall exhort all their parishioners to doe the like within their several houses.

24. And that the church-wardens, at the common charge of the parishioners, in every church shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place within the same, and to be there seemely kept for the preaching of God's word. The pulpit.

25. Also, they shall provide and have within three moneths after this visitation, a strong chest with a hole in the upper part thereof, to bee provided at the cost and charge of the parish, having three keyes, whereof one shall remaine in the custody of the parson, vickar, or curate, and the other two in the custody of the churchwardens, or any other two honest men, to be appointed by the parish from yeare to yeare, which chest you shall set and fasten in a most convenient place, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their oblations and almes for their poore neighbours. And the parson, vicar, and curat, shall diligently from time to time, and especially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbors to conferre, and give, as they may well spare, to the said chest: declaring unto them, whereas heretofore they have bin diligent to bestow much substance otherwise then God commanded, upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to fryers, and upon other like blind devotions; they ought at this time to bee much more ready to helpe the poore and needy, knowing that to relieve the poore is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon paine of everlasting damnation, and that also whatsoever is given for their comfort, is given to Christ himselfe, and so is accepted of him, that he will mercifully reward the same with everlasting life. The which almes and devotion of the people, the keepers of the keyes shall at all times convenient take out of the chest, and distribute the same in the presence of the whole parish, or sixe of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most needy neighbours. And if they be provided for, then to the reparation of high wayes next adjoyning, or to the poore people of such parishes neere, as shall bee thought best to the said keepers of the keyes. And also the money which riseth of fraternities, guilds, and other stocks of the church (except by the queens majesties authority it be otherwise appointed) shal be put in the said chest, and converted to the said use: and also the rents of lands, the profit of cattell, and money given or bequeathed to obits and diriges, and to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, and lampes, shal be converted to the said use, saving that it shall be lawfull for them to bestow part of the said profits upon the reparation of the said church, if great need require, and whereas the parish is very poore, and not able otherwise to repaire the same.

The chest of the poore.

The distribution of alms.

26. Also to avoid the detestable sinne of Simonie, because buying and selling of benefices is execrable before God, therefore all such persons as buy any benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit, shal be deprived of such benefices, and be made unable at any time after to receive any other spirituall promotion; and such as doe sell them, or by any colour doe bestow them for their owne gaine and profit, shall lose their right and title of patronage and presentment for that time, and the gift thereof for that vacation shall appertaine to the queenes majesty. Simonie.

27. Also, because through lacke of preachers in many places of the queenes realmes and dominions, the people continue in ignorance and blindnesse, all parsons, vicars, and curats, shall read in their churches every Sunday one of the homilies which are and shall be set forth for the same purpose by the queenes authority, in such sort as they shall be appointed to doe in the preface of the same. Homilies to be read.

28. *Item*, Whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably contemne and abuse priests and ministers of the church, because some of them (having small learning) have of long time favoured fond fantasies, rather than God's truth, yet forasmuch as Contempt of ministers.

theiroffice and function is appointed of God, the queenes majesty willeth and chargeth all her loving subjects, that from henceforth they shall use them charitably, and reverently, for their office and ministration sake, and especially such as labour in the setting forth of God's holy word.

29. *Item,* Although there be no prohibition by the word of God, nor any example of the primitive church, but that the priests and ministers of the church may lawfully, for the avoiding of fornication, have an honest and sober wife, and that for the same purpose, the same was by act of parliament in the time of our deare brother K. Edward the Sixt made lawfull; whereupon a great number of the clergie of this realm were then married, and so yet continue: Yet because there hath grown offence, and some slander to the church, by lake of discreet and sober behaviour in many ministers of the church, both in choosing of their wives, and in undiscreet living with them, the remedy whereof is necessary to be sought; it is thought therefore very necessary, that no manner of priest, or deacon, shall hereafter take to his wife, any manner of woman, without the advice and allowance first had upon good examination by the bishop of the same diocesse, and two justices of the peace of the same shire, dwelling next to the place where the same woman hath made her most abode before her marriage, nor without the good will of the parents of the said woman, if she have any living, or two of the next of her kinsfolkes, or for lake of knowledge of such, of her master or mistresse where she serveth. And before she shall be contracted in any place, he shall make a good and certaine proofe thereof to the minister, or to the congregation assembled for that purpose, which shall be upon some holiday where divers may be present. And if any shall do otherwise, that then they shall not be permitted to minister either the word or the sacraments of the church, nor shall be capable of any ecclesiastical benefice; and for the manner of marriages of any bishops, the same shall be allowed and approved by the metropolitan of the province, and also by such commissioners as the queens majesty thereunto shall appoint; and if any master or deane, or any head of any colledge, shall purpose to marry, the same shall not be allowed, but by such to whom the visitation of the same doth properly belong, who shall in any wise provide that the same tend not to the hinderance of their house.

Of apparell of ministers.

30. *Item,* Her majesty being desirous to have the prelacy and clergy of this realme to be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthinesse of their ministeries, and thinking it neccessary to have them knowne to the people in all places and assemblies, both in the church and without, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the speciall messengers and ministers of Almighty God; willeth and commandeth, that all archbishops, and bishops, and all other that be called or admitted to preaching or ministery of the sacraments, or that be admitted into any vocation ecclesiasticall, or into any society of learning in either of the universities, or else where, shall use and weare such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter yeare of the raigne of K. Edw. the Sixt, not thereby meaning to attribute any holinesse or speciall worthinesse to the said garments, but, as St Paul writeth, *Omnia decenter et secundum ordinem fiant.* 1 Cor. 14. cap.

Heresies.

31. *Item,* That no man shall wilfully and obstinately defend or maintaine any heresies, errors, or false doctrine, contrary to the faith of Christ and his holy spirit.

Charmers.

32. *Item,* That no persons shall use charmes, sorceries, enchantments, witchcraft, sooth-saying, or any such like divellish device; nor shall resort at any time to the same counsell or helpe.

Absent from common prayer.

33. *Item,* That no person shall, neglecting their own parish church, resort to any other church in time of common prayer, or preaching, except it be by the occasion of some extraordinary sermon in some parish of the same towne.

Inholders and ale-houses.

34. *Item,* That no inholders, or alehouse-keepers, shall use to sell no meat nor drinke in the time of common prayer, preaching, reading of the homilies or scriptures.

35. *Item*, That no persons keepe in their houses any abused images, tables, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of fained miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition. Images in houses.

36. *Item*, That no man shall willingly let or disturbe the preacher in time of his sermon, or let, or discourage, any curate or minister, to sing or say the divine service now set forth, nor mocke or jeast at the ministers of such service. Disturbers of sermon or service.

37. *Item*, that no man shall talke or reason of the holy scriptures rashly, or contentiously, nor maintaine any false doctrine, or error, but shall commune of the same when occasion is given, reverently, humbly, and in the feare of God, for his comfort and better understanding. Rash talkers of scripture.

38. *Item*, That no man, woman, or child, shall be otherwise busied in the time of the service, than in quiet attendance to heare, marke, and understand that is read, preached, and ministered. Attendant to the service.

39. *Item*, That every schoolemaster, and teacher, shall teach the grammer set forth by K. Hen. the Eighth of noble memory, and continued in the time of K. Edw. the Sixth, and none other. The grammer of King Henry the 8.

40. *Item*, That no man shall take upon him to teach, but such as shall be allowed by the ordinary, and found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching, as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion. Allowance of schoole-masters.

41. *Item*, That all teachers of children shall stir and move them to the love and due reverence of God's true religion, now truly set forth by publique authority. Duty of schoole-masters.

42. *Item*, That they shall accustome their schollers, reverently to learne such sentences of scriptures, as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godlinesse. Sentences of scripture for schollers.

43. *Item*, Forasmuch as in these latter dayes, many have bin made priests, being children, and otherwise utterly unlearned, so that they could read to say mattens and masse: the ordinaries shall not admit any such to any cure or spirituall function. Unlearned priests.

44. *Item*, Every parson, vicar, and curate, shall, upon every holiday, and every second Sunday in the yeere, heare and instruct all the youth of the parish, for halfe an houre at the least before evening prayer, in the ten commandements, the articles of the beliefe, and in the Lord's prayer, and diligently examine them, and teach the catechisme set forth in the booke of publike prayer. The catechisme.

45. *Item*, That the ordinary doe exhibit unto our visitors their bookes, or a true copy of the same, containing the causes why any person was imprisoned, famished, or put to death for religion. The booke of the afflictions for religion.

46. *Item*, That in every parish three or four discreet men, which tender God's glory, and his true religion, shall be appointed by the ordinaries, diligently to see that all the parishioners duely resort to their church upon all Sundayes and holydayes, and there to continue the whole time of the godly service; and all such as shall be found slack or negligent in resorting to the church, having no great nor urgent cause of absence, they shall straightly call upon them, and, after due admonition, if they amend not, they shall denounce them to the ordinary. Overseers for service on the holydayes.

47. *Item*, That the church-wardens of every parish, shall deliver unto our visitors the inventories of vestments, copes, and other ornaments; plate, bookes, and specially of grayles, couchers, legends, processionals, hymnals, manuels, portuesses, and such like appertayning to their church. Inventories of church goods.

48. *Item*, That weekly, upon Wednesdayes and Fridayes, not being holydayes, the curate, at the accustomed houres of service, shall resort to church, and cause warning to be given to the people by knolling of a bell, and say the letany and prayers. Service on Wednesdayes and Fridayes.

49. *Item*, Because in divers collegiate, and also some parish churches heretofore, there have bin livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children to use singing in the church, by meanes whereof the laudable service of musick hath bin had in estimation, and preserved in knowledge; the queens majesty, neither meaning in any wise the de- Continuance of singing in the church.

cay of any thing that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the church, that thereby the common prayer should be the worse understanded of the hearers, willeth and commandeth, that first no alterations be made of such assignements of living, as heretofore hath bin appointed to the use of singing or musick in the church, but that the same so remaine. And that there be a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may bee as plainly understanded, as if it were read without singing; and yet neverthelesse, for the comforting of such that delight in musicke, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be song an hymne, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and musick that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymne may be understanded and perceived.

Against slanderous and infamous words.

50. *Item*, Because in all alterations, and especially in rites and ceremonies, there happen discords amongst the people, and thereupon slanderous words and raylings, whereby charity, the knot of all christian society, is loosed; the queenes majesty being most desirous of all other earthly things, that her people should live in charity both towards God and man, and therein abound in good workes; willeth, and straightly commandeth all manner of her subjects, to forbeare all vaine and contentious disputations in matters of religion, and not to use in despight or rebuke of any person, these convitious words, Papist, or Papisticall Heretike, Schismatike, or Sacramentary, or any such like words of reproach. But if any manner of person shall deserve the accusation of any such, that first he be charitably admonished thereof, and if that shall not amend him, then to denounce the offender to the ordinary, or to some higher power, having authority to correct the same.

51. *Item*, Because there is a great abuse in the printers of bookes, which for covetousnesse chiefly, regard not what they print, so they may have gaine, whereby ariseth the great disorder by publication of unfruitfull, vaine, and infamous bookes and papers, the queens majesty straightly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of booke or paper, of what sort, nature, or in what language soever it be, except the same be first lycensed by her majesty, by expresse words in writing, or by six of her privie counsell; or be perused and lycensed by the archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke, the bishop of London, the chancellors of both universities, the bishop being ordinarie; and the archdeacon also of the place where any such shall be printed, or by two of them, whereof the ordinary of the place to be alwaies one. And that the names of such as shall allow the same, to be added in the end of every such work, for a testimony of the allowance thereof. And because many pamphlets, playes, and ballads, be oftentimes printed, wherein regard would be had, that nothing therein should be either hereticall, seditious, or unseemly for christian eares: Her majesty likewise commandeth, that no manner of person shall enterprise to print any such, except the same bee to him lycensed by such her majesties commissioners, or three of them, as be appointed in the city of London, to heare and determine divers causes ecclesiasticall, tending to the execution of certeine statutes, made the last parliament, for uniformity of order in religion. And if any shall sell or utter any manner of bookes or papers, being not lycensed as is above said: that the same party shall bee punished by order of the said commissioners, as to the quality of the fault shall be thought meet. And touching all other bookes of matters of religion, or policie, or governance, that have bin printed, either on this side the seas, or on the other side, because the deversity of them is great, and that there needeth good consideration to bee had of the particularities thereof, her majesty referreth the prohibition or remission thereof, to the order which her said commissioners within the city of London shall take and notifie. According to the which, her majesty

straightly commandeth all manner of her subjects, and especially the wardens and company of stationers to be obedient.

Provided that these orders doe not extend to any prophane authors and works in any language that have bin heretofore commonly received, or allowed in any of the universities or schooles, but the same may be printed and used as by good order they were accustomed.

52. *Item*, Although Almighty God is at all times to be honoured with all manner of reverence that may bee devised; yet of all other times, in time of common prayer, the same is most to be regarded. Therefore, it is to be necessarily received, that in time of the letanie, and all other collects, and common supplications to Almighty God, all manner of people shall devoutly and humbly kneele upon their knees, and give eare thereunto; and that whensoever the name of Jesus shall bee in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise in the church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons young and old, with lownesse of courtesie, and uncovering of heads of the menkind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath bin accustomed. Reverence of prayers. Honour to the name of Jesus.

53. *Item*, That all ministers and readers of publique prayers, chapters, and homilies, shall be charged to read leasurely, plainly, and distinctly, and also, such as are but meane readers, shall peruse over before once or twice the chapters and homilies, to the intent they may read to the better understanding of the people, and the more encouragement of godlinesse. Curates to read distinctly.

An Admonition to Simple Men, deceived by Malitious.

The queenes majesty being informed, that in certaine places of the realme, sundry of her native subjects being called to ecclesiasticall ministery of the church, be by sinister perswasion and perverse construction, induced to find some scruple in the forme of an oath; which by an act of the last parliament is prescribed to be required of divers persons, for the recognition of their allegeance to her majesty, which certainly never was ever meant, nor by any equity of words or good sense can be thereof gathered: would that all her loving subjects should understand, that nothing was, is, or shall be meant or intended by the same oath to have any other duty, allegeance, or bond required by the same oath, then was acknowledged to be due to the most noble kings of famous memory, K. Hen. the Eighth, her majesties father; or K. Edw. the Sixt, her majesties brother.

And further, her majesty forbiddeth all manner her subjects, to give eare or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notifie to her loving subjects, how by words of the said oath it may be collected, that the kings or queenes of this realme, possessors of the crowne, may challenge authority and power of ministery of divine service in the church, wherein her said subjects be much abused by such evill disposed persons. For certainly her majesty neither doth, nor ever will challenge any other authority, then that was challenged and lately used by the said noble kings of famous memory, K. Hen. the Eighth, and K. Edw. the Sixt, which is, and was of antient time due to the imperiall crowne of this realme, that is, under God to have the soveraignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realmes, dominions, and countryes, of what estate, either ecclesiasticall or temporall soever they be, so as no other forraigne power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person that hath conceived any other sense of the forme of the said oath, shall accept the same oath with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, her majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalfe, as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties conteyned in the said act, against such as shall peremptorily or obstinately take the same oath.

For Tables in the Church.

Whereas her majesty understandeth, that in many and sundry parts of the realme, the altars of the churches be removed, and tables placed for the administration of the holy sacrament, according to the forme of the law therefore provided; and in some other places, the altars be not yet removed, upon opinion conceived of some other order therein to bee taken by her majesties visitors. In the other whereof, saving for an uniformity, there seemeth no matter of great moment, so that the sacrament be duely and reverently ministred; yet for observation of one uniformity through the whole realme, and for the better imitation of the law in that behalfe, it is ordered, that no altar be taken downe, but by oversight of the curate of the church and the church-wardens, or one of them at the least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner to be used. And that the holy table in every church be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth, and as shall be appointed by the visitors, and so to stand, saving when the communion of the sacrament is to be distributed; at which time, the same shall bee so placed in good sort within the chancell, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants, in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number communicate with the said minister. And after the communion done, from time to time, the same holy table to be placed where it stood before.

The sacramental bread.

Item, Where also it was in the time of K. Edw. the Sixt, used to have the sacramentall bread of common fine bread, it is ordered for the more reverence to be given to these holy mysteries, being the sacraments of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that the same sacramentall bread be made and formed plaine, without any figure thereupon, of the same finenesse and fashion round, though somewhat bigger in compasse and thicknesse, as the usuall bread and water, heretofore named singing cakes, which served for the use of the private masse.

The Forme of bidding the Prayers to be used generally in this uniforme Sort.

Ye shall pray for Christ's holy catholike church, that is, for the whole congregation of christian people, dispersed throughout the whole world, and specially for the church of England and Ireland. And herein I require you most specially to pray for the Q. most excellent majesty our soveraign Lady Elizabeth, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and supreame governor of this realme, aswell in causes ecclesiasticall as temporall. You shall also pray for the ministers of God's holy word and sacraments, aswell archbishops and bishops, as other pastors and curats. You shall also pray for the queenes most honorable counsell, and for all the nobility of this realme, that all and every of these in their calling, may serve truly and painfully to the glory of God, and edifying of his people, remembering the account that they must make. Also, ye shall pray for the whole commons of this realme, that they may live in true faith and feare of God, in humble obedience and brotherly charity one to another. Finally, let us praise God for all those which are departed out of this life in the faith of Christ, and pray unto God, that we may have grace for to direct our lives after their good example, that after this life, we, with them, may be made partakers of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting,

And this done, shew the Holy Dayes, and Fasting Dayes.

All and singular, which injunctions, the Q. Majesty ministreth unto her clergy, and to all other her loving subjects, straightly charging and commanding them to observe and keepe the same upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of fruits, and benefices, suspension, excommunication, and such other correction, as to ordinaries, or other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whom her majesty hath appointed, or shall appoint for the due execution of the same, shall be seene convenient, charging and commanding them to see these injunctions observed and kept of all persons being under their jurisdiction, as they will answer to her majesty for the contrary. And her highness pleasure is, that every justice of peace, being required, shall assist the ordinaries, and every of them, for the due execution of the said injunctions.

A Speech made in the Upper House of Parliament, against the Supremacy to be in her Majesty: By Nicholas Heath, Lord Chancellor of England. In the First Year of Her Reign, 1558.

In the Original it is stiled, a " Tale told in Parliament. For oaths the Land shall be cloathed in Mourning."

This and the following article connect with the " Device for the Alteration of Religion," and the " Queen's injunctions," which precede them. In the first session of Queen Elizabeth's first parliament, an act was past for " restoring to the crown its ancient jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical;" in other words, for resuming the supremacy of the church. This was opposed keenly in the House of Lords by the bishops (all of whom were then catholics,) and by one temporal lord, the viscount Mountague.

Nicholas Heath, the archbishop of York, with whose speech the reader is here presented, was a person of mild and amiable manners, although a zealous catholic. He had been bishop successively of Llandaff, Rochester, and Worcester, and was deprived of the latter preferment in the reign of Edward VI. for refusing the oath of supremacy. Under the reign of Mary, he was made president of Wales, archbishop of York; and at length, on the death of the celebrated Gardiner, lord chancellor. After the alteration which was introduced by the statute that he here opposes, he submitted to deprivation rather than take the oath of supremacy, and retired to his manor of Cobham, where he was often visited by queen Elizabeth, who held him in high esteem. He died in 1566.

Burnet, mentioning Heath's speech, says, it was more distinguished by elegance than learning.

MY LORDS,

WITH all humble submission of my whole discourse to your wisdom, I purpose to speak to the body of the act, touching the supremacy; that so, what this honourable assembly is now a doing, concerning the passing of this act, may thereby be better weighed, and considered by your wisdoms.

First, When by the virtue of this act of the supremacy, we must forsake and fly from the see of Rome, it would be considered, what matter lieth therein; and what matter of danger or inconvenience; or else, whether there be none at all.

Secondly, If the intent of this act be to grant or settle upon the queen's majesty a

supremacy, it would be considered of your wisdoms what this supremacy is, and whether it doth consist in spiritual government, or temporal? If in temporal, what further authority can this House give her more than what she already hath by right of inheritance? And not by our gift, but by the appointment of God. Being our sovereign lord and lady, our king and queen, if further than this, we acknowledge her to be head of the church of England, we ought also to grant, that the emperor, or any other prince, being catholick, and their subjects protestants, (are to be heads of their church) whereby she shall do an act, as disagreeable to protestants, as this seems to catholicks.

If you say, That supremacy consists in spiritual concernments,

Then it would be considered, what the spiritual government is; and in what points it doth chiefly consist: which being first agreed upon, it would be further considered of your wisdoms, whether this House may grant to her highness or not? And whether her highness be an apt person to receive the same?

So by through examination of these parts, your honours shall proceed in this matter groundedly, upon such sure knowledge, as not to be deceived by ignorance.

Now to the first point, wherein I promised to examine, what matter of weight, danger, or inconvenience might be incurred, by this our forsaking, and flying from the church of Rome, if there were no further matter therein, than the withdrawing our obedience from the pope's person, (supposing, that he had declared himself to be a very austere and severe father to us) then the business were not of so great importance, as indeed it is, as will immediately here appear.

For, by relinquishing and forsaking the church, or see of Rome, we must forsake and fly from all general councils.

Secondly, From all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the church of Christ.

Thirdly, From the judgment of all other Christian princes.

Fourthly, and *Lastly*, We must forsake and fly from the holy unity of Christ's church, and so by leaping out of Peter's ship, we hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed in the waves of schism, of sects, and divisions.

First, Touching the general councils, I shall name unto you these four: the Nicene council, the Constantinopolitan council, the Ephesine, and the Chalcedon: all which are approved by all men.

Of those same councils, St Gregory writeth in this wise; *sicut enim sanctorum Evangelistarum quatuor libros, sic hæc quatuor concilia, Nicenum, Constantinopolitanum, Ephesinum, et Chalcedonense, suscipere, ac venerari me fateor:* That is to say in English, "I confess, I do receive and reverence these four general councils, of Nice, Constantinople, &c. even as I do the four holy evangelists."

At the Nicene Council, the first of the four, the bishops which were there assembled, did write three epistles to Sylvester, then bishop of Rome,

"That their decrees then made, might be confirmed by his authority."

At the council of Constantinople, all the bishops there were obedient to Damasus, then bishop of Rome: he, as chief in the council, gave sentence against the hereticks, Macedonus, Sabellius, and Eunomius; which Eunomius was both an Arrian, and the first author of that heresy, (that only faith doth justify.) And here (by the way) it is much to be lamented, that we, the inhabitants of this realm, are much more inclined to raise up the errors and sects of antient condemned hereticks, than to follow the true approved doctrine of the most catholick and learned fathers of Christ his church.

At the Ephesine council, Nestorius the heretick was condemned by Celestine the bishop of Rome, he being chief judge there.

At Chalcedon council, all the bishops there assembled, did write their humble submission unto Leo, then bishop of Rome; wherein they did acknowledge him there to be their chief head: six hundred and thirty bishops of them.

Therefore to deny the see apostolick, and its authority, were to contemn and set at nought the authority and decrees of those noble councils.

Secondly, We must forsake and fly from all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of Christ his church; whereunto we have already professed our obedience at the font, saying, *Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam;* that is, I believe the holy catholick church: which article containeth, That we must receive the doctrine and sacraments of the same church, obey her laws, and live according to the same; which laws do depend wholly upon the authority of the see apostolick. And like as it is here openly professed by the judges of the realm, that the laws agreed upon in the higher and lower Houses of this honourable parliament, to be of small or none effect, before the royal assent of the king or prince be given thereunto; even so ecclesiastical laws made, cannot bind the universal church of Christ, without the royal assent and confirmation of the see apostolick.

Thirdly, We must forsake and fly from the judgment of all other christian princes, whether they be protestant or catholick christians, when none of them do agree with these our doings: King Henry the Eighth being the first that ever took upon him the title of supremacy.

And whereas it was of late, here in this House, said by a nobleman, That the title of supremacy is of right due to a king, for that he is a king; then it would follow, that Herod, being a king, should be supream head of the church of Jerusalem: and Nero the emperor, supream head of the church of Christ at Rome; they being both infidels, and therefore no members of Christ his church.

And if our saviour Christ, at his departure from the world, should have left the spiritual government of his church in the hands of emperors, and kings, and not to have committed the same to his apostles; how negligently then should he have left his church!

It shall appear right well, by calling to mind, that the emperor Constantinus Magnus was the first christian emperor, and was baptized by Sylvester, bishop of Rome, about three hundred years after the ascension of Christ Jesus.

If, by your proposition, Constantine the first christian emperor, was the first head, and spiritual governor of Christ his church, throughout his empire; then it followeth, that our saviour Christ, for the space of three hundred years, unto the coming of this Constantine, left his church (which he had so dearly bought by effusion of his most precious blood) without any head at all.

But how untrue the saying of this nobleman was, it shall further appear by example of Ozia, and also King David. For King Ozia did take the censor to do incense to the altar of God. The priest Azarias did resist him, and expelled him out of the temple, and said unto him, *Non est officii tui, Ozia, ut adoleas incensum Domini; sed est sacerdotum, et filiorum Aaron: ad hujusmodi enim officium consecrati.* That is to say, "It is not thy office, Ozia, to offer incense to the altar of God: but it is the priest's office, and the sons of Aaron; for they are consecrated and anointed to that office."

Now I shall humbly demand this question; When the priest Azarias said to the king, *Non est officii tui*, whether he said truth or not? If you answer, that he spake the truth, then the king was not supream head of the church of the Jews. If you shall say, No; Why did God plague the king with leprosy, and not the priest?

The priest Azarias, in resisting the king, and thrusting him out of the temple, in so doing, did the priest play the faithful part of a subject, or no? If you answer, No, why then did God spare the priest, and not spare the king? If you answer, Yea, then it is most manifest, Ozia, in that he was king, could not be supream head of the church.

And as touching the example of King David, in bringing home the ark of God from the country of the Philistines to the city of David, what supremacy, or government of God's ark, did King David there take upon him? Did he place himself amongst the priests? Or take upon him any spiritual function unto them appertaining? Did he

approach near unto the ark? Or yet presume to touch the same? No, doubtless. For he had seen before, Ozia strucken to death by the hand of God, for the arrogance and presumption.

And therefore King David did go before the ark of God with his harp, making melody; and placed himself amongst the minstrels, and humbly did abase himself, (being a king) as to dance and leap before the ark of God, like as his other subjects did; insomuch, as his queen, Michol, King Saul's daughter, beholding and seeing this great humility of King David, did disdain thereat. Whereunto King David, making answer, said, *Ludam, et vilior fiam plus quam factus sum*, &c. That is, "I will dance and abase my self more than yet I have done; and abjecting myself in mine own eyes, I shall appear more glorious with those handmaids, that you talk of. I will play here before my Lord; which hath chosen me, rather than thy father's house." And whereas Queen Michol was therefore plagued at God's hand, with perpetual sterility and barrenness; King David received great praise for his humility.

Now, may it please your honours to consider, which of both these kings examples shall be most convenient for your wisdoms, to make the queen's majesty to follow; whether the example of proud Ozia, moving her, by your perswasions and councils, to take upon her spiritual government, and thereby exposing her soul to be plagued at the hand of God, as King Ozia was; or else to follow the example of the good King David, which, in refusal of all spiritual government about the ark of God, did humble himself, as I have declared unto you.

Whereunto our soveraign lady, the queen's highness, of her own nature being well inclined; we may assure ourselves, to have of her as humble, as virtuous, and as godly a mistress to reign over us, as ever had English people here in this realm; if that her highness be not, by your flattery, and dissimulation, seduced and beguiled.

Fourthly, and *lastly*, We must forsake, and fly from the holy unity of Christ's church: seeing that St Cyprian, that holy martyr, and great clerk, doth say, that the unity of the church of Christ doth depend upon Peter's authority, and his successors. Therefore, by leaping out of Peter's ship, we must be overwhelmed with waves of schisms, of sects, and divisions: because the same holy martyr, in his third epistle to Cornelius, testifieth, (that all heresies, sects, and schisms, do spring only from hence,) that men will not be obedient to the head bishop of God.

And how true this saying of St Cyprian is, we may see it most apparent to all men that list to see, both by the example of the Germans, and by us the inhabitants of this realm of England.

And by this our forsaking, and flying from the unity of the church of Rome, this inconveniency amongst many, must consequently follow: that either we must grant the church of Rome to be the true church of God, or else a malignant church. If you answer, that it is a true church of God, where Jesus Christ is truly taught, and his sacraments rightly administered; how can we disburthen our selves of our forsaking, and flying from that church, which we do confess, and acknowledge to be of God? When with that church, which is of God, we ought to be one, and not to admit of any separation.

If you answer, that the church of Rome is not of God, but a malignant church; then it will follow, that we, the inhabitants of this realm, have not as yet received any benefit of Christ; seeing we have received no gospel, or other doctrine, nor no other sacraments, but what was sent unto us from the church of Rome.

First, In King Lucius his days, at whose humble epistle the holy martyr Elutherius, then bishop of Rome, did send into this realm two holy monks, Fagatius, and Damianus; by whose doctrine and preaching, we were first brought to the knowledge of the faith of Jesus Christ, of his holy gospel, and his most holy sacraments.

Then, *Secondly*, Holy St Gregory, being bishop of Rome, did send into this realm two

other holy monks, St Austin, called the apostle of England, and Milletus, to receive the very self same faith, that had been before planted here in this realm, in the days of King Lucius.

Thirdly, and last of all, Paulus Tertius being bishop of Rome, did send hither the Lord Cardinal Pool, his grace, (by birth a nobleman of this land) his legate, to restore us unto the same faith which the martyr St Eleutherius and St Gregory had planted here many years before.

If therefore the church of Rome be not of God, but a false and malignant church, then we have been deceived all this while; seeing the gospel, the doctrine, faith, and sacraments, must be of the same nature as that church is, from whence it and they came; and therefore in relinquishing and forsaking that church, the inhabitants of this realm shall be forced to seek further for another gospel of Christ, other doctrine, other faith, and sacraments, than we have hitherto received; which will breed such a schism and error in faith, as was never in any christian realm. And therefore of your wisdoms worthy of consideration, and maturely to be pondered, and be provided for, before you pass this act of supremacy. Thus much touching the first chief point.

Now to the second deliberation, wherein I promised to move your honours, to consider what the supremacy is, which we go about, by virtue of this act, to give unto the queen, and wherein it doth consist; whether in spiritual government, or temporal. But if spiritual, (as these words in the act do import, supream head of the church of England, immediatly and next unto God;) then it would be considered, in what points this spiritual government doth consist: and the points being well known, it would be considered, whether this House hath authority to grant them, and her highness ability to receive them.

And as concerning the points wherein spiritual government doth consist, I have, in reading the gospel, and the whole course of divinity thereupon (as to my vocation belongeth) observed these four, as chief among many others: whereof the first is, the power to loose and bind sins, when our Saviour, in ordaining Peter to be chief and head governor of his church, said unto him, *Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum*, &c. That is, "to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c. Now it would be considered by your wisdoms, whether you have sufficient authority to grant unto her majesty this first point of spiritual government; and to say unto her, *Tibi dabimus*, &c. To thee will we give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If you say, yea; then do we require the sight of your warrant and commission, by virtue of God's word. And if you say, no; then you may be well assured, and perswade your selves, that you have not sufficient authority to make her highness supream head of the church of Christ here in this realm.

The second point of spiritual government is gathered out of these words of our Saviour Christ, spoken to St Peter in the 20th chapter of St John's gospel, *Pasce—et Pasce—et Pasce;* that is, feed my lambs, feed my lambs, feed my sheep: Now whether your honours have authority by this court of parliament, to say unto our sovereign lady, *Pasce, et Pasce, et Pasce*, &c. That is to say, Feed you the flock of Christ, you must shew your warrant and commission for it. And further, it is evident, that her majesty, being a woman by birth and nature, is not qualified by God's word to feed the flock of Christ, appears most plainly by St Paul, in this wise, *Taceant mulieres in ecclesiis, sicut et lex dicit.* Let women be silent in the church: for it is not lawful for them to speak, but to be in subjection, as the law saith. And it followeth in the same place, *Turpe est enim, mulieres loqui in ecclesia*, that is, for that it is not seemly for a woman to speak in the church. And in his second epistle to Timothy, *Dominari in virum, sed esse silentes;* that is to say, I allow not that a woman be a teacher, or to be above her husband, but to keep herself in silence. Therefore, it appears likewise, as your honours have not authority to give her highness this second point of spiritual government, to feed the flock of Christ; so by

St Paul's doctrine, her highness may not intermeddle herself with the same. And therefore she cannot be supream head of the church, here in England.

The third chief point of spiritual government is gathered out of those words of our Saviour Christ, spoken to St Peter in the 22d chapter of St Luke's gospel, *Ergo rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua; et tua liquando conversus, confirma fratres tuos.* That is, I prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not fail; and when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren, and ratifie them in wholesome doctrine, and administration of the sacrament; which are the holy instruments of God, so instituted and ordained for our sanctification, that without them his grace is not to be received. But to preach, or to administer the sacraments, a woman may not be admitted to do; neither may she be supream of Christ's church.

The fourth and last chief point of spiritual government, which I promised to note unto you, doth consist in the excommunication and spiritual punishment of all such as shall approve themselves not to be the obedient children of Christ's church.

Of which authority our Saviour Christ speaks in St Matthew's gospel, in the 18th chapter, saying, " If your brother offending will not hear your charitable admonition, whether secretly at first, or yet before one or two witnesses, then we must complain of him to the church, and if he will not hear the church, let him be taken as a heathen or publican."

So the apostle did excommunicate the notorious fornicator that was among the Corinthians; and by the authority of his apostleship, unto which apostles, Christ ascending into heaven, did leave the whole spiritual government of his church, as it appeareth by those plain words of St Paul, in his epistle to the Ephesians, chap. 4. saying, *Ipse dedit ecclesiæ suæ*, &c. He hath given to his church, some to be apostles, some evangelists, some pastors and doctors, for consummation of the saints, to the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ. But a woman in the degrees of the church, is not called to be an apostle, nor evangelist, nor to be a pastor, (as much as to say, a shepherd) nor a doctor, or a preacher; therefore she cannot be supream head of Christ's militant church, nor yet of any part thereof. For this high government God hath appointed only to the bishops and pastors of his people; as St Paul plainly witnesseth in these words, in the 20th chap. of the Acts of the apostles, saying, *Attendite vobis, et universo gregi*, &c. And thus much I have here said, right honourable and my very good lords, against this act of supremacy, for the discharge of my poor conscience, and for the love, and fear, and dread, that I chiefly owe unto God, to my sovereign lord and lady the queen's majesties highness, and to your honours all. Where otherwise, without mature consideration of all these premises, your honours shall never be able to show your faces before your enemies, in this matter; being so strange a spectacle and example in Christ's church, as in this realm is only to be found, and in no other christian realm.

Thus humbly beseeching your honours to take in good part this my rude and plain speech, which here I have used, of much zeal and fervent good will: And now I shall not trouble your honours any longer.

The Oration of Dr. Feckenham,[1] Abbot of Westminster, made in the Parliament House, Anno 1559.

FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY.

Westminster was not the only last Mitred Abbey which sent a lord to parliament, and Feckenham the last of those abbots; but, I think, the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth was the last in which he was permitted to enjoy that privilege. Her Majesty had taken a laudable resolution to establish the Reformation, which her royal father and brother had set on foot; and, consequently, the Romish system, which had recovered strength enough, under the protection of Queen Mary, to avenge itself on its enemies, though not to secure its own existence, was now in its last agonies. The Bill of Uniformity, which gave life to the church of England, was the bane of the church of Rome; and while that was under consideration, it was, that Feckenham, like the god-smith Demetrius, made this notable, but vain effort, to save the Craft, by which he had his living.

HONORABLE, and my very good lords; having at this present, two sundry kinds of religion here propounded and set before your honors, being already in possession of one of them, and your fathers before you, for the space of 1400 years past, here in this realm, like as I shall hereafter prove unto you; the other religion being here set in a book,[2] to be received and established by the auctority of the high court of parliament, and to take effecte here in this realm at midsommer next coming; and yow being, as I know, right well desirous to have some perfect and sure knowledge which of both those religions is the better, and most worthy to be established here in this realm, and to be preferred before the other; I will, for my part, and for the discharging of my duty, first, unto God; secoundlye, unto our soveraigne lady the quene's highness; thirdlye, unto your honours, and to the whole commons of this realm, here set forth and express unto you three brefe rules and lessons, whereby your honours shall be able to put difference betwixt the true religion of God and the counterfaite, and therein never be deceived.

The first is, In your search and tryal making, your honors must observe which of them hath been of most antiquitie, and most observed in the church of Christ of all men, at all times and seasons, and in all places.

The second, Which of them is of itself more stedfast, and always one and agreeable with itself.

The third and last rule to be considered of by your wisdomes is, which of these two religions doth breed the more humble and obedient subjects unto God, and next unto

[1] Cambden tells us, that "he was a learned and good man, lived a good while, did a great deal of good to the poor, and always solicited the minds of his adversaries to good will." (See a conference between Feckenham and Lady Jane Grey Dudley, upon the sacraments of the Christian church, in *Harl. Miscellany*, vol. iii.) Dr Story, in vindicating himself from the charge of cruelty, says, that he, with the abbot of Westminster, "a very pitiful minded man," begged the lives of twenty-eight heretics, who had been condemned to the flames.

[2] Prepared by the committee of the divines, who sate in conformity to the resolution of Elizabeth's council.

our soveraigne ladye the quene's highness and all superior powers. Concerning the first rule and lesson, it cannot be truly affirmed, or yet thought of in any manner, that this new religion here now to be set forth in this book hath been observed in Christ's church, of all Christian men at all times and in all places, when the same hath been observed only here in this realm, and that for a short time; as, not much passing the space of two years, and that in king Edward the sixth his days; whereas the religion and the very same manner of serving and honoring of God, of the which ye are at this present in possession, did begin here in this realm 1400 years past in king Lucius his days, the first Christian king of this realm; by whose humble letter sent unto the pope Elutherius, he sent into this realm two holy monks, the one called Damianus, and the other Faganus; and they, as embassadours sent from the see-apostolique of Rome, did bring into this realm so many years past, the very same religion, whereof we are now in possession; and that in the Latin tongue, as the auncient historiografer Guyldas witnessith in the prologue and beginning of his book of the Britain Histories: and the same religion, so long ago begun, hath had this long continuation ever since, here in this realm, not only of the inhabitants thereof, but also generally of all Christian men; untill the late dayes of king Edward the sixth, as is before said: whereby it appeareth unto all men, that love to see and know, how that, by this rule and lesson, the ancient religion and manner of serving God, whereof we are alredye in possession, is the very true religion of God.

Touching the second rule of tryal and probation, whether of both these religions is the better and most worthy of observation here in this realm, your honors must observe, which of them both is the most stedfast religion, and always one and agreeable with itself. That the new religion here now to be set forth in this book, is no stedfast religion, nor always one, neither agreeable with itself; who seeth it not, when, in the late practise thereof in king Edward the sixth's days, how changeable and variable was it, in, and to itself? every other year having a new book devised thereof, and every book being set forth, as they professed, according to the sincere word of God, though never any of them agreed in all points with the other; the first affirming seven sacraments and the real presence of Christ's body in the eucharist; the other denying the same; the one book[*] adnulling the real presence of Christ's body in the said sacrament, to be received in one kind with kneeling down and reverence, and that in unlevened bread; and the other, the communion to be received in both kinds, and in loafe bread, without any reverence, but only to the body of Christ in heaven. But the thing most to be observed of your honors is, how that of either book, made a shew to be set forth according to the syncere word of God, neither of them both did agree with the other: and what great mervayle I pray you, when the authors and devisers of the same books could not agree among themselves, nor yet any one man of them might be found that did long agree with himself? And for the proof thereof, I shall first begin with the German writers; the chief schole-maisters and instructors of our countrymen in all this their doing. I do reade in an epistle which Philip Melanchton writ to one Frederico Micenio, how, that one Carolastadius was the first man and beginner of the late sedition in Germany touching the sacrament of the altar, and the denial of Christ's real presence in the same; and when he come to interpret these words of our saviour Christ, *accepit panem, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, accipe et commedite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. Inquit ille. Monstrabit visibile corpus suum.* By which interpretation of Carolastadius, Christ should with one hand point unto his visible body that was then present, and say, this is my body which shall be betrayed for you. Martyn Luther, much offended with the foolish exposition made by Carolastadius of

[*] This is the word used in the MS; but, according to the sense, it ought rather to be admitting.

the wordes of Christ, *hoc est corpus meum*, he giveth another sense, and saith that, *Germanus sensus Christi*, was this. *Per hunc panem, vel cum isto pane, do vobis corpus meum.* Zuinglius, finding much fault with this interpretation of Martyn Luther's saying, that therein he was much deceived, wrote; in the words of Christ, *hoc est corpus meum*, this verb substantive *est*, must be taken for figurate; and this word *corpus*, *pro figura corporis*; so that the true sense of these words of Christ, *hoc est corpus meum*, must be taken for *significat corpus meum, vel est figura corporis mei.* Peter Martir, being of late here in this realm, in his book, by himself set forth, of the disputation which he had in Oxford with the learned students there of this matter, giveth another sense of those words of Christ, contrary to all the rest; and there saith this: *Christus, accipiens panem dixit, hoc est corpus meum; quasi diceret, corpus meum, per fidem perceptum, erit vobis pro pane, vel instar panis*: of whose sense the English is this: that Christ's body, recyved by fayth, shall be unto you as bread, or in the stead of bread. But to cease to speak any more of the German writers, I shall draw nearer home.

As unto Doctor Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, in this realm: How contrary was he unto himself in this matter, when, in one year, he did set forth a chatechisme in English, and dedicate the same unto King Edward the VI., wherein he doth most constantly affirm, and defend the real presence of Christ's body in the holy eucharist: and, very shortly after, he did set forth another book, wherein he did most shamefully deny the same; falsifying both the scriptures and doctors, to the no small admiration of all learned readers? Doctor Rydley, the notablest learned of that opinion in this realm, did set forth at Paul's Cross, the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, with these words, which I heard, being there present: How that the Devil did believe, that the Son of God was able to make of stones, bread; and we Englishe people, which do confess that Christ was the very Son of God, and yet will not beleive, that he did make of breade, his verye bodye fleshe and bloode; therefore we are worse than the Devil, seeing, that our Saviour Christ, by expressed words, did most plainly affirm the same; when, at his last supper, he take bread and said unto his disciples, "Take ye, eat; this is my body, which shall be given for you;" and, shortly after, the said Doctor Rydley, notwithstanding this most plain and open speech at Paul's Cross, did deny the same: and in the last book, which Doctor Cranmer and his complices did set forth of the communion in King Edward the VI. days, the plain words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, did so incomber them, and trouble their wills, that they did leave out in the said last book, this verb substantive *est*, and made the sense of Christ's words to be Englished, Take, eat, this my Body: Which thing being espied by others, and great fault found with them, they wer fain to patch up the matter in a little piece of paper clapped over the foresaid words, wherein was written this verb substantive *est*.

The dealing herewith being so uncertain, bothe of the Germane writers and Englishe, and one of them so much against another; your honours may be well assured, that this religion, which by them is set forth, can be no constant nor staied religion, and therefore of your honours not to be received; but great wisdom it were of your honours to refuse the same, untyll you shall perceive better agreement among the authors and setters forth of the same.

Touching the third and last rule, of tryal-taking, and putting of difference betwixt these religions, it is to be considered of your honours, which of them both doth breed more obedient and humble subjects: First, and chiefly, unto our Saviour and Redemer: Secondly, unto our sovereign lady the queen's majesty, and to all other superiours; and for some tryal and probation thereof, I shall desire your honours to consider the sudden mutation of the subjects of this realm, since the death of good Queen Mary, only caused in them by the preachers of this new religion; where in Queen Mary's days, your honours do know right well, how the people of this realm did live in an order, and would not run before laws; nor openly disobey the quene's highness procedings and pro-

clamation.[1] There was no spoiling of churches, pulling down of altars, and most blasphemous treading the sacraments under their feet, and hanging up the knave of clubs in the place thereof; there was no scratching nor cutting of the faces and legs of the crucifix and image of Christ: there was no open flesh-eating, nor shambles-keeping in the Lent, and days prohibited; the subjects of this realm, and especially the nobility, and such as were of the honourable council, did, in Queen Mary's days, know the way unto churches and chappels, thereby to begin their days-work, with calling for help and grace by humble prayer and serving of God; and now, since the coming and reign of our most soveraign and dere lady Queen Elizabeth, by the only preachers and scaffold-players of this new religion, all things are changed and turned up sett down, notwithstanding the queen's highness proclamations, most godly made to the contrary,[2] and her most vertuous example of living, sufficient to move the hearts of all obedient subjects unto the divine service and honor of God. But obedience is gone, humilitie and meekness clean abolished, virtuous, chaste, and strait living abandoned, as though they had not been heard of in the realm; all degrees and kinds being desirous of fleshly and carnal liberty, whereby the springalls and children are degenerate from their natural fathers, the servants contemtors of their masters commandments, the subjects disobedient unto God, and all superior powers.[3] And therefore, honourable and my very good lords, of my part, to minister some occasion unto your honours, to avoyd and expel out of this realm this new religion, whose frutes are so well known to be as I have repeted, and to persuade your honours to avoyd it as much as in you lieth; to persevere and continue stedfastly in the same religion whereof you are in possession, and have already made profession of the same unto God, I shall rehearse unto your honours four things, whereby the holy doctor Saincte Austine was continued in the Catholic church and religion of Christ which he had received, and would by no means change nor alter the same. The first of theis four things was *ipsa autoritas ecclesiæ Christi miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, charitate cincta, vetustate firmata.* The second thing was, *populi Christiani consensus et unitas.* The third was, *perpetua sacerdotum successio in sede Petri.* The fourth was, *ipsum Catholice nomen.* If these four things did cause so noble and learned a clerk as St Austen was, to continue in his professed religion of Christ, without all chaunge and alteration, how then ought not these four poincts to work the like effect in your honours; and not to forsake your professed religion? First, because it hath authoritie of Christ's church. Secondly, because it hath consent and agrement of christian people. Thirdly, it hath the

[1] In many places the protestants did not wait for the royal authority to re-establish the protestant service; and, according to the usual temper of the common people, the change was often attended with riot and insult to the faith and persons of the Roman catholic priests.

[2] Queen Elizabeth issued a strict proclamation against the riotous proceedings above noticed, although they were (as the abbot must have been well aware) only anticipations of her own intentions. The scaffold-players of the text seem to allude to such moralities as the *Four P's*, *New Custom*, &c. written against the popish doctrine.

[3] The general depravity here complained of was much insisted upon by all the favourers of the old religion; upon which, the editor of the Reliques of Ancient Poetry, in the introduction to a satirical piece, in which the topics of Feckenham's oration occur, has the following excellent remarks:—"The author artfully declines entering into the merits of the cause, and wholly reflects on the lives and actions of many of the reformed. It is easy to find flaws and imperfections in the conduct of men, even the best of them, and still easier to make general exclamations about the profligacy of the present times; but no great point is gained by arguments of that sort, unless the author could have proved that the principles of the reformed religion had a natural tendency to produce a corruption of manners: whereas he indirectly owns, that their reverend father (archbishop Cranmer) had used the proper means to stem the torrent, by giving the people access to the scriptures, by teaching them to pray with understandings, and by publishing homilies and other religious tracts. It must, however, be acknowledged, that our libeller had, at that time, sufficient room for just satire. For, under the banners of the reformed had enlisted themselves, many concealed papists, who had private ends to gratify; many that were of no religion; many greedy courtiers, who thirsted after the possessions of the church; and many dissolute persons, who wanted to be exempt from all ecclesiastical censures: and as these men were loudest of all others in the cries for reformation, so in effect none obstructed the regular process of it so much, or, by their vicious lives, brought vexation and shame more on the truly venerable and pious reformers."—*Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, Vol. II.

conformity of all Peter's successors in the see apostolique. Fourthly, it hath *ipsum Catholice nomen;* and in all tymes and seasons been called the Catholic religion of Christ. Thus bold have I been to trouble your honours with so tedious and long oration, for the discharge, as I said before, of my duty, first unto God; secondly, unto our sovereign lady the queen's highness; thirdly and last, unto your honours, to take in good part, and to be spoken of, for the only causes abovesaid, and for none other.[1]

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY,

Cleopatra, F. II. 50. Fol. 235.

GENERAL GRIEVANCES IN THE CHURCH.

A Note of Generall Grievances in the Church, complayned of by diverse Men, and Bills put into the Parliament House, but never redd.

This seems to have been a puritanical tract; but contains too many just subjects of complaint.

First, of excessive fees in the spiritual coortes, which in some places will be proved to be increased from 12s. to 20s.: it is alledged that the temporal lawyer takes more, and therefore the spiritual lawyer is not soe much to be blamed. To this is answered, that to give excessive fees, is either the bounty of the clyent, or his cause requiers; but to demaunde dobble or tryble fees, set downe in certayntye by canon and statute lawe, is extortion in bothe spiritual and temporall lawyers.

Item, Of delayes of suits in the spirituall coorts, which make the former fees more intollerable. For they may be compared to grievous sores, delayed from being cured only for the gayne of the surgion.

Item, Of citation *ex officio,* uppon publicke fame, for the apparance of meane persons, and for small causes, and a tolleration of offenses in greate parsons, which is coloured, because none dothe present them: thes mightie men they make a profession of sinne, and they never leave it till soule and bodye parte. The example is all for the inferiour sorte, and dothe cause them to think adulterye and fornication to be noe offences.

Item, Of a mightie disturbance in probate of willes, where men have goodes in severall dioces.

[1] To complete this debate, the following account of the bishop of Chester's oration against the act, is extracted from Burnet's History of the Reformation. "He said, the bill was against both faith and charity: That points once defined, were not to be brought again into question; nor were acts of parliament foundations for a church's belief: he enlarged on the antiquity of their forms; and said, it was an insolent thing to pretend that our fathers had lived in ignorance. The prophets often times directed the Israelites to ask of their fathers. Matters of religion could not be understood by the laity. It was of great consequence to have their faith well grounded. Jeroboam made Israel to sin, when he set up a new way of worship: and not only the orthodox, but even the Arrian emperours ordered, that points of faith should be examined in councils. Gallio, by the light of nature, knew that a civil judge ought not to meddle with matters of religion. In the service-book that was then before them, they had no sacrifice for their sins, nor were they to adore Christ in the host; and for these reasons he could not agree to it: but if any thought he spoke this because of his own concern, or pittied him for what he might suffer by it, he would say, in the words of our Saviour, Weep not for me, weep for yourselves."

Item, Of irreligiouse use of excommunication, some tyme for 2d. or 4d. being of itself the highest censure in the churche, if it were used according to the word of God.

Item, Of the covetous use of the visitations, whereby men's purses, not the manners, are serched into.

Item, Of the hurt that comes by barringe of lawful askinges in the churche, and graunting of licenses to marye. Thes mariadges are made in places peculiar, which is desired to be annexed to the bishopricks, by vagrant, unlearned, dissolute, drunckne, and ydle stipendaries, vicars, and curats, whoe are placed in the roomes of the churchemen, whoe having diverse livings, are non-resident, and they receive the profittes, and in steede of thankfullnes to God, they serve him by deputies.

Item, Of the abuse of governours of hospitalls, whoe robbe the poore, and convert thinges geven to alms to their own private uses; a greate offence to God, and to God's works.

Item, That ill usage of masters of colleges, whoe convert the college profitts, geven and ordayned to the advancement of learning, to the preferment of themselves, their wives and children. And as all matters were *venalia Rome*, soe there are fellowshipps, and scholershipps bought and sould in the universities; and poore scholers, that labour and are worthye of preferment, they are kept backe or quit discouraged, and for money riche men's children (whoe for the most parte are the worst scholers) they be preferred; which fills the churche and common wealth with unskillfull and unable ministers.

Item, A grevance, noe way inferior to the former, is the ungodlye use of the statute of 13th of her majestie, concerning faith and sacraments, by which men are forced to subscription, and are forced to accuse themselves: and lastlye, the over streight and curious observance of the statute of prime of her majestie, concerning ceremonies. For redresse of bothe these, is desired to be confirmed by a lawe in parliament, an explanation of the statute of 13th, and a qualification of prime of her majestie.

The Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures, conteined in the Old and New Testament. Translated according to the Ebrewe and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in divers Languages. With most profitable Annotations upon all the harde places, and other things of great importance, as may appear in the Epistle to the Reader.

Feare ye not, stand still, and behold the salvation of the Lord, which he will shew to you this day. Exod. xiv. 13.
Great are the troubles of the righteous; but the Lord delivereth him out of all. Psal. xxxiv. 19.
The Lord shall fight for you, therefore hold your peace. Exod. xiv. 14.

Edit. of this Bible. 1560. 1570. 1575. 1576. 1577. 1578. 1579. 1580. 1581. 1582. 1583. fol. 1589. 1599. 4to and 8vo. 1608. 1615. 1616. fol.

Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, dwelling in Pater-Noster-Rowe, at the sign of the Tygres Head, 1577. Cum privilegio: *Idem in a small Folio*, 1582.

A Didication prefixed to the Translation of the Bible, made by Mr Coverdale,[1] and other English exiles at Geneva, during the reign of Queen Mary, and printed at Lon-

[1] Miles Coverdale. He was originally an Augustin monk, but, embracing the reformed religion, became bishop of Exeter. In Queen Mary's time, he was deprived and imprisoned; but at the particular request of the King of Denmark, was released, and permitted to go into exile. Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession, he returned to Eng-

don by Christopher Barker, dwelling in Powles Church-yard, at the sign of the Tygres Head, 1576. *Cum privilegio.*

THE EPISTLE.

To the most virtuous and noble Queen Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c. Grace and peace from God the Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord.

Howe hard a thing it is, and what great impediments let, to enterprise any worthy act, not only daily experience sufficiently sheweth, (most noble and virtuous queen,) but also that notable proverbe doeth confirme the same, which amonisheth us, that "All things are hard which are faire and excellent." And what enterprise can there be of greater importance, and more acceptable unto God, or more worthy of singular commendation, then the building of the Lord's [1]temple, the [2]house of God, the [3]church of Christ, whereof the [4]Son of God is the head and perfection?

[1] 1 Cor. 3. 17.
[2] 1 Tim. 3. 14.
[3] Ephes. 1. 22.
[4] Ebre. 3. 6.

Where Zerubbabel went about to build the material temple, according to the commandment of the Lord, what difficulties and stayes [5]daily arose to hinder his worthy endevors, the books of Ezra and Esdras plainly witnesse, howe that not onely he and the people of God were sore molested with [6]foreine adversaries (whereof some maliciously [7]warred against them, and corrupted the king's officers; and others craftily practised under [8]pretence of religion) but also at home with domestical enemies, as [9]false prophets, [1]crafty worldlings, faint-hearted soldiers, and [2]oppressors of their brethren, who, as well by false doctrine and lyes, as by subtill counsel, cowardies, and extortion, discouraged the hearts almost of all: so that the Lord's work was not only interrupted and left of [3]for a long time, but scarcely at the length with great labour and danger after a [4]sort brought to passe.

[5] Ezra 4.
[6] 1 Esdr. 2. 16.
[7] Ezra 4. 7.
[8] Ezra 4. 2.
[9] Nehem. 6. 10.
[1] Nehem. 6. 18.
[2] Nehem. 5. 1.
[3] John 2. 20.
[4] Ezra 3. 12.

Which thing when we weigh aright, and consider earnestly how much greater charge God hath laid upon you in making you a builder of his spiritual temple, we cannot but partly fear, [5]knowing the craft and force of Satan our spiritual enemie, and the weakenes and unability of this our nature: and partly be fervent in our prayers towards God, that he would bring to perfection this noble work which he hath begun by you: and therefore we endevour our selves by all meanes to aid, and to bestow our whole force under your graces standarde, whom God hath made as our Zerubbabel, for the erecting of this most excellent temple, and to plant and mainteine his holy worde to the advancement of his glory, for your owne honour and salvation of your soule, and for the singular comfort of that great flocke, which Christ Jesus the great [6]shepherd hath bought with his [7]precious blood, and committed unto your charge to be fed both in body and soul.

[5] 2 Cor. 2. 11.
[6] Ebre. 13. 10.
[7] 1 Pet. 1. 19.

Considering therefore how many enemies there are, which by one meanes or other, as the [8]adversaries of Judah and Benjamin went about to stay the building of that temple,

[8] Ezra 4. 1.

land, but declined to resume his bishopric. He is buried in St Bartholomew's Church, under a tomb, bearing the following inscription:

Hic tandem requiemque ferens finemque laborum
Ossa Coverdali mortua tumbus habet:
Exoniæ qui præsul erat dignissimus olim,
Insignis vitæ vir probitate suæ.
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit et unum,
Indignum passus sæpius exilium.
Sic tandem variis jactatus casibus iste
Excipitur gremio, terra benigna, tuo.

Bishop Coverdale assisted William Tindal in the English version of the Bible, printed 1537, and afterwards revised and corrected a larger edition with notes in 1546.

so labour to hinder the course of this buylding, (whereof some are papistes, who, under pretence of favouring God's word, traiterously seeke to erect idolatry, and to destroy your majesty; some are worldings, who, as [9] Demas, have forsaken Christ for the love of this world; others are ambitious prelates, who, as [1] Amasiah, and [2] Diotrephes, can abide none but themselves; and, as [3] Demetrius, many practise sedition to maintaine their errors) we persuaded our selves that there was no way so expedient and necessary for the preservation of the one and destruction of the other, as to present unto your majesty the Holy Scriptures, faithfully and plainly translated, according to the languages wherein they were first written by the Holy Ghost, for the worde of God's [4] love, and our assurance of his defence, wheresoever it is obediently received, it is the trial of the [5] spirits; and, as the prophet saith, It [6] is as a fyre and hammer to breake the stonie hearts of them that resist God's mercies offered by the preaching of the same. Yea it is [7] sharper then any two-edged sworde to examine the very thoughts, and to judge the affections of the heart, and to discover whatsoever lyeth hid under hypocrisie, and would be secret from the face of God and his church. So that this must be the first fundation and grounde worke, according whereunto the good stones of this building must be framed, and the evill tried out and rejected.

9 2 Tim. 4. 10.
1 Amos 7. 12.
2 3 John 9.
3 Acts 19. 24.
4 John 14. 23.
5 1 John 4. 1.
6 Jere. 23. 29.
7 Ebr. 4. 12.

Now, as he that goeth about to laye a foundation surely, first taketh away such impediments as might justely either hurt, let, or deforme the worke; so is it necessarie that your grace's zeale appeare herein, that neither the craftie persuasion of man, neither worldly policie or naturall feare dissuade you to roote out, cut down, and destroy these wedes and impediments, which do not only deface your building, but utterly indevoure, yea and threaten the ruine thereof. For when the noble [8] Josias enterprised the like kind of work, amonge other notable and many things he destroyed not onely with utter confusion the idoles with their appurtinances, but also burnt (in signe of detestation) the idolatrous priestes bones upon their altars, and put to [9] death the false prophets and sorcerers, to performe [1] the wordes of the law of God: And therefore the Lord gave him good success and blessed him wonderfully so long as he made [2] God's worde his line and rule to follow, and enterprised nothing before he had inquired at the mouth of the Lord.

8 1 Kings 23. 16.
9 2 Chron. 34. 5.
1 Deut. 13. 5.
2 Levit. 20. 6.
3 Deut. 18. 11.

And if these zealous beginnings seeme dangerous, and to breede disquietnes in your dominions, yet by the storie of King [4] Asa it is manifest, that the quietnes and [5] peace of kingdomes standeth in the utter abolishing of idolatrie, and in advancing of true religion; for in his days [6] Judah lyved in rest and quietnes for the space of five and thirtie yere, tyl at length he began to be cold in the zeale of the Lord, feared the power of man, imprisoned the prophet of God, and oppressed the people: then the Lord sent him warres, and at lengthe tooke him away by death.

4 2 Chron. 35. 22.
5 2 Chron. 14. 5. and 15. 15.
6 2 Chron. 12.

Wherefore great wisdome, not worldely, but heavenly, is here required, which your grace must earnestly crave of the Lord, as did [7] Salomon, to whom God gave an understanding heart to judge his people a right, and to discerne betweene good and bad. For if God for the furnishing of the olde temple gave the spirit of wisdome and understanding to them that should be the workemen thereof, as to [8] Bezaleel, [9] Aholiab, and [1] Hiram; how much more will he indewe your grace and other godly princes and chief governors with a principal spirit, that you may procure and command things necessarie for this most holy temple, foresee and take hede of things that might hinder it, and abolish and destroy whatsoever might impayre and overthrowe the same.

7 1 Kings 3. 9.
8 2 Chron. 1. 10.
9 Exod. 31. 1.
1 1 Kings 7. 14.

Moreover, the marvellous diligence and zeal of Jehoshaphat, Josiah, and Hezekiah, are, by the singular providence of God, left as an example to all godly rulers to reforme their countrys, and to establishe the worde of God with all spede, lest the [2] wrath of the Lord fall upon them for the neglecting thereof. For these excellent [3] kings did not only imbrace the word promptly and joyfully, but also procured earnestly, and commanded the same to be taught, preached, and mayntained through all their countrys and dominions,

2 2 Chron. 31. 21.
3 2 Chron. 31. 31.

binding [4] them and all their subjects, both great and small, with solemne protestations and covenants before God, to obey the word, and to walke after the ways of the Lord. Yea, and in the days of King [5] Asa it was enacted, that whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel, should be slaine, whether he were small or great, man or woman. And for the establishing hereof and performance of this solemne othe, as well priestes as judges were appointed and placed through all the cities of Judah to instruct the people in the true knowledge and feare of God, and to minister justice according to the word, knowing that except God by his word did reigne in the [6] heartes and soules, also mans diligence and indevours were of none effecte; for without this word we can not discerne between justice and injurie, protection and oppression, wisdom and foolishnes, knowledge and ignorance, good and evill. Therefore the Lord, who is the chief governor of his church, willeth, that nothing be attempted before we have inquired thereof at his mouth. For seeing he is our God, of duetie we must give him this pre-eminence, that of our selves we enterprise nothing, but that which he hath appointed, who only knoweth all things, and governeth them as may best serve to his glorie and our salvation. We ought not therefore to prevent him, or do any thing without his word, [7] but as soon as he hath reveiled his will immediatly to put it in execution.

Now as concerning the manner of this building, it is not according to man, nor after the wisdome of the flesh, but of the spirit, and according to the word of God, whose [8] wayes are divers from man's wayes. For if it was not lawful for Moses to build the material tabernacle after any other sort then God had shewed him by [9] a patern, neither to prescribe any other [1] ceremonies and lawes then such as the Lord had expressly commanded; how can it be lawful to procede in this spiritual buylding any other wayes then Jesus Christ the Son of God, who is both the fundation, head and chief corner thereof, hath commanded by his word? And for as much as he hath established and left an order in his church for the building up of his body, appointing some to be apostles, some prophets, others evangelistes, some pastors and teachers, he signifieth that every one according as he is placed in this body which is the church, ought to inquire of his ministers concerning the will of the Lord, which is reveiled in his word. For they are, saith [5] Jeremiah, as the mouthe of the Lord: Yea he promiseth to be with their mouthe, and that their [6] lippes shall keepe knowledge, and that the trueth and the law shall be in their mouthe. For it is their office chiefly to understand the scriptures, and teach them. For this cause the people of Israel in matters of difficultie used to ask the Lord either by the [7] prophets, or by the meanes of the hie priest, who bare Urim and Thummim, which were [8] tokens of light and knowledge, of holines and perfection, which should be in the hie priest. Therefore when Jehoshaphat took this order in the church of Israel, he appointed Amariah to be the chiefe concerning the word of God, because he was most expert in the law of the Lord, and could give councel and governe according unto the same. Els there is no degree or office which may have that authoritie and priviledge to decise concerning God's worde, except withal he hath the spirit of God, and sufficient knowledge and judgment to define according thereunto. And as every one is indued of God with greater giftes, so ought he to be herein chiefly heard, or at least that without the express worde none be heard: For he that hath not the worde [4] speaketh not by the mouthe of the Lord. Again, what danger it is to do any thing, seem it never so godly or necessarie, without consulting with God's mouthe, the examples of the Israelites [5] deceived hereby through the Gibeonites, and of [6] Saul, whose intention seemed good and necessarie; and of [7] Josiah also, who for great considerations was moved for the defence of true religion and his people, to fight against Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt, may sufficiently admonish us.

Last of all (most gratious queene) for the advancement of this buylding and rearing up of the worke, two thinges are necessarie, first, that we have a lively and stedfast fayth in Christ Jesus, who must [8] dwell in our hearts, as the onley meanes and assurance of

[4] 2 Chron. 15. 13.
[5] 2 Chron. 17. 7. and 19. 5.
[6] Deut. 6. 6. and 11. 18.
[7] Isa. 30. 2.
[8] Isa. 55. 8.
[9] Exod. 25. 4. Acts 7. 44. Ebre. 8. 5.
[1] Deut. 5. 32. Ephe. 4. 11.
[5] Jerem. 15. 19.
[6] Exod. 4. 14.
[7] Mala. 2. 7.
[8] Jud. 1. 1. and 20. 1.
[9] 1 Sam 10. 22.
[1] Sam. 9. 9.
[2] 2 Kings 22. 13.
[3] Exod. 28. 30.
[4] Jere. 23. 16.
[5] Josh. 9. 14.
[6] 1 Sam. 13. 11.
[7] 2 Chro. 35. 20.
[8] Ephes. 3. 17.

[9] Gen. 28. 12. our salvation: for he is the [9]ladder that reacheth from the earth to heaven; he lifteth up
[1] John 1. 15. his church and setteth it in the heavenly places: he maketh us lively [1]stones, and buyldeth
[2] 1 Pet. 2. 5. us upon himself, he joyneth us to himself as the [2]members and bodie to the head, yea
[3] 1 Cor. 12. 12. he maketh himself and his church one [3]Christ. The next is, That our fayth bring
[4] 2 Pet 1. 10. foorth good fruites, so that our godly conversation may serve us as a witnes to [4]confirme
[5] Eph. 4. 1. our election, and be an example to all others, to [5]walke as apperteyneth to the vocation
[6] Rom. 2. 12. whereunto they are called: least the worde of God be [6]evil spoken of, and this buylding be stayed to growe up to a just height, which cannot be without the great provocation of God's juste vengeance, and discouraging of many thousands through all the worlde, if they should see that our life were not holy and agreeable to our profession.
[7] 2 Thess. 1. 7. For the eyes of all that feare God in all places beholde your countreyes as an [7]example to all that beleeve, and the prayers of all the godly at all times are directed to God for the preservation of your majestie. For considering God's wonderful mercies towarde you at all seasons, who hath pulled you out of the mouthe of the lyons, and how that
[8] 2 Tim. 3. 15. from your [8]youth you have been brought up in the holy scriptures, the hope of all men is so increased, that they cannot but looke that God should bring to pass some wonderful worke by your grace to the universal comfort of his church. Therefore even above strength you must shewe your selfe strong and bolde in God's matters: and though Satan lay all his power and craft together to hurt and hinder the Lord's building: yet be
[9] Revel. 12. 9. assured that God will fight from heaven against this great [9]dragon, the antient serpent, which is called the Devil and Satan, till he have accomplished the whole worke, and
[1] Ephe. 4. 27. made his churche [1]glorious to himself, without spot or wrincle. For albeit all other kingdoms and monarchies, as the Babylonians, Persians, Grecians, and Romanes, have fallen and taken end, yet the churche of Christ, even under the crosse, hath from the beginning of the worlde ben victorious, and shall be everlastingly. Trueth it is, that sometime it seemeth to be shadowed with a cloude, or driven with a stormie persecution, yet sodenlie the beames of Christ, the sunne of justice, shine and bring it to light and libertie. If for a tyme it lye covered with ashes, yet it is quickely kindled againe by the winde of God's spirit: though it seeme drowned in the sea, or parched and pyned in the wildernes, yet God giveth ever good successe. For he punisheth the enemies, and delivereth his, nourisheth them, and still preserveth them under his wings. The Lord of lords, and King of kings, who hath ever defended his, strengthen, comfort, and preserve your majestie, that you may be able to build up the ruines of God's house to his glory, the discharge of your conscience, and to the comfort of all them that love the comming of Christ Jesus our Lord.

To our beloved in the Lord, the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. Grace, Mercie, and Peace through Christ Jesus.

Besides the manifold and continual benefites which Almightie God bestoweth upon us both corporal and spiritual, we are especially bound (deare brethren) to give him thankes without ceasing for his great grace and unspeakable mercies, in that it hath pleased him to call us unto this merveilous light of his gospell, and mercifullie to regarde us after so horrible backesliding, and falling away from Christ to Antichrist, from light to darkenes, from the living God to dumme and dead idoles, and that after so cruel murther of God's saintes, as, alas, hath bene among us, we are not altogether cast off, as were the Israelites, and many others, for the like, or not so manifest wickednes, but received again to grace, with most evident signes and tokens of God's especiall love and favour. To the intent therefore that we may not be unmindfull of these great mercies, but seeke by all meanes (according to our duetie) to be thankefull for the same, it behoveth us so to walke in his feare and love, that all the daies of our life we may procure the glorie of

his holie name. Now forasmuch as this thing chiefly is atteined by the knowledge and practising of the worde of God, (which is the light to our pathes, the keye of the kingdome of heaven, our comfort in affliction, our shield and sword against Satan, the schoole of all wisedome, the glasse wherein we beholde God's face, the testimonie of his favour, and the only foode and nourishment of our soules,) we thought that we could bestowe our labours and studie in nothing which could be more acceptable to God, and comfortable to his church, then in the translating of the Holy Scriptures into our native tongue; the which thing albeit that divers heretofore have indevored to atchieve, yet considering the infancy of these times, and imperfect knowledge of the tongues, in respect of this ripe age and cleer light which God hath nowe reveiled, the translations required greatly to be perused and reformed. Not that we vindicate any thing to ourselves above the least of our brethren, (for God knoweth with what fear and trembling we have been now for the space of two years and more, day and night, occupied herein,) but being earnestly desired, and by divers whose learning and godlines we reverence, exhorted, and also incouraged by the readye willes of such, whose heartes God likewise touched, not to spare any charges for the furtherance of such a benefite and favour of God toward his church, (though the time then was most dangerous, and the persecution sharpe and furious,) we submitted our selves at length to their godly judgmentes; and seeing the great opportunitie and occasions, which God presented unto us in his church, by reason of so many godly and learned men, and such diversities of translations in divers tongues, we undertooke this great and wonderful worke, (with all reverence as in the presence of God, as in treating the worde of God whereunto we thinke ourselves unsufficient,) which now God according to his divine providence and mercy hath directed to a moste prosperous end. And this we may with good conscience protest, that we have in every point and worde, according to the measure of that knowledge which it pleased Almightie God to give us, faithfully rendered the text, and in all hard places most syncerely expounded the same. For God is our witness that we have by all meanes indevoured to set forth the puritie of the word, and right sense of the Holy Ghost, for the edifying of the brethren in faith and charitie.

Nowe as we have chiefly observed the sense, and laboured alwayes to restore it to all integritie; so have we most reverently kept the propertie of the wordes, considering, that the apostles, who spake and wrote to the Gentiles in the Greeke tongue, rather constrained them to the lively phrase of the Ebrewe, then enterprised farre by mollifying their language to speake as the Gentiles did. And for this and other causes we have in many places reserved the Ebrewe phrases, notwithstanding that they may seeme somewhat hard in their ears that are not well practised, and also delite in the sweete sounding phrases of the Holy Scriptures. Yet lest either the simple should be discouraged, or the malicious have any occasion of just cavillation, seeing some translations reade after one sorte, and some after another, wheras all maye serve to good purpose and edification, we have in the margent noted that diversity of speeche or reading which may also seeme agreeable to the mind of the Holy Ghost, and propre for our language, with this marke ‖.

Againe, whereas the Ebrewe-speech seemed hardly to agree with ours, we have noted it in the margent after this sorte," using that which was more intelligible. And albeit that many of the Ebrewe names be altered from the olde text, and restored to the true writing and first originall, whereof they have their signification, yet in the usual names little is changed for feere of troubling the simple readers. Moreover, whereas the necessitie of the sentence required any thing to be added (for such is the grace and proprietie of the Ebrewe and Greeke tongues, that it cannot but either by circumlocution, or by adding the verbe, or some worde, be understand of them that are not wel practised therein) we have put it in the text with an other kinde of letter, that it may easely be discerned from the common letter. As touching the division of the verses, we have followed the Ebrewe examples, which have so even from the beginning distinguished them.

Which thing, as it is most profitable for memorie, so doeth it agree with the best translations, and is most easie to finde out both by the best concordances, and also by the quotations which we have diligently herein perused, and set forth by this *. Besides this, the principal matters are noted and distinguished by this marke ¶. Yea, and the arguments both for the booke, and for the chapters with the number of the verse are added, that by all meanes the reader might be holpen. For the which cause also we have set over the head of every page some notable worde or sentence, which may greatly further aswell for memorie, as for the chiefe pointe of the page. And considering how hard a thing it is to understand the holy scriptures, and what errors, sects, and heresies, growe daily for lacke of the true knowledge thereof, and how many are discouraged (as they pretende) because they cannot atteyne to the true and simple meaning of the same, we have also indeavored, both by the diligent reading of the best commentaries, and also by the conference with the godly and learned brethren, to gather brief annotations upon all the hard places, as well for the understanding of such wordes as are obscure, and for the declaration of the text, as for the application of the same, as may most apperteyne to God's glory, and the edification of his church. Furthermore, whereas certeine places in the bookes of Moses, of the Kings, and Ezekiel, seemed so darke, that by no description they could be made easse to the simple reader, we have so set them forth with figures and notes for the ful declaration thereof, that they which cannot by judgement, being helpen by the annotations noted by the letters a, b, c, &c. atteyne thereunto, yet by the perspective, and as it were by the eye, may sufficiently knowe the true meaning of all such places. Whereunto also we have added certeine mappes of cosmographie, which necessarlie serve for the perfect understanding and memoire of divers places and countries, partly described, and partly by occasion touched both in the Olde and Newe Testament. Finally, that nothing might lacke which might be brought by labours, for the increase of knoweledge and furtherance of God's glorie, we have adjoined two moste profitable tables, the one serving for the interpretation of the Ebrewe names; and the other conteyning all the chief and principal matters of the whole Bible: So that nothing (as we trust) that any coulde justly desire is omitted. Therefore, as brethren that are partakers of the same hope and salvation with us, we beseeche you that this riche pearle and inestimable treasure may not be offered in vayne, but as sent from God to the people of God, for the increase of his kingdome, the comforte of his church, and discharge of oure conscience, whom it hath pleased him to raise up for this purpose, so you would willingly receyve the word of God, earnestly studie it, and in all your life practise it, that you may nowe appeare in deede to be the people of God, not walking any more according to this world, but in the fruites of the spirit, that God in us may be fully glorified through Christ Jesus our Lord, who liveth and reigneth for ever. *Amen.*

The Order of the Yeres from Paul's Conversion, shewing the time of his Peregrination, and of his Epistles written to the Churches.

The yeres of the nativitie of Jesus Christ.	The yeres of the conversion of St Paul.		The yeres of Tyberius the Emperor.
35	1	Paul a persecuter, Act. 7. 8. 9. was converted as he went toward Damascus. Act. 9.	20
36	2	From Damascus he went into Arabia to preache the gospel; after	21

A°. C.	A°. P. C.		
			Of Tyberius.
		he returned to Damascus, where they would have taken him, but he escaped by the means of the faithfull which did let him downe in a basket throughth the walles. Act. 9. Galat. 1.	
38	4	From thence he came to Jerusalem to see Peter. Gal. 1. Act. ix. 2. Cor. xii.	23
			Of Caligula.
39	5	The Jews would have put him to death, but he was led to Ce-	2
40	6	sarea, and from thence sent into Syria and to Tarsus of Cilicia. Act. ix. Gal. i.	
42	8	After he was brought to Antiochia by Barnabas, where the dis-	3
43	9	ciples were first named Christians.	4
			Of Claudius.
44	10	The famine that was prophecied by Agabus under C. Cæsar. Act. 13. 14.	1
45	11	S. James was slaine by Herode. Act 12.	2
46	12	Paul the governour of Cyprus converted by S. Paul. Act. 13.	3
47	13	Paul preached the gospel in Antiochia of Pisidia, a part of Galatia. Act. 14.	4, 5
48	14	Thence he went to Iconium, where he remained for a time. Act. 13. 14.	6
49	15	He healed a lame man at Lystri, and there was stoned. Act. 14.	7
50	16	When he had appointed the elders in the churche, he visited all	8
51	17	Pisidia and Pamphilia, and returned to Antiochia.	9
52	18	At this time was the councill of the apostles holden at Jerusalem,	10
53	19	where St Paul appeared, and he returned to Antiochia, whither Peter also came, and Paul resisted him openly. Act. 15. Galat. 2.	11
54	20	Paul went into Syria and Cilicia with Silvanus to confirme the churches, and afterwards Derbe and Lystri, where he taketh Timothy unto him; thence he goeth to Macedonia, and teacheth in a citie called Philippi. Act. 15, 16.	12
55	21	Paul preacheth at Athens, and from thence writeth to the Thessalonians.	13
56	22	He remaineth at Corinth 18 months, and from thence writeth to the Romans.	14
			Of Nero.
57	23	He returneth to Ephesus, and from thence to Cesarea, afterward	
58	24	to Jerusalem, and so to Antioch, afterwards he visiteth the churches of Galatia and Phrygia. Act. 18.	2
59	25	He cometh to Ephesus, where he preacheth two yeres, and there leaveth Timothy. Acts 19. 1 Tim. i.	3
60	26	He writeth from Ephesus the first to the Corinthians. 1 Corinth. 16.	4
61	27	After the tumult that was in Ephesus, he came to Troas, and from thence to Macedonia, and being at Philippi, he wrote the second to the Corinthians by Titus and Luke. 2 Cor. 2. and 13. Act. 20.	5
62	28	Thence he came into Achaia and to Corinth as he had promised, 1. Cor. 16. and 2 Cor. 12. and because certaine laid wait for him, he returned by Macedonia unto Troas toward Aristarchus, and Timothy, who were gone before him. Act. 20.	6
63	29	From Troas he came to Assos, to Mitylene, called Lesbos, unto	7
64	30	Samos, and from thence to Miletum, where he took leave of the	8

A°. C.	A°. P. C.		Of Nero.
		Ephesians. Act. 20. Thence he came to Rodes, to Patara, to Tyrus, to Ptolemais, to Cesarea, and last of all to Jerusalem, where he was taken. Act. 21, and 22.	
65	31	When he was prisoner, he was led to Cesarea before the governour Felix. Act. 23. Where he remained two years. Act. 24.	9
66	32	Afterward he was sent prisoner to Rome. Act. 27. And being	10
67	33	in prison there, he wrote to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians.	11
68	34	Also to the Colossians, and to Philemon.	12
69	35	The second to Timothy.	13
70	36	Finally he was beheaded at the commandment of Nero.	14

A Table conteining the Cycle of the Sunne, Dominical Letter, Leape Yere, Easter, Rogation Sunday, Golden Number, Indiction, and Epact, servinge for 28 Yeres.

Anno Domini.	Cycle of the Sunne.	Sundays Letter.	Leap Year.	Easter.	Rogation Sunday.	Golden Number.	Indiction.	Epact.
1576	17	A	G	22 April	28 May	19	3	29
1577	18	F		7 April	13	1	4	11
1578	19	E		30 March	5	2	5	22
1579	20	D		19 April	25	3	6	3
1580	21	C	B	3 April	9	4	7	14
1581	22	A		26 March	1	5	8	25
1582	23	G		15 April	21	6	9	16
1583	24	F		31 March	6	7	10	17
1584	25	E	D	22 March	25	8	11	28
1585	26	C		11 April	17	9	12	9
1586	27	B		3 April	9	10	13	29
1587	28	B		16 April	22	11	14	1
1588	1	G	F	22 April	13	12	15	12
1589	2	E		30 March	5	13	1	23
1590	3	D		19 April	25	14	2	4
1591	4	C		4 April	10	15	3	15
1592	5	B	A	27 March	1	16	4	26
1593	6	G		15 April	21	17	5	7
1594	7	F		31 March	6	18	6	18
1595	8	E		20 April	26	19	7	28
1596	9	D	C	11 April	17	1	8	11
1597	10	B		27 March	2	2	9	22
1598	11	A		15 April	22	3	10	3
1599	12	G		8 April	14	4	11	14
1600	13	F	E	23 March	28	5	12	25
1601	14	D		12 April	18	6	13	6
1602	15	C		4 April	10	7	14	17
1603	16	B		24 April	30	8	15	28

Of the Cycle of the Sunne, why it was ordeined, a perpetual Rule to finde it out, with the Sunday Letter, and Leape Yeres.

THE Cycle of the Sunne is the space of 28 yeres of the sunne, invented to order the variable mutation of Sunday and his letter, because of the odde day that groweth eche fourth yere, and for the surplus that riseth in the 52 weeks; for this is to be noted that the yere of the sunne containeth 365 dayes, and one fourth parte, the which parted in 7 make 52 weekes and a forth part, whence arise the Sunday and the feastes. Wherefore rising every yere one day more than 52 weeks, and in eche leape yere two, it might cause error. To remedy this, the yeare solar is invented, which containeth in it 7 leape yeres, which make, multiplying 7 by 4, 28, in which terme the Sunday letter that changeth every yere, returneth to his place. For the Sunday letter, and the letters of other dayes, by reason of the encrease of dayes, change every yere till that, and then returne A B C D E F G, to the places that 28 yeres before they held, and this compasse and cyrcle of time is called the cycle or circle of the sunne. To finde it out every yere ye must add 9 to the yere of the Lord wherein thou askest, then parte the whole by 28, the surplus is the cyrcle of the sunne. Thus, to 1562 adde 9, and it maketh 1571. Devide it by 28 and there resteth 3, which is the cyrcle of the sunne that yere. For more ease hereof we have added this table, the course whereof ended it must be begonne againe as at first; and so for ever. We have noted also for every yere of the Lord that is therein contained the letters for the Sunday, and wheras it is leape yere we have noted it doble, so as with little labor he that listeth to supplie the like sute and course (that ended that we have printed) may have this for a rule perpetual and for ever.

A Rule to finde out Easter for ever.

Being in the 12 chap. of Exod. commanded by God to the Israelites to hold Easter, (which is to say the passover in remembrance of their deliverie out of Egypt) upon the 14 day of the first month, (to wit) at the full of the moone, many and sundry opinions have afterward risen concerning the keeping of the same. Here upon in the yere 324 Constantine then raigning, in the council of Nice, emongest other things, it was decreed that Easter should be kept the 14 or 15 moone, to wit, the full moone in Marche, which is the first moneth of the yere, the sunne then entering the 10 day thereof into Aries, the spring there beginneth, and the yere also after the manner of the Jewes, astrologers, and many other. To finde it owte it is to be understoode that Easter is ever the firste Sunday after the full moone in Marche. But this is to be noted, that you muste returne no higher then the 22 of Marche, nor yet ascende no farther then the 25 of April. For the ease of the reader herein we have made the table aforesayde from this yeare 1576 unto 1603, after suche sorte as he may well apperceive.

Of the Golden Number.

The golden number is so called because it was written in the calenders with letters of gold, right at that daye whereon the moone changed; and it is the space of 19 yeres, in

the which the moone returneth to the self same daye of the yere of the sunne, and therefore it is also called the cycle of the moone, in the which time the solstices and equinoctialles do returne to all one point of the zodiaque. It was found out by Methon Athenian to know thereby the certain seasons and mutations of the yere, and of their sacrifices and Olympiades: but last of all in the yere 323 it was received by the council of Nice, for the constant finding out of Easter, of other moveable feastes, and of the change of the moone. To finde it every yere, you must adde one yeare to the yere of Christe (for Christe was born one yere of the 19, alreadie past) then divide the whole by 19, and that which resteth is the golden number for that yere. If there be no surplusages, it is then 19. For example, to finde it owte the yere 1577, you must adde thereto one, which maketh it 1578, divide this by 19 and there remaineth 1, which is the golden number for that yere. But such as cannot arithmetike, may resorte to the Table which we have made therefore, and it will serve them for ever.

How to finde the Indiction Romane.

The Indiction Romane is the space of 15 yeres, appointed by the antient Romanes, to receive the tribute of the strangers: or in trueth (as Beda sayeth) to accorde the error of time, which might peradventure happen: as for example, that the last yere of the raigne of some prince dead, and the first of another succeeding, might seeme to be divers, and yet are but one, and so disturbe the accounte. To finde therefore the indiction eche yere, as it is of many used in their instruments and writinges, you must adde 3 yeres to that yere of Christe wherein thou art (for Christ was borne in the fourth yere of the first indiction) and devide the whole by 15, the surplus of which shall be the indiction. If no surplus arise, then shall the indiction of that yere be 15; as for example, adde 3 to the yere 1562, and devide it by 15, there resteth over 5, which shall be the indiction for that yere. But for more ease hereof we have made a Table, where in eche yere thou mayest finde owte the same, which being ended, begin the count againe for ever.

Of the Epacte, and thereby to knowe the change of the Moon.

Epactæ hemeræ in Greeke doeth signifie in Englishe, dayes set betweene, and therefore the 11 dayes and 3 houres that are added to the yere of the moone are called epactæ, and are added to make the yere of the moone, which is but 354 dayes, juste with the yere of the sunne, which hath 365 dayes and a quarter. Nowe to finde owte the epacte of each yere do thus. To the epacte of the yere that last went before that yere for which thou wouldest finde the epacte, adde 11, and the somme of these two make the epacte. If it surmounte 30 then take 30 owte, and that which resteth above 30 is the epacte. For example, let us finde owte the epacte of the yere 1569. To do this you muste seeke owte the epacte of the yere 1568 which was 1, adde to this the number of the epacte, which is, (as we have sayed) 11, and it maketh 12, which is the epacte for the yere 1569. Againe, in the yere 1562 the epacte was 25, adde 11 hereto, and it maketh 36, take 30 thereowte as often as you can, and there resteth 6, which is the epacte of the yere 1563.

Another waye more easie: multiplie the golden number of the yere which you wil, with the epact: owte of the multiplication take owte 30 as ofte as you can, and that that resteth shal be the epacte. This rule is verie sure. To knowe how olde the moone is, doe thus: The 6 of November 1562 to the number of the daye of the moneth which is 6, add the epacte of that year, which is 25, and it maketh 31; then reckon howe many moneths are past sithence Marche, counting Marche one, and thou shalte find

9, adde this to 31, and it maketh 40; take here owte 30 as ofte as thou canst, and there resteth 10: thus old was the moone the same 6 of November 1562.

To know the change do thus: finde owte the age of the moone as already hath been shewed, and then rekone how many more you must have to make uppe 29 and an half, and those shewe when the change shall be. The reason is: because at the ende of eche 29 dayes and an half you have the newe moone. For example, the 6 of November 1562 the moone was olde 10 dayes, as you have already founde out: to this there must be added 19 to make it 29, then also add the day of the moneth wherein you aske, which is 6, and doth with the rest make 25, and thus you shall see that the change shall be betweene the 25 and 26 of November by reason of an halfe odde daye.

A Supputation of the Yeres of the World, from the Creation thereof, unto this present yere 1576, according as it is counted by D. M. Luther.

From the creation unto the flood,	1656.
From the flood to Moses,	797.
From Moses to Christ,	1514.
From Christ unto this yere,	1576.
Summe total,	5543.

The yere conteineth 365 dayes and 6 houres.
The daye artificial 12 houres: the natural 24.
The Jews count theire houres short or long as the season maketh the daye, and counte 12 in a day, thus, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.
We count ours thus, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

JANUARIE.

The first moneth hath xxxj dayes. The moone xxx. The day is ix hours. The night is xv.

19	1	A	Calend.	Circumcision of Christ.
8	2	b	4	The first day of the moneth, Noe began to see the toppes of the high mountains, Gen. viii. 13.
	3	c	3	
16	4	d	Pr. Non.	
5	5	e	Nonæ.	
	6	f	8	Epiphanie, or apparition of Christ, Matth. ii.
13	7	g	7	
2	8	A	6	
	9	b	5	
10	10	c	4	10. Nebuchodonozor besieged againe Jerusalem, 2 King. xv. 1. Jer. xxv. 52.
	11	d	3	
18	12	e	Prid. Id.	
7	13	f	Idus.	13. Sol in Aquario.
	14	g	18	
15	15	A	17	The halfe of winter after Ptolemie.
4	16	b	16	
	17	c	15	
12	18	d	14	
1	19	e	13	
	20	f	12	
9	21	g	11	
	22	A	10	
17	23	b	9	
6	24	c	8	
	25	d	7	
14	26	e	6	
3	27	f	5	
	28	g	4	Conversion of St. Paul, Act. ix. 3.
11	29	A	3	
9	30	b	2	
8	31	c	Prid. Cal.	

FEBRUARIE.

The second moneth hath xxviij dayes. The moone xxix. In leape year the moneth hath xxix dayes. The moone xxx. The day is x hours. The night xiiij.

	1	d	Calend.	
16	2	e	4	2. Purification of the Virgin Mary.
5	3	f	3	
	4	g	Pr. No.	
3	5	A	Nonæ.	
12	6	b	8	
	7	c	7	
10	8	d	6	8. Here the Romans began their Spring after Pliny.
	9	e	5	
18	10	f	4	9. Noe sent out the raven, and after the dove, Gen. vii. 7. 8.
7	11	g	3	
	12	A	Prid. Id.	10. Sol in Pisces.
15	13	b	Idus.	
4	14	c	16	
	15	d	15	
12	16	e	14	
1	17	f	13	17. Noe sent out the dove, which brought an olive branche.
	18	g	12	
9	19	A	11	
	20	b	10	
17	21	c	9	
6	22	d	8	
	23	e	7	
14	24	f	6	
3	25	g	5	24. The place of the leape yere.
	26	A	4	
11	27	b	3	Noe sendeth out the dove, but it returneth not, Gen viii. 12.
	28	c	Pri. Cal.	

MARCHE.

The iij moneth xxxj daies. The moone xxx.
The day xij houres. The night xij.

19	1	d	Calen.	
8	2	e	6	
	3	f	5	3. The temple of Jerusalem buylt, finished, and holied 515 yeeres before Christe, Esd. vi.
16	4	g	4	
5	5	A	3	
	6	b	Pr. No.	
13	7	c	Non.	
2	8	d	8	10. Christ being on the other side Jordan, was advertised of the death of Lazarus, John xi. 3.
	9	e	7	
0	10	f	6	
	11	g	5	11. Sol in Aries.
18	12	A	4	12. Spring time.
7	13	b	3	13. Fast of Hester, Esth. iii.
	14	c	Pr. Id.	16. Lazarus raised.
15	15	d	Idus.	20. Christ entered into Jerusalem.
4	16	e	17	
	17	f	16	24. Christ held his last supper, and was taken.
12	18	g	15	
1	19	A	14	25. Christ crucified.
	20	b	13	Day of preparation.
9	21	c	12	26. He laye in the sepulchre.
	22	d	11	27 The resurrection. This day the Jewes held the feast, in the which they offered an handful of spices: and 50 dayes after the feast of weekes which we call Easter, Lev. xxiii.
17	23	e	10	
6	24	f	9	
	25	g	8	
14	26	A	7	
3	27	b	6	
	28	c	5	This day, or, as Jeremie saith,
11	29	d	4	the 15th, Joachin king of Judah was brought out of prison, 1 King. xxv.
	30	e	3	
19	31	f	Pr. Cal.	

APRILL.

The iiij moneth xxx daies. The moone xxjx.
The daie is xiij hours. The night xj.

8	1	g	Calen.	Noe opened the cover of the arke, Genes. viii.
16	2	A	4	
5	3	b	3	Moses rered the tabernacle, Exod. xl. 2.
	4	c	Pr. Non.	
13	5	d	Non.	4. Christ appeared to his disciples, and to Thomas.
2	6	e	8	
	7	f	7	6. Joshue and the Jews camped at Jordan 3 daies, Jos. iii.
	8	g	6	
10	9	A	5	
18	10	b	4	10. The yere before Moses's death, and before Christ 1457, the Israelites passed Jordan this day, Jos. iii. and iv.
7	11	c	3	
	12	d	Pr. Id.	
15	13	e	Idus.	
4	14	f	18	11. Sol in Taurus.
	15	g	17	13. Assuerus gave precept of slaying the Jewes, Est. iii. 11.
12	16	A	16	
1	17	b	15	14. The Israelites kept passover. Manna ceased, Jos. v.
	18	c	14	
9	19	d	13	15. The people came out of Egypt, Exod. xii. 37.
	20	e	12	
17	21	f	11	18. They passed the Red Sea.
6	22	g	10	22. They come to Mara, Exod. xv. 22.
	23	A	9	
14	24	b	8	
3	25	c	7	
	26	d	6	
27	27	e	5	
	28	f	4	
19	29	g	3	
30	30	A	Pr. Cal.	

MAYE.

The v moneth xxxi dayes. The moone xxx.
The day xvj hours. The night viij.

	1	b	Calen.	The second yere after the coming out of Egypt, Moses and Aaron number the people, Numb. iii. and iv.
16	2	c	6	
5	3	d	5	
	4	e	4	
11	5	f	3	5. Christ ascended into heaven, Mar. xvi. 19. Act. i. 9.
2	6	g	Pr. No.	
	7	A	Non.	
10	8	b	8	
18	9	c	7	
7	10	d	6	10. God commanded Noe to carry food into the arke, Gen. vi. 7.
	11	e	5	
	12	f	4	
15	13	g	3	11. Sol in Gemini.
4	14	A	Pri Idus.	14. Those that had not kept Easter the first day kept it this, Numb. xix. so Ezek ii. Chron. xxx.
	15	b	Idus.	
12	16	c	17	
1	17	d	16	
	18	e	15	15. The Jews Whitsontide.
9	19	f	14	The Jews have quailes. Exod. xvi. 13.
	20	g	13	
17	21	A	12	16. God raineth manna, Exod. xvi.
6	22	b	11	
	23	c	10	17. Noe entred the arke, Gen. vii.
14	24	d	9	20. The Israelites departe from Sinai, Numb. ix.
3	25	e	8	
	26	f	7	22. Fire destroyeth part of the Israelites, Numb. xi.
11	27	g	6	
	28	A	5	27. Noe commeth out of the arke, Gen. viii.
19	29	b	4	
8	30	c	3	
6	31	d	Pr. Cal.	

JUNE.

The vj moneth xxx dayes. The moone xxix.
The day xvj houres. The night vilj.

5	1	e	Calen.	The Israelites came to mount Sinai, otherwise called Cassius, and tarried there almost a yere, Exod. xix.
	2	f	4	
13	3	g	3	
2	4	A	Pr. Non.	
	5	b	Non.	
10	6	c	8	
18	7	d	7	
7	8	e	6	
	9	f	5	
	10	g	4	Sol in Cancer.
15	11	A	3	SOMMER.
4	12	b	Pr. Id.	
	13	c	Idus.	Longest day of the yeare.
12	14	d	18	
1	15	e	17	
	16	f	16	
9	17	g	15	
	18	A	14	
17	19	b	13	
6	20	c	12	
	21	d	11	
14	22	e	10	
3	23	f	9	Assuerus writeth for the Jewes, and against Anaan, Esth. viii.
	24	g	8	
11	25	A	7	24. Nativitie of John Baptist.
	26	b	6	
19	27	c	5	27. The ark is lifted up with waters.
	28	d	4	
8	29	e	3	
16	30	f	Pr. Cal.	

JULY.

The vij moneth xxxj dayes. The moone xxx.
The daye is xv houres. The night ix.

5	1	g	Calend.	
	2	A	6	
12	3	b	5	
2	4	c	4	
	5	d	3	
10	6	e	Pr. Non.	
18	7	f	Non.	Jerusalem assieged by the King
7	8	g	8	of Babel the space of eighteen
	9	A	7	monthes, was taken, 2 Kings,
	10	b	6	xv. Jerem. xxxix.
15	11	c	5	Sol in Leo.
4	12	d	4	
	13	e	3	
12	14	f	Pr. Idus.	
1	15	g	Idus.	
9	16	A	17	
	17	b	16	
	18	c	15	18. The beginning of the yere
17	19	d	14	with the Egyptians, as Plinie
6	20	e	13	saieth.
	21	f	12	
14	22	g	11	
3	23	A	10	
	24	b	9	Dogge dayes.
11	25	c	8	
19	26	d	7	
8	27	e	6	
	28	f	5	
16	29	g	4	
5	30	A	3	
	31	b	Pr. Cal.	

AUGUST.

The viij moneth xxxj dayes. The moone xxx.
The day is xiiij hours. The night x.

13	1	c	Calend.	
2	2	d	4	
	3	e	3	
10	4	f	Pr. No.	
18	5	g	Non.	
7	6	A	8	7. Nabuzaradan setteth the citie
	7	b	7	and temple of Jerusalem on
	8	c	6	fire, 2 Kings, xxv. 9.
15	9	d	5	
4	10	e	4	10. The souldiers of Titus burn
	11	f	3	Jerusalem, and it was never
12	12	g	Pr. Id.	since repaired, Joseph. de
1	13	A	Idus.	Bello, lib. 6. cap. 26.
	14	b	19	Aaron, aged 123 yeres, dieth in
9	15	c	18	the mountain Hor, 40 yeres
	16	d	17	after the coming out of Egypt,
17	17	e	16	Numb. xx. and xxxiii.
6	18	f	15	The same day Esdras entreth
	19	g	14	into Jerusalem, with a great
14	20	A	13	multitude of Jewes, and is ho-
3	21	b	12	norably received of those that
	22	c	11	80 yeres before came thi-
11	23	d	10	ther with Zerubbabel; before
19	24	e	9	Christ's coming 457. 1 Esd. vii.
8	25	f	8	11. Dogge dayes end.
	26	g	7	13. Sol in Virgo.
16	27	A	6	27. Religion reformed, accord-
5	28	b	5	ing to God's expresse truth,
	29	c	4	in the most renowned citie of
	30	d	3	GENEVA, 1535.
13	31	e	Pr. Cal.	

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SEPTEMBER.

The ix moneth xxx daies. The moone xxix.
The day xij houres. The night xij.

1	f	Calen.	
2	g	4	
3	A	3	
4	b	Pri. No.	
5	c	Non.	
6	d	8	
7	e	7	
8	f	6	
9	g	5	9. Jerusalem sacked with fire and sword is utterlie rased, 73 yeres after the birth of Christe, who prophesied the same 40 years before Joseph. lib. 7. cap. 26.
10	A	4	
11	b	3	
12	c	Pri. Id.	
13	d	Idus.	
14	e	18	
15	f	17	12. Autumne.
16	g	16	16. Sol in Libra.
17	A	15	
18	b	14	
19	c	13	
20	d	12	
21	e	11	
22	f	10	
23	g	9	
24	A	8	
25	b	7	25. Nehemiah finished the walles of Jerusalem 450 yeres before Christ, Nehem. vi.
26	c	6	
27	d	5	
28	e	4	
29	f	3	
30	g	Pr. Cal.	

OCTOBER.

The x moneth xxxj dayes. The moone xxx.
The daie x hours. The night xiiij.

1	A	Calen.	The feast of trumpets, Levit. xxiii.
2	b	6	
3	c	5	
4	d	4	
5	e	3	4. The Jewes fast and mourne for Gedalias, Jer. xli. 42.
6	f	Pr. Non.	
7	g	Non.	
8	A	8	
9	b	7	
10	c	6	
11	d	5	
12	e	4	
13	f	3	13. The feast of reconciliation, which is the onely daie of faste expressly injoyned by God, Levit. xxiii.
14	g	Pri. Id.	14. Sol in Scorpius.
15	A	Idus.	15. The feast of Tabernacles, which continued 7 daies, Levit. xxii.
16	b	17	
17	c	16	
18	d	15	
19	e	14	
20	f	13	
21	g	12	17. The Arke, after 160 daies, rested on the mountains of Ararat in Armenia.
22	A	11	
23	b	10	
24	c	9	
25	d	8	
26	e	7	
27	f	6	
28	g	5	
29	A	4	
30	b	3	
31	c	Pr. Cal.	

NOVEMBER.

The xj moneth xxx daies. The moone xxix.
The daie is ix houres. The night xv.

1	d	Calen.	
2	e	4	
3	f	3	
4	g	Pr. No.	
5	A	Non.	
6	b	8	
7	c	7	
8	d	6	
9	e	5	
10	f	4	
11	g	3	
12	A	Pr. Id.	
13	b	Idus.	13. Sol in Sagittarius.
14	c	18	
15	d	17	15. The devised holy day of Jeroboam, 1 King. xii.
16	e	16	
17	f	15	Titus useth no less crueltie against the Jews his prisoners, in the citie of Beryte in Syrie, keeping the birth daie of his father Vespasian, then he did on the birth daie of his brother Domitian, Joseph. lib. 7. cap. 20.
18	g	14	
19	A	13	
20	b	12	
21	c	11	
22	d	10	
23	e	9	
24	f	8	
25	g	7	
26	A	6	
27	b	5	
28	c	4	
29	d	3	
30	e	Pr. Cal.	

DECEMBER.

The xij moneth xxxj daies. The moone xxx.
The daie is viij houres, and night xvj.

1	f	Calen.	
2	g	4	
3	A	3	
4	b	Pr. No.	
5	c	Non.	
6	d	8	
7	e	7	
8	f	6	
9	g	5	
10	A	4	10. Shortest day in the yere.
11	b	3	
12	c	Pr. Id.	12. The yere 165 before Christ, Antiochus Epiphanes erected an idole in Jerusalem, 1 Macab. i.
13	d	Idus.	
14	e	19	
15	f	18	
16	g	17	13. Sol in Capricornus.
17	A	16	16. Esdras gave a commandment that the Israelites should leave their strange wives, 1 Esd. ix.
18	b	15	
19	c	14	
20	d	13	
21	e	12	
22	f	11	
23	g	10	
24	A	9	
25	b	8	The birth of Christ the yere of the world 3962.
26	c	7	
27	d	6	St John aged 89 yeres, died at Ephesus in the reign of Trajan the Emperor, 30 yeres after Jerusalem destroyed.
28	e	5	
29	f	4	
30	g	3	
31	A	Pr. Cal.	

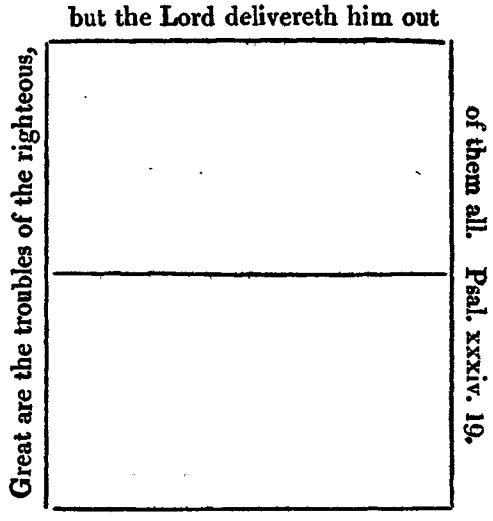
The Names and Order of all the Bookes of the Old and Newe Testament, with the Number of their Chapters, and the Leafe where they beginne.

A MAP of the situation of the garden of Eden.
A cut of the ark.
Egyptians pursuing the Israelites.
Ark of the testimonie.
Mercy seate.
Table of the shewe-bread.
Candlesticke.
First covering of the tabernacle.
Curtaines of goate's heare.
Tabernacle.
Altar of burnt-offering.
Garments of the high-priest.
Altar of sweet perfume.
Laver of brasse.
Two tables. 1. Consanguinitie hindring marriage.
2. Affinitie hindring marriage.
The figure of the tabernacle erected, and of the tents pitched round about it.
A map declaring the way which the Israelites went for the space of fourty yeres from Egypt, through the wilderness of Arabia, untill they entered into the land of Canaan, as it is mentioned in Exod. Numb. and Deut. It conteineth also the 42 places where they pitched their tents, which are named Numb. xxxiii, with the observation of the degrees, concerning the length and the breadth, and the places of their abode set out by Numbers.
A map of the land of Canaan. Josh. xiv.
A cut of the temple uncovered. 1 Kings vi.
Ditto coverd
The first figure of the king's house in the wood of Lebanon.
The second figure of the same house.
The forme of the piller. 1 Kings vii. 16.
The sea, or great caldron.
The forme of the caldrons.
The royal throne of Solomon. 1 Kings x.
The vision of Ezekiel. Chap. ii.
The description of the figure, which beginneth chap. xl. v. 5.
The figure of the temple. *Ibid.*
The figure of the altar. Chap. xliii.
The forme of the temple, and citie restored, at the end of Ezekiel.

Apocrypha.

The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, conferr'd diligently with the Greeke, and best approved translations in divers languages.

EXOD. xiv. v. 13.
Feare ye not, stand still, and behold the salvation of the Lord, which he wil shewe to you this day.



EXOD. xiv. v. 14.
The Lord shall fight for you: therefore holde you your peace.

Imprinted at London, by Christopher Barker, dwelling in Pawles Church-yard, at the signe of the Tygres Head, 1576. *Cum privilegio.*

THE description of the Holie Land, conteining the places mentioned in the foure evangelists, with other places about the sea-coasts, wherein may be seene the waies and journeys of Christ, and his apostles, in Judea, Samaria, and Galile: for into these three parts this land is devided.

The places specified in this mappe, with their situation, by the observation of the degrees concerning their length and breadth.

The description of the countries and places mencioned in the Acts of the Apostles, from Italie on the west part, unto the Medes and Persians towards the east, containing about 2200 miles in length. The which description serveth for the peregrination of S. Paul, and other of the apostles, and for the understanding of manie things conteined in this booke.

The names of the yles and countreis mentioned in this mappe.

The townes specifyed in this mappe, and their situation, with the observation of their length and breadth.

At the end of the Newe Testament.

The order of the yeres from Paul's conversion, shewing the time of his peregrination, and of his epistles written to the churches. See p. 92.

A brief table of the interpretation of the proper names, which are chiefly founde in the Olde Testament, wherein the firste number signifieth the chapter, the second the verse.

Whereas the wickednesse of time, and the blindnesse of the former age, hath bene such, that all things altogether have bene abused and corrupted, so that the very right names of divers of the holy men named in the scriptures have bene forgotten, and nowe seeme strange unto us, and the names of infants that should ever have some godly advertisements in them, and should be memorials and markes of the children of God received into his houshold, hath bene hereby also chaunged and made the signes and badges of idolatrie and heathenish impietie, we have nowe set forth this table of the names that be moste used in the Old Testament, with their interpretations, as the Hebrewe importeth; partly to call backe the godly from that abuse when shey shall knowe the true names of the godly fathers, and what they signifie, that their children nowe named after them may have testimonies by their very names, that they are within that faythful familie that in all their doings had ever God before their eyes, and that they are bound by these their names to serve God from their infancie, and have occasion to prayse him for his workes wrought in him and their fathers; but chiefly to restore the names to their integritie, whereby many places of the scriptures and secret mysteries of the Holy Ghost shall better be understood. We have medled rarely with the Greeke names, because their interpretation is uncertaine, and many of them are corrupted from their originall, as we may also see these Hebrewe names set in the margent of this table which have bene corrupted by the Grecians. Nowe for the other Hebrewe names that are not here interpreted, let not the diligent reader be carefull: for he shall find them in places most convenient amongst the annotations; at least so many as may seeme to make for any edification and understanding of the scriptures.

A table of the principall things that are conteyned in the Bible, after the order of the alphabet.

A perfite supputation of the yeres and times from Adam unto Christ, prooved by the scriptures after the collection of divers authors.

JOSHUA, chap. 1. verse 8.

"Let not this booke of the lawe depart out of thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe and do according to all that is written therein: for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then shalt thou have good successe."

Editions of the English Bible and Testament refer'd to by the Doway and Rhemish Translators. 1582, 1609.

THE New Testamen. an. 1580 . . . . . Rhem. p. 198
The English Bible . . . 1579 290
Ordained by election, ... 332
The Bible . . . . an. 1577 349
No. Test. 1580 393
Bible 1562 434
Idolaters—worshipper of Images. 1 Cor. v. 10, 11. vi 10. Altar, Temple, 1 Cor. ix. 13.
The English Bible . . . 1577 falsely translateth *prepareth.* 478
No Testa. . . . . an. 1580 498
It is much to be noted, that in the first English Bibles there is not once the name of CHURCH in all the Bible, but insteed thereof *Congregation.* 522

See the Bible printed 1562:

In this [1 Thess. ii. 9.] and the like places, the heretikes malitiously and most falsly translate, construe, and apply all things meant of the heathen idols to the memories and images of Christ and his Sainctes, namely the English Bibles of the yeares 1562, 1577. p. 546

The hereticks purposely, guilfully, and of ill conscience (that belike reprehendeth them) refraine in their translations from the ecclesiastical and most usual word TRADITION——they translate it *Instructions, Constitutions, Ordinances,* 559

They translate this sentence [because of the passion of death, crowned with glorie and honour] heretically, by transposing the words. In the Bible printed the yere 1579, 605

Its a known treachery of hereticks to translate *Idola* images, as in a number of places, specially of the English Bible printed the yere 1562, 687

Put *Idols* in the text and *Images* in the margin, in the Bible of the yere 1577, 688

In the Bible printed 1552, and 1557, preface to the translater of the Old Testament printed at Doway, 1609, 1579, 1603, in a new edition which we have not yet seen.

The former English editions, otherwise corrupt in many places, have Cainan in the text of St Luke's Gospel, but their latter translaters are in this point pure Bezites, 1572 1575 p. 46

Images of false gods are most properly called idols. See Hosea iii. p. 103.

The second table of the Bible printed at London 1602.—that which was printed the yere following 1603, p. 118

Beza in his annotations set forth in English in the yere 1603, vol. ii. p. 972. Church Canterbury Library. *Deest titulus.*

At the end of a Bible in a small thick folio.

Here endeth the whole Bible after the translation of Thomas Mathew, with all hys prologues, that is to say upon the five bokes of Moses, the prophet Jonas, and to every of the IV evangelistes, and before everye epistle of the New Testament. And after every chapter of the booke are there added many playne annotations and exposicions of suche places as unto the symple unlearned seame harde to understand, with other dyvers notable matters, as ye shall fynde noted next unto the calender; diligentlye perused and corrected.

¶ Imprynted at London by Nicolas Hyl for Roberte Toye, dwellynge in Paules churche yarde at the signe of the Bell. In the yere of our Lorde God 1551.—*Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

Printed before it.

¶ These thinges ensuynge are joyned with this present volume of the Bible.

¶ A kalendar with an almanack.

A description and successe of the kynges of Juda and Jerusalem, declaring when and under what kynges every prophet lived: and what notable thynges happened in theyr tymes.

An exhortacion to the studye of the holy scripture gathered out of the Bible.

The summe and content of all the holy scripture, bothe of the Olde and Newe Testamente.

A table for to fynde many of the chief and principall matters conteyned in the Byble.
The names of all the bokes of the Byble, with the contente of the chapters.
A brief rehersall declarynge how longe the worlde hathe endured from the creacion of Adam unto this presente yere of oure Lorde.
The Holy Bible, &c.
Imprinted at London, by Christopher Barker, printer to the queene's most excellent majestie, 1585.—*Cum privilegio regiæ majestatis.*

Extracted from an old Parish Book, belonging to the Parish of Crundal in Kent.

In the reign of Philip and Mary, the church-wardens charge themselves yearly with money received at God's board toward the paschal light, varying in the summ, but never exceeding . . . . . 3s. 7d.

And once with money received from the gatherers of the fifteenth anno 5° & 6° Phil. & Mary, being an overplus of the sesse, and to remain to the use of the church by consent of the parishioners, ... 7 10

In their disbursements of the same reign there is an yearly charge for wax, from 2 to 4 l. ¼, and for strekyng the same for the paschal or font's taper, as it is once said, sometimes only for the paschal, or the paschal light, or for the rood light never exceeding 3 9

Itm. Paid a joiner in Canterbury for making the Rood, Mary and John, and painting the same, ... 40 0

For setting up the Rood, Mary and John, and for paper and thread to trusse the same, ... 1 6

For a book of articles of injunctions at the visitation at Canterbury, . . . 0 2

For certain church goods bought in K. Edward 6th's time, ... 3 0

Making a coffin for the sepulchre, ... 0 9

Making a desk and a little cupboard for the chrismatory,[1] 0 10

For a lock and key to the font, ... 0 5

Making 2 childres rochets, mending of the albs, revesses, vestments, and crosse cloths, and for new cloth put in, ... 2 6

Paid for washing the church gere for 2 years, ... 1 0

For a paper book for burying, marrying, and christening, ... 0 3

Supplication to my lord cardinal for the church-house, ... 2 0

Paid at the lord cardinals visitation at Easter, ... 1 3

Paid the somner and register when the archdeacon was at Crundale, . . . 0 10

A reward given to my Lord Suffragan's servants, when the chalice and corpus cloth were hallowed, ... 0 4

For making a bill at the visitation, ... 0 3

Anno 1° Elizab. the church-wardens charge themselves with money received at God's board, toward the paschal light of old time accustomed, ... 3 0

Itm. From the gatherers of the XVths, being an overplus of their collections, 2 11

In their disbursements D° they charge for 2 l. ¼ of wax for the paschal taper and for strekying it, ... 2 3

[1] In which the hallowed oil was kept.

But no mention is made of either of these articles in the following years.[1]

Ao. 1585.	Paid for lack of a Bible at Canterbury, ...	1s.	3d.
1592.	Called before the commissary about hunting on the Sabbath day before morning prayer, ... paid	2	6
1593.	Called before the high commissioners about the state of the church,	1	6
	Called divers times before them about recusants, whether there were any in Crundale, ...	4	8
	Paid at the court at Canterbury, Nov. 26. for not going the perambulation, ...	3	8
1597.	Paid the somner for a new prayer-book, to be used in the church,	0	4
1603.	Two new prayer-books in time of the plague, ...	1	0
1605.	Nov. 30, 2 prayer-books, (gunpowder treason,)	1	4
1610.	Paid for Bishop Jewel's works, ...	26	0
1633.	Book of lawful recreation, ...	0	6
1636.	A childwife pew, ...	26	8
1638.	Paid at Canterbury upon a citation about the communion table, .	3	8
	Paid for posts and rails and boards D°.	25	0
	For framing and setting up D°.	18	0
1639.	Paid at Canterbury on a citation to certify whether the communion table was according to order rail'd in, ...	1	6
	Paid our minister towards a hood, ...	10	0
1645.	For the directory, ...	2	0

A Sermon preached at St Maries in Oxford, the 17[2] *day of November* 1602, *in defence of the Festivities of the Church of England, and namely that of Her Majesties Coronation. By John Howson, Doctor of Divinitie, one of her Highnes Chaplaines, and Vicechancellor of the Universitie of Oxford. The second impression. At Oxford, printed by Joseph Barnes, and are to be sold in Fleete-street, at the signe of the Turke's Head, by John Barnes,* 1603.

Anthony A. Wood gives the following account of the life and tenets of Dr Howson:—"John Howson received his first breath in the parish of S. Bride in London, educated in grammaticals in St Paul's school, became student of Ch. ch. in 1577, took the degrees in arts, holy orders, and some time after was made one of the vicars of Brampton in Oxfordshire. On the 15th May 1601, (43 Eliz.) he was installed canon of Ch. ch.; and in December following, he took the degrees in divinity. In the next year (1602,) he had the office of Vice-chancellor of the University conferred upon him; in which being settled, fell out a controversy between him and certain divines thereof, called Puritans or Calvinists, who for their number were not few. For so it was, that he, a zealous man for the church of England, as it was established in the time of K. Ed. VI. having heard and beheld with patience for several years the grand enormities committed in preaching by many, if not the generality of the divines in the University, was resolved when in authority to reform them. But his time being short, only for an year, and his successor not of the same mind, little or nothing could be done."—"Afterwards our author Howson was made rector of Brightwell, near to Watlington in Oxfordshire, Fellow of Chelsea College, and at

[1] During the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the superstitious observances of the Romish faith were retained.

[2] The day of Q. Elizabeth's accession to the crown.

length bishop of Oxon. To which see being elected 12 September 1618, was consecrated at Lambeth with Searchfield, B. of Bristol, and Bridgman of Chester, on the 9th of May following. In 1628, September 18, he was translated to the see of Durham, (in the place of Dr G. Mountaigne, translated to York,) where he remained to his dying day, having always been accounted a grave and learned man, and a true son of the church of England."—*Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 562. Dr Howson died 6th February 1631, "leaving behind him," says Anthony, "the character of a very learned man, and one plentifully endowed with all those virtues which were most proper for a bishop."

To the right honorable, my very speciall good Lord, Thomas Baron of Buckhurst, Lorde high Treasurer of England, one of the L. L. of her Majesties most honorable Privie Councell, Knight of the honorable Order of the Garter, and Chauncellour of the Universitie of Oxford.

RIGHT honourable, the day now usually solemnized to the honour of God, and memory of those blessings wherewith he hath enriched this land in particular, and his church in generall, by the godly and religious government of her excellent majestie, was with the first celebrated (as we take it,) in this her most loyall and christian universitie of Oxford, not without the example of former times, where in the like hath beene practised to some of her majestie's predecessors, though with different ceremonie in a different religion. Since which time it having taken progresse together with God's manifold blessings, and enlargement both in place and ceremonies, testifying the loyall hartes, and dutifull loving affection of her subjects both to her royall person, sincere religion, and most blessed government, as also their harty thankfulnes unto God for them; it hath bin oppugned by the priestes and jesuits, the enemies of her gracious peace, and happy prosperitie, whether with greater malice or ignorance, I cannot well determine.——I thought it a part of my duty to God, and loyaltie to my sovereign mistres, to undergoe the defence of the festivities of our church, which have their adversaries at home among us, as of the celebration of the day of her most blessed inauguration into this kingdome, which have found some maligners both at home and abroad.[1]

PSALM CXVIII. 24.

p. 1. This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it.

p 9. BECAUSE there is a question made even in these daies, concerning the authoritie of instituting holy daies, both under the Olde and Newe Testament, both among Jews and Christians, some affirming, that in the old law all were instituted by God himselfe, or, by his commaundement, by Moses, and that to the Mosaical law nothing might be added not in ceremonies; and forasmuch as the old feasts were abrogated by Christ, and no other instituted by him or his apostles, except peradventure the Lord's day, therfore al are unlawful for want of authority, in the institution or institutors of them: may it please you to give mee leave to deliver unto you, of necessitie verie briefly, who have beene the authors of feasts and holie daies, in both those times, to both those people.

p. 10. First, by the commaundement of God himselfe, by the mouthe of Moses, were instituted in the olde lawe, the Sabboth in remembrance of the creation of the worlde: the passeover, in remembrance of the deliverance of the first-borne: the pentecost, in remembrance of the lawe was given: the feast of the sound of trumpets, as some saye, for the deliver-

[1] It was a distinguishing tenet of the Puritans, a sect including such reformers as followed in whole or in part the model of Calvin, that they impugned the observation of particular holidays, as well as the habits and ceremonies of the church.

ance of Isaac, but more probably *propter liberationem quæ inter Israelitas fiebat*, for the deliverance from that servitude which was usual among the Israelites every seventh yeare: the feast of tabernacles, in remembrance that they lived in tabernacles in the desert: the feast of propitiation, for remission of sinnes. The feast of unleavened bread. *Quod exierant de Egypto in magno timore et celeritate*, for that they came out of Egypt in great feare and hast, not having leisure to leaven the lumpe.

These are called *festivitates regulares*, regular; *ordinaria*, ordinarie; *consuetæ*, usual; and were instituted and ordained by the commandment of God himselfe. Others there were which were called *voluntariæ*, institued by the wil and commaundement of the magistrates uppon some just and reasonable cause: which, though they had their institution from the wil and pleasure of the governor, are noe part of wil-worship, ἐθελοθρησκει as (a word much mistaken among many,) being not *contra legem Dei*, against the law of God, but *secundum analogiam legis*, according to the analogy of the law, nor brought in at the pleasure of private fancies without authority.

Such a one was the feast of the dedication of the temple, called *festum encæniorum*, which was constituted in remembrance of the re-edifying of the temple under Zorobabel: this is mentioned, Ioan. 10. *Facta sunt Encænia et hyems erat.* It was the feast of the dedication, and it was winter, for it was in December; and was celebrated by our Saviour. Festum dedicationis. p. 11.

Such a one was the feast which was called *festum sortium*, the feast of lots, or *festum Mardochæi*, Mardochæus his feast, when, by the means of Hester and Mardochæus, the Jews were delivered from the slaughter of Haman, and it is mentioned in the booke of Hester. Festum Mardochæi. Hester, c. 9.

Such a one was the feast of purification, when Judas, and they that were with him, purified the temple which the Gentiles before had polluted. Which feast the Hebrewes cal *Cassen*, of this Mach. 1. Festum purificationis.

And, finally, such a one was *festum ignis*, the feaste of fire, instituted by the Jewes, after they came from the captivitie of Babylon, and found the fire of the altar which lay hid in a pit or well 70 yeres, and was turned into thicke and grosse water, to be kindled againe, and with the flame thereof to consume the sacrifice upon the altar. 2 Mach. 1. Festum ignis.

Moreover, the Jewes did not only adde to the number of the feasts instituted by Moses, but they augmented the solemnitie of certaine of these feasts which Moses appointed. For where as *dies calendarum*, or *neomeniæ*, the first day of the moneth, or feast of new moones, appointed only for sacrifice unto God, *propter beneficium gubernationis*, and not mentioned in the 23 of Levit., where are named al the solemne festivities: yet the Jewes, out of their devotion *ad augmentandum cultum divinum*, for the encrease of the service of God, did appoint that the *calends* or *neomeniæ* should be *vacativæ ab opere:* not onlie to offer sacrifice in, but in which they should abstaine from al servile labour, and so made it an holy day and great solemnitie. p. 12.

To this solemnity it was brought in David's time: Ps. 81. *Buccinate in neomenia tuba, insigni die solemnitatis vestræ*, blow up the trumpet in the newe moone, &c. now no day was *insignis* notable, except it were free from labour; for then every other festivitie had beene more famous. 4 Reg. 4.

And it seemeth to have bin thus solemnly used in Elizeus his time. p. 18.

Now I come to the enemies of this solemnity which now we celebrate, of which since a right reverend and learned brother of ours hath written very religiously, learnedly, and largely, I shall neede to say the lesse; yet thus much briefly: That Reynolds, Saunders, Stapleton, and the rest of the rigide and salt humored papists take exception, especially against two points in this solemnity: the first is at the institution, as if it were without auctority, (for that it is now among our solemnities we will not deny;) the second, against the manner of solemnizing it, as though we preferred it before the feastes of our Saviour Christ. Dr Holland. p. 19.

For the former, that the magistrate hath had both auctority and practise of instituting holidays, upon extraordinary occasions of God's blessings, hath bin proved both by the examples under the law, and under the gospel.

That the Jewes *poterant quotidie instituere festivitates quarum observatio duraret singulis annis, vel fieret solum semel,* might daily institute holidaies, the observation whereof might either continue every yeare, or onely be held once, is Abulensis assertion. 1 Paral. cap. 16. p. 14. That they appointed annual, you have heard before under Mardocheus, Nehemias, Judas Machabæus, that they augmented in ceremonies some yeare more then other the feasts appointed in the lawe, appeareth both in Esdras time when the feast of Tabernacles was so royally solemnised, that it is said *Non fecerunt a diebus Josuæ (filii Nun) talia filii Israel usque ad diem illum* 2 Esd. 8. The children of Israel never did such things, no not from the daies of Joshua the sonne of Nun unto that day. And Josias celebrated such a passover in the 18 yeare of his raigne, when he had purged the temple of the idols, *Quale non fuerat actum a temporibus judicum Israelitarum usq; ad Josiam,* 4 Reg. 23. as had not beene from the time of the judges of Israel unto
p. 20. Josias. That they appointed such as are called by the civilians *Repentinæ* instituted for once upon a suddeine occasion, appeareth by David, who while the arke was in his house *faciebat omnes dies solennes propter honorem arcæ, saltem ad observationem ceremoniarum,* made every day a solemne day for the honour of the arke, at the least concerning the observation of ceremonies; *Abulens,* and solemnised the daie of his inauguration into his kingdom in this psalme.

That the Christian magistrate hath at least as much authoritie in constituting newe festivities, and augmenting the olde, as the Jewes had, cannot with any probabilitie be denied. They not only appointed the feastes which concerne our redemption, but the memorials of the apostles, and some holy martyres. Constantine held a feaste for joy of the setling of the gospel and Christianity in his time: other emperors celebrated *auspicia lucis,* the day of their birth: others *ortum imperii,* the beginning of their reigne: other *festivitates repentinas,* suddeine feastes, upon joye for victorie over God's enemies, the Turkes and infidels. All which argue sufficient auctority, both for the institution and augmentation of this festivity.

Which although it had his original at the first from that of St Paule, 1 Tim. 2. where he exhorteth supplications, praiers, thankesgivings, intercessions, to be made for kings and for all that are in auctority; especially seeing we had attained to that end proposed by the apostle, namely, by reason of her majesties raigne to have liberty to leade a peaceable and quiet life in all godlines and honesty; yet forasmuch as since that time it hath bin confirmed by the consent and approbation of the magistrate, and by note in the calendar, and by special prayers appointed for it, I see no reason, but an high
2. c. 18 measure of malice only, in Reynolds in his *Calvina-Ture,* to liken it to the encrease and
p. 20 progresse of that idolatrie mentioned in the 14 of Wisedome, ver. 14, 15, 16. where the father made an image for his dead son, and worshipped it as God, and ordained ceremonies and sacrifices, which grewe to a custome in processe of time, and was made a law; except peradventure he thinke, that there is only a progress in sinne, and not in virtue, as in their societies from slaunder to libelling; a progress in idolatrie, as in their churches from an image to an idol, from an idol to all heathenish ceremonies and superstitions, but no progresse in true religion either inwardly from faith to faith, and from grace to grace, or outwardlye from lesse to more worship, from fewer to more devout and religious ceremonies, which I have observed before to have beene the course of God's church, both in the Olde and New Testament.

To conclude this pointe. If the particular church of England had auctority in queene Maries daies to appoint "two solemne and anniversarie masses to be yerely celebrated in St Maries, the one on the 18 of Februarie, being the nativitie of queene Marie, and the other on the first of October, on which she was crowned, at which masses the whole

universitie should be present from the beginning to the end, and there devoutelie praie for the good estate of the king and the queene, and for the peace of this their graces realme," and moreover appointed two solemne processions upon the same daies, being matters of greater solemnitie then now we use in these our meetings: I doubt not to affirme that the particular church of England hath also auctority sufficient to institute, if so it please, the celebration of the nativity and inauguration of her excellent majestie with publike sermons, common praiers and thanksgiving for her godly and peaceable reigne, and the unspeakeable blessing received by her, the chosen instrument of God for our good. p. 22.

The other accusation is against the manner of solemnizing it with ringing and bonfires and anthems, and sermons, and feastings, not only solemnly but *solemnissime*, most solemnly, as though it were preferred before Easter and Christmas, the blessed memorials of our Saviour Christ.[1]

The Ancient Patriarchs Peregrination; or a Map of the first inhabited Countries that were in the World: containing a Description of the Passages and Proceedings from the Flood to the Family of Jacob. Their several Travels, Living, and Places of Abode, notified by pricked Lines for the Reader's Direction.

THIS small map, as little as it is, may (if it please you to peruse it) at one view discover to you, what in many greater charts you cannot find; nor is it ever a whit the lesse usefull, because little, since each sophister knowes that a compend of logicke containes as well all the termes of that art, as the Stagirites larger volumes; and every one that sees, in a small table, the miniature of a man, can equally discerne perfection in it (if it be exactly drawne, and according to the life) as if it were accomplished with a fuller description of all the lineaments. The face of a great country, (or to say truly, of divers countries) is in this briefe plat comprised; which, as it cannot but exceedingly satisfie many concerning these things, so (it may be presumed) will delight all that are desirous of such antiquities.

It is not unknowne to any that is acquainted with the Scriptures, (for they shall be as neere as can be gathered, followed) that the first plantation of man upon the earth, after Adam's expulsion from Paradise, was eastward, as Genesis 4. 16., and continued spreading up and downe those regions, in long liv'd multitudes, till (for the wickednesse then overgrowing the inhabited lands) the flood came, over-spreading all the face of the earth.

These waters abated, the arke was found resting upon the high mountaines of Ararat, (interpreted by most Armenia,) from whence Noah and his sonnes, with their wives, (all mankind at that time,) descending, tended south-eastward, to seeke among the lower countries some more convenient place for habitation; and so planted themselves in that part, situated betweene those two great and pleasant rivers, Euphrates westward, and Tygris eastward, both supposed to have passed through the Garden of Eden; the first going under the name of Perath, the other of Hiddekel. A country surpassing all in the world for beauty, fruitfulnesse, commodiousnesse, and amænitie.

These places are here principally in the uppermost division of this map contained, as also a small touch of the land of Canaan; but for as much as Canaan with Egypt is there inserted, it serves onely to shew at one glance, how that beares from those other

[1] This sermon seems to be imperfect, as there is nothing said in answer to this second point of objection.

countries, and they from it; but the use appertaines most to the easterne lands betweene the two rivers, the originall country of Abraham the patriarch; of whom and his posterity, their native country, living, and journeyes, this description and plat are compiled. Thus therefore. After that, at the building of Babel, in the land of Shinar, afterward Chaldea, (the languages being then confounded,) the people were dispersed; Abraham's ancestours taking their way thence, planted themselves upon a sweet river, in a most wholesome, delightfull, rich, and fertile soyle, and erected there a famous citie called Ur of the Chaldees.

Here continued Terah; with Abraham, Nahor, and Haran, Terah's three sons, untill it pleased God to reveale himselfe to Abraham in his divine oracles; commanding him to depart the land of his nativity, teaching him the true worship of the true God, that before was trained up in idolatry, both he and al his fathers house, Gen. 11. 31, 32.

So Terah, with Abraham and Nahor, (for Haran, Terah's other sonne, dyed before his father, in the place where he was borne) they and theirs leaving Ur of the Chaldees, and the territories of Babylon, journeyed west and northward till they came unto Haran (called by Stephen, Charran, Act. 7. 2.) in Mesopotamia, where a long time they lived; where Terah dyed, and where Nahor and his posterity made their mansion, and settled their abode. But Abraham, the called of the Lord, as before he had (upon God's appointment) forsaken his natural birth-place, and familiar acquaintance, so now, by another motion of God's spirit directing him thereto, hee takes leave of his dearest and neerest kindred, goes out of Haran, on the other side of Euphrates, and Mesopotamia, toward the land of Canaan south, onely accompanied of Lot his kinsman; a place altogether unknowne, and (well may bee imagined) uncouth to him, to enter in there, with all his possessions of goods, servants, and cattle, among a multitude of strangers; many of them almost barbarous, most of them cruell and covetous; but the faith he had on God, his exceeding great reward, as it did, and does make him famous in all ages, and in all lands, so it made him confident to goe to, and constant to passe through that land, treading under all obstacles and impediments whatsoever, especially seeing the gracious Lord that made him his happy servant, gave him by promise to possesse in hope that rich country.

Now that this worthy patriarch is come to Canaan, passing by the way of Damascus and so onward, you shall understand, that he first pitched his tent about Sechem, where hee built an altar to the worship of God; from thence hee removed to a mountaine, between Bethel and Haai, erecting there an altar likewise. From this place a famine was cause of his journey southward into Egypt, whence after a hard welcome there, hee repaired to the former stage by Bethel, and from thence to the faire plaine of Mambre, bordering upon the great city Hebron, whence after he had seen the destruction of Sodom and those other, he came to Gerar in the Philistims countrey, and so passed over to Bersheba. Then was he commanded to go to the land of Moriah (his tenth removall) and offer in sacrifice his sonne Isaak, from whence comming the same way, he returned to his tent at Bersheba; and his last passage was from Bersheba again to the plaine of Mambre by Hebron, where first Sarah, and after himselfe deceased, and were interred: as evidently appeares, each several journey, noted by prickes and figures, and their place of sepulture notified in particular. And for these things here specified you must have recourse to the nethermost plat, which is onely of the land of Canaan, where you may see all this perfectly described, which in the upermost could not be set.

The other sons of Abraham, as Ismael, and those that Keturah bare him, tooke their way eastward and south, into Arabia and the adjacent parts, betweene the Red Sea and the Persian Gulfe, all which places are in these maps orderly seated: but Isaack, for the most part, abode in the land of Canaan; and after him Jacob, when he returned with his family and possessions from his uncle Laban from Haran or Padan Aram, till his going into Egypt. Both Abraham, Isaack, and Jacob, the great patriarchs, all of them wanderers, travellers, and pilgrims, by these their pilgrimages manifestly showing that

they had here no abiding city, but sought one to come, by faith; carrying themselves as strangers and sojourners upon the earth, journeying from one place to another; dwelling in huts and tents, having no certaine place of inheritance here, but seeking one immortall and undefiled, even in the heavens.

Such was the condition of their life; and although it bee not now with us (the most at least) so to change place, yet it behoves every one of us to consider of what country he belongs to, and what his heritage is to be; which is not to settle our affections upon earthly things, that are at best but transitory; but to fixe our eies on the right object, and aime at the right marke, the heavenly kingdome, that high inheritance provided and prepared for us by our blessed Saviour. That as those holy patriarchs in the former, so we in the latter times of the world, may all of us together shew the same faith in the same God, and the same hope of that same true unfading heritage, reserved for us in the heavens.

For all such as desire to know the situation of these countries here included, by longitude and latitude, the latitude is from 30 degrees, to 43 of north latitude, and the longitude beginning at 74 or thereabouts upon Egypt, continues running along unto 100 degrees of longitude; Persia being the south, and part of the Caspian Sea the north bound thereof.

These lands (all but Egypt) are comprehended under that part of the world, called Asia, and that very part of Asia, which hath beene by many accounted the middle of the world, and being first inhabited, dispersed into all other parts of the world, the people which have ever since covered the face of the earth. Herein also is a touch given of the Garden of Eden, and the rivers issuing thereout; but it is best not to be too curious about such things that are altogether concealed from our knowledge, and that purposely by the scripture.

But it is certaine that as this was the mother of all other places, so was it also the mistresse of all knowne places; as well appeares by the proto-cities Ninive, and the rest; and the two first universall monarchies of the world therein erected; the one of the Assyrians and Chaldeans, the other of the Medes and Persians.

Many other things might be added of the country itselfe; as also of the changing of some names, and such like; which I rather referre to the ingenious perusers judgment to consider of by himselfe.

Chronographia: A Description of Time, from the Beginning of the World, unto the yeare of our Lord 137. *Wherein the several Histories, both of the Olde and New Testament, are briefly comprised, and placed in their due order of Yeares; for the better direction of the Reader.—Collected out of sundry Authors, but for the greatest part, abridged and translated out of* Laurentius Codomannus,[1] *his* Annales sacræ Scripturæ.

Deut. iv. 32. Enquire after the times that are past; which were before thee, since the day that God created man upon the earth, &c.

Printed in the yeare 1590.

TO THE READER.

If it shal please thee (gentle reader) to accept in good part this rude and unperfect draught, which in so great shortnesse of time, and multitude of businesse, I could present

[1] Lorenz Codoman, a native of the town of Hoff in Voghtland, Saxony, flourished in the latter part of the sixteenth century, about the year 1575. This chronological work, of which this tract is an abridgment, is a computation of the years of the world, and of the seventy weeks of the prophet Daniel.

thee with all; thou shalt give me encouragement at my better leasure, and some fitter opportunitie, to finish the same to thy farther benefit. In the meane season my hope is, it shal not repent thee to have ben at so smal a charge, or of so little labour, as wil suffice to the diligent perusing of this short treatise. Which that thou mayest read with the more fruit, I thought good to admonish thee of these few things. First, that where in so little roome all particular histories of the Holy Bible could not be expressed, thou maiest not unfitly place the things not here set downe, neare unto those stories that in this treatise are annexed unto them. 2. What times are certainely noted and defined in the worde, thou shalt find confirmed by places quoted to that purpose. As for others that are onely probable and conjecturall, it shall suffice, thou rest thine opinion upon the credite of mine author, untill thou find some better argument for thy further direction. 3. The tables containing a correspondence of years, in the lives of the fathers, judges, and kings of Judah and Israel, I have for brevitie sake omitted, hoping that thy diligence in comparing the times together as they are set downe, will easily supply that want. 4. As for the index, I thought it superfluous in so short a booke, besides that the margent briefly containing the heads of al things, may answer thy desire in that part. 5. Where thou findest A. M. in the top of every page, understand the yeare of the world, and where in the margent thou findest A. Ch. understand the yeare of our Lord. 6. In the first page *equinoctium vernum*, signifieth, that time of the spring, wherein the daies and nights are of equall length; *luminarium conjunctio*, signifieth the meeting of the sunne and moone in her chaunge. 7. For the title, A brief Chronicle of Holy Scripture, I gave it, because the greatest part of the stories herein remembred, are taken out of the worde of God; yet it was necessary for the continuance of the history and other complement, that some thinges should be alledged out of the Apocrỹpha, Josephus, and other authors. 8. Where the accompt of mine author differeth somewhat from others, that wrote before him, it neede neither to offend nor trouble thee, as derogating nothing from the truth of the storie. The reasons of his difference he hath profoundly set downe in a large volume, written for that purpose; but, because the same is farre removed from the capacitie of the multitude, and consisteth most upon astronomicall calculation, I thought it better to leave it wholly unto the learned, than here to trouble thee without fruit. 9. If thou desirest to know what is the distance of the present yeare of our Lord 1589, from any particular of the ancient storie, take from 5730, the yeare of that historie, and the number remaining is that thou requirest. To know how many yeares before Christ his birth, any thing hapned, take the yeare of the story thou seekest from the yeare wherein Christ was borne, and the remainder is that thou desirest. As, David was borne in the year of the world 3039, and Christ in the yeare 4141, take the first from the latter, there remaineth 1102; so many yeares was David borne before Christ. 10. In alleaging the two bookes of the Kinges I have written 1. Reg. and 2. Reg. 11. Where places of scripture are alleaged for the birth of many personages, if the same be not there expressed, understand that it is gathered from thence by computation, which thou mayst easily discerne. 12. In so many numbers, and of so great a varietie, scarce any diligence could performe that nothing should be printed amisse. It may please thee therefore, gentle reader, to beare with some fewe escapes, and patiently to amend where thou findest a fault. And so I bid thee most hartely farewell in the Lord. This 12. of Februarie, 1590.

A Description of Time, from the Beginning of the World, unto the Yeare of our Lord, 137.	*Day.*	*The Creation.*
The first day of the world was created heaven and earth, contayning a confused masse, whereof afterwardes all thinges were made. This day was our Sonday, or the Lordes day, and as is thought, the 22 daye of the month of April. Then was created the light, separated from the darknes, and called day. Gen. 1. 1.	1	Heaven and earth. The light.
The second day our Monday, was made the firmament, and was called by the name of heavens. Gen. 1. 6.	2	The firmament.
The third day our Tewsday, the waters were separated from covering the earth, which at the commaundement of God brought forth grasse, hearbs, and trees, having their seede and fruit. Gen. 1. 9.	3	Land, sea, hearbs, &c.
The fourth day our Wendsday, were made and placed in the firmament of heaven, the sunne, moone, and starres. This day was *æquinoctium vernum et luminarium conjunctio*, the 25 of April. Other referre the creation unto September. Gen. 1. 14.	4	Sunne, moon, starres.
The fifth day, Thursday, were made the fishes and foules, with all that lyve in the waters, and flie in the ayre. Gen. 1. 20.	5	Fish and foules.
The sixth day, our Friday, were created, first all beasts and things creeping upon the earth. Gen. 1. 20. Secondly, Adam and Eve according to the image of God. Gen. 1. 26. The same day mariage was instituted. Gen. 2.	6	Beastes, &c. Man and woman. Marryage.
The seventh day, our Saterday, God having finished his work of creation, ceased or rested, sanctified this day unto man, and called it the Sabboth. Gen. 2. 3.	7	The Sabboth.
The creation of the angels is most probably assigned unto the first day. Of these some hold the integritie of their creation, and are called holy and elect angels; some are fallen, and called devils, whose fall is most certaine; but the time of their fall uncertaine, saving that they must needs fall before the fall of man.		Creation of angells.
The fall of Adam and Eve being most certaine, the day and time is uncertaine; and therefore, it is curiositie to inquire where the woord keepeth silence, and boldnes to pronounce. That they fell not the day of their creation, besides the varietie of thinges done after, the same day, which required tract of time. This seemeth plainly to argue, that the sixth day is concluded by Moses, with these woordes: And God beheld all that he had made, and loe it was exceeding good; so the evening and morning was made the sixt day. Codomannus assigneth Adam's fall unto the 19 day of the world, which was the 14 of the first moneth, and the tenth of May. His reason is from the analogie of the passover. Exod. 12. Some referre it unto the eight day, in which Christ rose from the dead.		The fall of man.
The same day wherein they fell, they receaved the promyse of grace in the seede of the woman, which should break the serpent's head. Gen. 3. 15.		Man restored.
In the end of the first yeare of the world, was born Caijn and Abel (if they were twins.) If also theise were the first of Adam's chil-		Caijn and Abell, b.

Adam.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
		dren, as should appeare by the reason of Caijn his name. Gen. 4. 1.
Abel slaine.		After this, unto the murder of Abell, the familie of Adam was greatly multiplyed in both sexes: and therfore the same is most
	129	fitly to be assigned unto the yeare 129, or not much lesse. Gen. 4.
Seth, b.	130	About the ende of this yeare was borne Seth, in whom the line of Christ was recontinued, which seemed unto Eve to be broken off
Enosh, b.	235	in the death of Abell. Gen. 5. 3.
Religion corrupted.		Was borne Enoshe, when Seth his father was 105 yeares olde. Then began religion to be corrupted even in the church. Gen. 5. 6.
Cenan, b.	325	Was borne Cenan, his father Enosh being 90 yeres old. Gen. 5. 9.
Mahalaleel, b.	395	Mahalaleel was borne, his father Cenan being 70 yeares old. Gen. 5. 12.
Jared, b.	460	Jared borne, when his father Mahalaleel was of age 65 yeares. Gen. 5. 16.
Henoch, b.	622	Henoch, the seventh from Adam, was borne, his father Jared being of 162 yeares. Gen. 5. 18.
Methusala, b.	687	Methusala was borne the 65. yeare of the life of his father Henoch. Gen. 5. 21.
Lamech.	874	Lamech borne, the 187 yeare of his father Methusala. Gen. 5. 25.
Adam, d.	930	Adam died. Gen. 5. 5.
Henoch rapt.	987	Henoch, the seventh from Adam, was rapt into heaven, when he had lyved 365 yeres. Gen 5. 24. of his prophesy S. Jude speaketh, ver. 14, and of his faith. Heb. 11.
Seth, d.	1042	Seth died 912 yeres old. Gen. 5. 8.
Noah, b.	1056	Noah was borne, when his father Lamech was of age 182 yeares. Gen. 4. 29.
Enosh, d.	1140	Enosh died, having lyved 905 yeares. Gen. 5. 11.
Cenan, d.	1235	Cenan died, of age 910 yeares. Gen. 5. 14.
Mahalaleel, d.	1290	Mahalaleel died, of 895 yeares. Gen. 5. 17.
	1422	Jared dieth, 962 yeares old. Gen. 5. 20.
	1536	Here begin the 120 yeares of the long sufferance of God before the floud. Gen. 6. 1. Pet. 3. 19.
Japheth.	1556	Japheth was borne when Noah was 500 yeares old. Gen. 5. 32. and 10.
Shem.	1558	Was borne Shem. Gen. 11.
Cham.		Cham, the yongest of Noah his sonnes, was borne after this, but what yeare it is uncertaine.
	1656	Methusala dieth, only eight daies, as it is thought, before the floud. Gen. 5 27.
The floud.		The 47 day of this yeare began the floud, and continued one yeare and tenne dayes.
	1657	The first day of the first moneth Noah removed the covering of the arke. Gen. 8. 13. The 27 of the second moneth, Noah with the rest came out of the arke, buylt an altar, and offered sacrifice, and receaved the covenant. Gen. 8. 18.
Arphaxad.	1658	Arphaxad was borne two yeares after the floud, his father Sem being 100 yeares old. Gen. 11. 10.
Selah.	1693	Sela was borne when Arphaxad was 35 yeares old. Gen. 11. 12.
Heber.	1723	Heber (of whom the Hebrewes take their name) was borne, when his father Sela was of the age of 30 yeares. Gen. 11. 14.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Noah.*
Peleg was borne, when Heber was 34 yeares olde. Gen. 11. 16. At this time Babell was buylt, and the languages divided. Gen. 11. 7.	1757	Peleg.
Regu born, when Peleg was of 30 yeres. Gen. 11. 10.	1787	Regu.
Nimrod (called of the heathen *Saturnus Babylonius*) began to raigne 131 yeare after the floud. Gen. 10. 8.		Nimrod.
Serug borne, his father Regu being 32 yeares old. Gen. 11. 20.	1819	Serug.
Jupiter Belus succeeded his father Nimrod, when he had raigned 56 yeares, and raigned himselfe 62 yeares.	1843	Jup. Belus.
Nachor borne, when his father Serug was 30 yeares old. Gen. 11. 22.	1849	Nachor.
Terach was borne in the yeare of his father Nachor's age 29. Gen. 11. 24.	1878	Terach.
Ninus, whose wife was Semiramis, began to raigne. He was the sonne of Jupiter Belus, and the sixth from Noah. Noah called of the heathen Ogyges; Cham, called Saturnus Ægiptius; Cus, called Saturnus Æthiops; Nimrod, called Saturnus Babylonius; Jupiter Belus; Ninus.	1905	Ninus.
Haran was borne, when Terah was 70 yeares olde. Gen. 11. 26.	1948	Haran.
Peleg dieth of the age of 239. Gen. 11. 19.	1996	
Nachor dieth, of 148 yeares. Gen. 11. 25.	1997	
Noah dieth, the yeare of his age 950, after the floud 350.	2006	Noah dieth.
Abraham borne when Terah was 130 yeares olde. Gen. 11. and 12. and 28.	2008	Abram.
Sarah borne.	2018	Sarai.
Regu dieth, of age 239. Gen. 11.	2026	
Serug dieth of 230 yeares. Gen. 11. 22. 23.		
God appeared unto Abram in Ur of Chaldea, entred a covenant of salvation with him by the promised seede, commaunded him to depart thence, to a land which he would shew him. So Abraham, Sara his wife, Terah his father, and Lot his nephewe, came into Charran, where he sojourned five yeares. Gen. 11. Act. 7. 2.	2078	The covenant first given. Charran.
The Sodomites, with foure neighbor kinges, were made tributaries to Cedarlahomer. Gen. 14.	2079	
Terah dieth in Charran, having lived 205 yeares. Gen. 11. 32.	2083	
The promise was renued unto Abraham, being of the age of 75 yeares: and he went from Charran into the lande of Canaan. Gen. 12. 1, 2, 3, 4. Act. 7.		The promise renued.
This was the first yeare of Abram's perigrination in Canaan.	2084	
Abram by famin was driven into Egipt. From hence unto the departure of the children of Israel out of Egipt, is 430 yares. Gal. 3. 17.	2085	Famin.
Loth, this yeare departed from Abraham, and went to dwel at Sodome. Gen. 13. 11.	2086	Lot went to Sodome.
To this yeare is referred the victorie of Abraham against the foure kings. Gen. 14. 14, 15, 16.	2093	Ab. victory.
At this time raigned Melchisedec king of Salem, who was priest of the most high God, met Abraham returning from the battail, relieved him with victuales, blessed him, and received tithe of his spoiles. Some without great cause have thought him to be Sem; but it is more modestie and lesse daunger to follow the apostle,		Melchisedec.

Abram.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
		who from the silence of Moses in this part, testefieth, that he was a figure of Christ: and not by seeking his name and parentage, to destroy the figure, and control the spirite of God. Hebr. 7. Gen. 14.
Hagar.	2094	Sarai gave Hagar unto Abram to be his wife, when he had dwelt tenne yeares in Canaan. Gen. 16. 2.
Ismael.		The same yeare was borne Ismaell of Hagar, when Abraham was 86 yeares olde. Gen. 16. 15.
Arphaxad d.	2096	Arphaxad dyeth of the age of 438 yeares. Gen. 11. 13.
Circumcision.	2107	Circumcision is given unto Abraham being 99 yeares, and Ismael 13 yeres old. Gen. 17. 24. 25.
Sodome destroyed.	2108	The hundreth yeare of Abraham, and ninteth of Sarah. Gen 21. Was Sodome, &c. destroyeth with fyer from heaven. In the end of this yeare was borne, Isaac in Gerar. Gen 21. the sonne of the free woman, and of the promise. Rom 9. Gal. 4. 1.
Ismael cast out.	2114	Isaac was seven yeares olde. Ismael was cast out. Gen. 21. 14. From hence unto the deliverance of Israel out of Egipt are 400 yeares.
Rebecca, b.	2118	This yeare was Rebecca borne.
Selah, d.	2126	Selah dyeth, of age 433 yeares. Gen. 11. 15.
Isaac offered.	2141	Isaac is offered, a figure of Christ. Gen. 22. 10. And Abraham was a figure of God the father, giving his owne sonne for us. Rom. 8. 32. Gen. 22.
Sarah, d.	2145	Sarah dyeth, being 127 yeares olde. Gen. 23. 2.
Isaac married.	2148	Isaac being 40 yeares olde marrieth Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel, the sonne of Nachor, Abram's brother, who then dwelt in Charran of Mesopotamia. Gen. 24. 67.
Sem, d.	2158	Sem dyeth, of age 600 yeares. Gen. 11. 11.
Jaacob and Esau, b.	2168	Jaacob and Esau are borne, when Isaac was 60 yeres olde. Gen. 25. 25. Here God said, the elder shall serve the yonger. Rom. 9. Malac. 1.
Abraham, d.	2183	Abraham dieth, of yeres 175. Gen. 25.
Heber, d.	2187	Heber dieth, having lyved 464 yeares. Gen. 11. 17.
Promise.	2200	About this time Isaac receaveth the promise of the Messiah to come. Gen. 26.
	2208	Esau 40 yeares olde, taketh two wives of the heathen. Gen. 26. 34. About the same time his father in law Ana invented the generation of mules. Gen. 36. 24.
Mules.		
Ismael, d.	2231	Ismael dieth, having lyved 137 yeares. Gen. 25. 17.
	2245	Isaac being blind blesseth Jacob and Esau. Gen. 27. 28. Hebr. 11. 20.
Jaacob goeth into Mesopot.	2245	Jaacob being 77 yeares olde, flyeth into Mesopotamia, and in the way at Luz receaveth the promise of the Messias. Gen. 28. 12. Hos. 12.
Jaacobs mariage.	2252	Jaacob marrieth Lea and Rachell, the daughters of Laban. Gen. 29. 23. 270 daies within this yeare was borne Ruben of Lea. Tremelius and Junius with great probabilitie affirme, that Jaacob presently upon his coming to Laban tooke to wife, first Lea, then Rachel, which granted, removeth many difficulties in the age of Jaacob's children.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Jacob.*
And 215 daies Simeon was borne.	2253	Simeon.
And 160 daies was borne Levi.	2254	Levi.
And 105 daies was borne Jehudah.	2255	Jehudah.
And 300 daies Issachar was borne of Lea.	2256	Issachar.
And 245 daies Zabulon was borne of Lea.	2257	Zabulon.
And 220 daies was borne Dinah of Lea.	2258	Dinah.
Rachel bare Joseph. Gen. 30. 23. 24.	2259	Joseph.
Jacob returneth out of Mesopotamia, having bene there 20 yeares. Gen. 31. in the way he wrastled with the angel, and was called Israel. Gen. 32. 28. Hos. 12. 3. He remaineth a good time at Sichem. Gen. 33. 18.	2265	
And 215 daies was borne Her, the eldest sonne of Judah. Gen. 38. 3.	2268	Her.
And 160 daies was borne Onan. Gen. 38. 4.	2269	Onan.
And 105 daies was borne Sela, the third sonne of Juda. Gen. 38. 5.	2270	Selah.
Dinah is defloured. The Sichemits are traiterously slaine by Simeon and Levi, &c. Gen. 34.	2274	
This yeare Jaacob removed unto Bethel, Debora dieth, Rachel in the journey beareth Benjamin, and dieth. Not long after Ruben defileth Bilha. Gen. 34. and 35.	2275	Benjamin.
Joseph of age 17 yeares, is sold into Egipt. Gen. 37. 2. 28.	2276	Joseph sold.
Judah lyeth with Thamar, in the way to Timnah. Gen. 38. 18.	2283	
Peretz and his brother Zarah were borne of Thamar. Gen. 38. 29. 30.	2284	Peretz.
Joseph was cast into prison. Gen. 39. where he continued three yeares. Gen. 41.	2286	
Pharaoh his butler is delivered, the first yeare of Joseph his imprisonment. Gen. 40. 21.	2287	
Isaac dieth 180 yeares olde, having continued blinde 43 yeares. Gen. 27. 3. and 35. 28.	2288	Isaac dieth.
Joseph being of 30 yeares is taken out of prison, and presented unto Pharao, who setteth him over his kingdome. Gen. 41. 46. Presently follow the 7 yeares of plentie, in which time Joseph hath two sonnes, Manasses and Ephraim. Gen. 41. 50.	2289	Joseph delivered, &c.
Begin the 7 yeares of famin. This yeare Peretz taketh a wife. Gen. 41. 53. 54.	2296	Famin.
Hezron is borne unto Peretz, and the yeare following Hamul.	2297	Hezron.
Jacob of the age of 130 yeares, goeth downe into Egipt, five yeares before the ende of the famin. Gen. 46. 1.	2298	Jacob into Egypt.
The Egiptians wanting money, gave their cattell and sheepe for corne, the sixt yeare of the famin. Gen. 47.	2303	
Jacob blessed his children, prophesieth of Christ, and dieth in Egipt 147 yeares olde, is carried into Canaan, and buried in Hebron. Gen. 49. 33.	2315	Jacob dieth.
Hezron of the age of 60 yeares, marieth the daughter of Machir. 1. Par. 2. and 8.	2358	
Joseph dieth, having lived 110 yeares, and governed in Egipt 80 yeares. His bodie was kept there till Israel went out of Egipt. Gen. 50. 26.	2369	Joseph dieth.
Levi dieth, being of 137 yeares.	2392	
Aaron was borne. Exod. 7.	2431	Aaron b.

Moses.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Moses b.	2434	Moses was borne, kept three monethes, cast out, taken up by Pharaoh his daughter, and nurced for hir sonne. Exod. 2. 2. &c.
Josuah b.	2470	Josuah was borne, 44 yeares before the deliverance of Israel out of Egipt.
Moses marriage.	2474	Moses 40 yeares old, visiteth his brethren, is rejected of them, and flyeth into Madian. Exod. 2. 11. 15. Act. 7. where he mairrieth, hath children, and continueth 40 yeares. Exod. 2. and after returneth into Egipt. Exod. 4.
Caleb b.	2476	Caleb was borne. Jos. 14.
	2485	The men of Gath kill certaine of the Ephraites. 1. Paral. 8.
	2514	The last moneth of this yeare were done all the thinges contained in the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, of Exod. This yeare was the 431. yeare after the promyse made to Abraham in Charran. Gen. 12.
	2515	This first yeare of departure from Egipt, contayneth the historie of
The first passover.		Moses, from the 9 of Exod. unto the 39. The 14 day of the first moneth, being the 25 of April, was slaine the first passover.
Murmur.		Exod. 12. The 20 day of the same moneth the people murmured in Mara. Exod. 15. Num. 33.
Quailes.		The 15 day of the second moneth, God brought quailes upon the limits of Israel.
Manna.		The 16 day, they first did eate manna; this was a figure of Christ.
Water.		Joh. 16. Lev. 10. Not long after, water was given them out of the rock in Raphidim, which also signifieth Christ. 1. Lev. 20.
Amalek overthrown.		Josua overthrew the Amalakits. Exod. 17. Moses appointed magistrates after the counsel of Jethro. Exod. 18.
Sinay.		The thirde moneth after their departure out of Egipt, they came into the desert of Sinay.
The law given.		This 67 day of this yere, was the law given in Mount Horeb. Exod. 19. And after, the promyse of the great prophet to come, which was Christ. Deu. 18.
Tables broken.		The 108 day of this yeare, being the 28 of July, Moses brake the
The calfe.		two tables of stone, and 3000 men were slaine for worshipping the calfe which Aaron had made. After, God giveth Moses other tables of the law.
Tabernacle erected.	2516	Moses erecteth the tabernacle the first day of the first moneth.
Passover 2.		The 14 day of this year, was celebrated the second passover. Num. 9. About this time, he that blasphemed was stoned to death.
The blasphemer.		Levit. 24.
		About the 23 day of the second moneth, a fier from the Lord consumed the outmost of the tents of Israel. Num. 11.
The people lust.		About the 24 of the third moneth, they lusted after fleshe, and
Miriam a lepar.		were destroied many of them. Num. 11. Mariam was stricken with leprosie. Num. 12.
Nadab and Abihu burnt.		The 8 day of the 6 moneth, Nadab and Abihu, sonnes of Aaron, perished with fier from heaven. Levit. 20.
Spies.		Not long after, 12 spies were sent into the land of Canaan, and re-
Murmur.		turned. The people murmure, and are excluded from entring the land. Num. 14.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Moses.*
Here Moses breaketh off the story for 36 yeares: remembring only the punishment of him that gathered stickes upon the Sabboth. Numb. 15.		The Sabboth breaker.
This was the 39 yeare after the departure of Israel out of Egipt; hath the storie of Core, Dathan, and Abiram; the suddain destruction of 14,700, and the flourishing of Aron's rodd. Num. 16. 17. 18.	2553	Core, Dathan, &c. Aron's rodd.
The 40 yeare after their departure out of Egipt, Miriam dieth, Num. 20. being more then 130 yeares old. About this time Moses striketh the rock twice, of infidelitie, and therefore is not suffered to enter into the land of Canaan.	2554	Moses infidelity.
The first day of the first moneth, Araon dieth in Mount Hor, of age 123 yeares. Num. 20. and 33.		Aron d.
King Arad is destroied. The storie of the brasen serpent erected in the Wildernesse. Num. 21.		The brasen serpent.
The seventh moneth, Sihon king of the Amorites is overthrowen.		Sihon overthrowen.
From this time, every fiftieth yeare was the yeare of jubilee; and every seventh yeare the yeare of rest or Saboth.		The first jubilee.
Shortly after, Og king of Basan is overthrowen. Deut. 2. 3. Num. 21.		Og.
After followeth the storie of Bilham. Num. 22—25.		Bilham.
He prophesied of the comming of Christ. Num. 24.		
Moses assigneth Josua his successor. Num. 27.		
The destruction of the Midianits by Pinchas. Num. 31. amongest whom perished Bileam.		
The first day of the 11 moneth, Moses readeth Deutronomy unto the Israelites. Deut. 1. 3.		
The first day of the last moneth called Adar, Moses dyeth, of the age of 120 yeares. Deut. 34. After whom Josua ruleth.		Moses d.
Shortly after Josua sendeth spies to Jericho. Jos. 2.		Joshua ruleth.
The tenth day of the first moneth the Israelits passe over Jordan. Jos. 3. 4.	2555	
The 11 day of the first moneth, the Israelits were circumcised in Gilgal. Jos. 5.		
The 14 day they eate the passover. The day after manna ceaseth. Jos. 5. 9. 11.		
About the first day of the 2 moneth, the walles of Jericho fell downe. Jos. 6. After, Achan was stoned for taking of the execrable things. Jos. 7.		Jericho.
The same yeare the sunne and moone stand still at the commaundement of Josuah. Jos. 10.		Sunne standeth still.
The same yeare, follow the thinges written. Jos. 8. 9. and 10.		
Josuah in seven yeares had overcome 31 kings of Canaan, and assigned unto every tribe their lot. The tabernacle was erected in Siloh. The Rubenits, Gadits, &c. sent home. Jos. 22.	2561	
Josuah dyeth of 110 yeares. Jos. 24. having governed the people after Moses 25 yeares.	2580	Josuah d.
The same yeare dyed Eleazer the high priest, whom Pineaz succedeth.		Pineas.

Judges.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
	2600	About this time was the destruction of the tribe of Benjamin, mentioned. Jud. 19. 20.
Jubil. 1.	2602	And sixe monethes, beginneth the first yeare of jubeley.
Othniel.	2608	This yeare ended the servitude of Israell under Chusan in the dayes of Othniel. Jud. 3.
	2633	The tribe of Dan possesseth his lot. Jud. 18.
	2648	Began the servitude of Israel under Eglon. Jud. 3.
Jubil. 2.	2651	And sixe monethes approached the second jubelie.
Ehud.	2666	Ehude slewe Eglon, and delivered Israell for 80 yeares. Jud. 3. 30.
Jubil. 3.	2700	And six monethes began the third jubelie.
	2717	Obed is borne of Ruth by Boaz.
Samgar.	2747	Samgar delivereth Israell. Jud. 3.
Jubil. 4.	2749	And six monethes began the 4 jubelie.
Barak. Sissera.	2766	Sissera the captaine of Jabin is overthrowen by Barak and Deborah. Jud. 4. 5.
Jubil. 5.	2798	And six monethes entred the fifth jubiley.
	2806	Began the servitude of Israel under the Madianits. Jud. 6.
Gedeon.	2813	Gedeon delivereth Israell. Jud. 8. 28. and ruleth 40 yeares. He had 70 sonnes by his wives; and by his concubine, he had Abimelec. Jud. 8. 30.
Jubil. 6.	2847	And six monethes began the six jubiley.
Abimelec.	2853	Gedeon dieth, Isrel is three yeares under Abimelec. Jud. 9. 22. and was slaine at Tebes.
Tholah.	2856	Began Tholah to judge over Israell after Gedeon for 23 yeares. He is called Badan. 1 Sam. 12.
Jesse.	2878	Was borne Jesse the father of David.
Jair.	2879	Jair began to judge Israel after the death of Tholah, for 22 yeares.
Jubil. 7.	2896	And six monethes entred the seventh jubiley.
	2901	The Philistines and Ammonites began to oppress Israel for 18 yeares. Jud. 10.
Jephtha.	2919	Began the first of these six yeares, wherein Jephtha judged Israel. Jud. 12. 7.
Ebzan.	2925	Ebzan began to judge Israel for 7 yeares. Jud. 12.
Elon.	2932	Ely the priest was borne. 1 Sam. 4. This yeare began Elon to judge Israel for 10 yeares. Jud. 12.
Abdon.	2942	Began Abdon of Ephraim to judge Israel for eight yeares. Jud. 12.
Jubil. 8.	2945	And six monethes, entred the eight jubilie.
	2950	The Israelites served the Philistines for 40 yeares after the death of Abdon. Jud. 13.
Sampson.	2970	Began Sampson of Dan to judge Israel for 20 yeres. Jud. 15. Which incurre into the former servitude.
	2990	Samson pulled the house upon him selfe and the Philistines. Jud. 16. Here begin the 40 yeares wherein Eli judged Israel. 1 Sam. 4.
Eli.		
Jubil. 9.	2994	Began the ninth jubilie.
Samuel b.	3000	About this time was Samuel the prophet borne in Bethelem. 1 Sam. 1.
Eli d.	3030	Eli died, his ij sonnes being slaine the same day, and the ark of God is taken by the Philistines. About this time were determined

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*David.*
those 450 yeres of the judges, whereof Paul, Act. 13. Then began Samuel to rule. Then ceassed the idol of Michah. Jud. 18.		Samuel ruleth.
And one moneth, David was borne, who, at the death of Saul, was 30 yeares olde. 2 Sam. 5.	3039	David b.
And six monethes was the tenth jubilie.	3043	Jubil. 10.
The slaughter of the Philistines. 1 Sam. 7.	3050	
And one moneth Saul was chosen the first king over Israel. 1 Sam. 9. when Samuel had governed 27 yeares and seven monethes. This yeare Nahaz king of the Ammonites besieged Jabes. 1 Sam. 11.	3057	Saul chosen king.
Saul, the second yeare of his election, was rejected of God. The same yeare were done the thinges mentioned 1 Sam. 13. and 14.	3059	Saul rejected.
The Rubenites and Gadites about this time destroied the Hagarites. 1 Paral. 6. Referre unto this yeare the stories contained. 1 Sam. 15 and 16. This yeare, which was the fift of Saules raigne, David was anointed by Samuel. 1 Sam. 16.	3062	Hagarites destroyed. David anointed.
This yeare being the sixth of Saul, David overthroweth Goliah. 1 Sam. 17.	3063	Goliah slaine.
David, for 100 foreskinnes of the Philistines, becommeth sonne in law unto Saul, &c.	3064	David's mariage.
Were done the thinges contained in 1 Sam. 19. 20, 21, and 22.	3065	
In this time lived the prophet Gad. 1 Sam. 22. This yere was borne Mephibosheth the sonne of Jonathan.	3066	Gad.
David spoileth the Philistines. 1 Sam. 23.		
Saul, hearing of the invasion of the Philistines, ceasseth to persecute David. 1 Sam. 23. and 24.	3067	David's deliverance.
Samuel dieth. 1 Sam. 25. Abigael pacifieth David. Nabal dieth, &c. 1 Sam. 25. David taketh Abigael to wife.	3068	Samuel d Abigael.
Ziclag is given to David, &c. 1 Sam. 27.	3069	Ziclag.
The first moneth of this yeare the Philistines make warre against Israel: Saul asketh counsel of a Pythonesse. 1 Sam. 28. He is slaine with his three sonnes, &c. 1 Sam. 30. 31. David is crowned king over Judah in Hebron, being 30 yeares olde.	3070 3072	Saul slaine. David crowned.
Amnon was born unto David. 1 Sam. 3.		
Abner killeth Asahel the brother of Joab.	3076	Asahel slaine.
Absolon was borne in Hebron. 2 Sam. 3.		
After 7 monethes Abner and Ishbosheth are slaine. David is made king in Hebron over al the tribes, and driveth the Jebusites out of Jerusalem. 2 Sam. 5. 1 Paral. 12. Hiram king of Tyrus sendeth cedars and workmen to David.		Abner slaine. Hiram.
Thamar was borne the 8 Yeare of David's reigne.	3077	
This yeare David again overthroweth the Philistines. 2 Sam. 5. The ark of the Lord was brought into the house of Obededom, and after 3 monethes into Sion. 2 Sam. 6.	3078	The arke brought to Obededom.
About this time (1063 before the birth of Christ) Messias is promised to David. 2 Sam. 7. From this time Nathan prophecied 30 yeares. At the same lyved Heman, Jedithum, and Asaph, mentioned in the titles of certaine psalmes.	3079	Messias promised. Heman, &c.
David subdueth the Philistines, and taketh the tribute out of their handes. 2 Sam. 8.	3081	David's victories.

David.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
	3082	The Moabites are slaine, and made tributaries unto David. 2 Sam. 8. The Syrians and Damascens are slaine by David. 2 Sam. 8. The gratulation of Thoi king of Hemath. 1 Paral. 19. David overthroweth the Idumeans by Abisai. 2 Sam. 8. 1 Paral. 19. Joab destroyeth all their males. But Hadad, one of the kinges house, flyeth to Pharaoh into Egipt.
Hanon.	3084	Nahaz king of the Ammonites dieth, his sonne Hanon cutteth off the beardes and skirtes of David's messengers, &c. 2 Sam. 10.
Uriah.	3085	In this yeare fell the adultery of David with Bathsaba, the murder of Uriah, and surprising of Rabba. 2 Sam. 11.
	3086	Was borne the child gotten in adulterie. 1 Paral. 3. Nathan reproveth David. The childe dieth. 2 Sam. 12.
Salomon borne.	3088	And three monethes was borne Salomon of Bathsaba. 1 Paral. 3, whose name and office God revealed unto David. 1 Paral. 23.
Thamar.	3090	Thamar was ravished by Amnon her brother. 2 Sam. 13.
Amnon.	3092	Amnon was slaine by the commaundement of his brother Absalon. 2 Sam.
Jubil. 11.		Sixe monethes within this yeare began the 11 jubiley.
	3095	Absolon, after three yeares banishment, returneth to Jerusalem. 2 Sam. 13. 14.
	3097	He is brought into the presence of his father David. 2 Sam. 14.
	3098	This yeare Absalon ambitiously seeketh the favour of the people: prepareth him charriots and horses, &c. 2 Sam. 15.
Absolon's conspiracy.	3099	Absolon conspireth against David his father, the 30 yeare of his raigne, betweene the passover and pentecost. 2. Sam. 15. 16.
Siba his conspiracie.	3100	The same yeare Siba conspireth against David. 2. Sam. 16. 1.
Famin.	3103	To this yeare, and the two following, is referred the famin mentioned 2 Sam. 12.
Saul's sonns hanged.		The Gebeonites hang up the two sonnes and five nephewes of Saul, for his crueltie against them. 2 Sam. 21.
Giants slaine.		About this time were slaine those giants of the posteritie of Goliah, mentioned 2 Sam. 21. 1 Paral. 21.
David numbreth the people.	3107	About this time David numbreth the people, contrary to the law. Exod. 30. and brought a plague upon the people. 2 Sam. 25. when he had reigned 38 yeares.
Adoniah his conspiracie.	3108	The conspiracie of Adoniah: Salomon is appointed to be king after David. 1 Reg. 1. unto which time must be referred the beginning of Salomon's reigne. About three monethes within this yeare was Roboham borne unto Salomon.
Roboham b.		
David ordereth the state, and the church.	3109	David commendeth the kingdome to Salomon: ordereth the building of the temple, and distributeth the offices of the priestes and Levites. 1 Paral. 23. 24.
Hadad king of Syria.	3110	The first moneth of this yeare, endeth the 40 yeare of David's raigne, and he dieth. This yeare Hadad the Idumean returneth out of Egipt, and raigneth over Syria. 1. Reg. 11. Adoniah and Joab are executed. Abiathar banished, whom Zadok succeedeth. 1 Reg. 2. Simei is commaunded not to depart from Jerusalem.
Adoniah and Joab executed.		
Salom. maryage.	3112	Salomon marrieth Pharao his daughter. God appeareth unto Sal. in Gibeon. 1 Reg. 3.
A vision.		

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Salomon.*
Salomon judgeth the cause of the two women. 1 Reg. 3.		Salo. judgeth
This yeare, and 31 daies, the foundation of the temple was laied. Simei is executed. 1 Reg. 2.		the two women.
The temple was finished, the arke brought out of the tower of Sion into the temple, which was dedicated the same time, and fier commeth from heaven upon the sacrifices. 2 Paral. 7.	3118	Temple founded. Finished.
The same yeare Salomon began to build his owne house, which was finished in 13 yeares. 1 Reg. 7.		Arke placed. Sacrifice.
God appeareth againe unto Salomon. 1 Reg. 9. 2 Paral. 7.	3131	Salo. house
Hiram refuseth Salomon's offer. 1 Reg. 9.		built.
Salomon buildeth cities, Gazer, &c. 1 Reg. 9.	3133	Vision.
Salomon sendeth shippes into Ophir. 1 Reg. 9. 1 Paral. 10. which returne after 3 yeares.	3133	Cities built. Shippes.
About this time the Queene of Saba visiteth Salomon. 1 Reg. 10.	3137	The queene
And six monethes was the 12 jubilie.	3141	of Saba.
Ahia prophesied that Jerobeam should be king of the tenne tribes of Israel. 1 Reg. 11.	3147	Jubil. 12. Ahia.
The same time prophesied Jeddi. 2 Paral. 9.		Jeddi.
And three monethes Salomon died, when he had raigned almost 40 yeares. 1 Reg. 11. whom Rehabeam succeeded, Jerobeam returneth out of Egypt, and is made king over the tenne tribes of Israel. 1 Reg. 11. he inventeth the idolatrie of Dan, and Bethel: so the kingdome is devided into Judah and Israel. 1 Reg. 12.	3148	Salomon dieth. The kingdome devided.
And 7 monethes with 14 daies, was held the feast of tabernacles in Bethel. The prophet threatneth the altar, plagueth the king, and prophesieth of Josias. 1 Reg. 13.	3148	The idolatry of Dan and Bethel.
The citie of Sichem was built. 1 Reg. 12.	3149	The altar in
And 4 monethes, Rehobeam, after he had raigned 3 yeares, forsooke the law of the Lord. 1 Paral. 11.	3151	Bethel threatned.
Sisak king of Egypt, spoileth Jerusalem, and carrieth away all the treasures, with the golden shieldes. 2 Paral. 12. 1 Reg. 14.	3154	Sichem built. Rehobeam
Then God spake unto the princes of Judah, by the prophet Semaia. 2 Paral. 12. with this prophet lived Iddo. 2 Paral. 13.		his fall. Sisak spoyleth Jerusal.
This yeare was borne Jehoiada the high priest.	3165	Semaia the
Rehobeam dieth, Abiam succeedeth in Judah, and overthroweth the Israelites. 1 Reg. 15. 2 Paral. 13. Benhadad the sonne of Tabrimon king of Syria, was confederated with Abiam. 1 Reg. 15.		prophet. Abiam k. of
Asa was made king of Judah, after 91 daies. 1 Reg. 15.	3168	Judah.
And 10 monethes, Nadab is made king of Israel, after the death of Jerobeam his father. 1 Reg. 15.	3169	Asa king of Judah.
Nadab dieth in the beginning of the second yeare of his raigne, slain by Baasa, who succeeded him in the kingdome.	3171	Nadab king of Israel.
Jehosaphat was borne.	3175	Baasa king of
Now were determined the tenne yeares of peace, wherein Asa built fenced cities: after which time he had continuall warre with Baasa. 1 Reg. 15.	3178	Israel. Asa his victorie.
And 61 daies, sacrifice is offered unto God of the prey taken from the Æthiopians, whom Asa destroied. 2 Paral. 15.	3183	Rama built.
Baasa king of Israel vexed Judeah, and built Rama. 2 Paral. 16. 1 Reg. 15. Hanani the prophet is cast into prison by Asa. 2 Paral. 16.	3184	

Kinges.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Jubil. 13.	3190	And six monethes was the 13 jubilie.
Jehu proph.		Jehu sonne of Hanani, prophesieth against Baasa. 1 Reg. 15.
Ela king of Israel.	3194	Baasa dieth, his sonne Ela succeedeth in the kingdome of Israell, and raigneth one yeare and 24 daies.
Zimri king of Israel.	3196	The 54 day, Zimri killeth Ela, and raigneth seven daies, and is slaine by Omri. 1. Reg. 16.
Omri raigneth.	3199	And 91 daies Tibni dieth, and Omri raigneth alone. 1. Reg. 16.
	3200	Joram is borne unto Jehosaphat.
Samaria built.	3202	Omri the sixt yeare of his raigne commeth to Samaria, which he had built to be the seat of the kingdome of Israel. 1. Reg. 16.
Omri d. Achab.	3206	And 76 daies Omri dieth, the 12 yeare of his raign, after him succeeded Achab. 1. Reg. 16.
Jericho built.		About this time Hiel buildeth Jericho. 1. Reg. 16.
Asa his gout.	3207	King Asa beginneth to be diseased in his feete, the 39 yeare of his raigne. 2. Paral. 16.
Jehosaphat raigneth.	3209	And three monethes Asa dieth. Jehosaphat succeedeth king over Jehudah. 1. Reg. 22.
The law published.	3211	And three monethes, Jehosaphat in the third yeare of his raigne, sendeth princes and Levites to publishe the booke of the law, in the cities of Judad. 2. Paral. 17.
Ahasia, b.	3217	Ahasia, nephew to Jehosaphat by his sonne Joram, was borne. 2. Reg. 8.
The drought. Sarephta. Obadia.	3220	About this time began the three yeares of drought, (1. Reg. 17.) denounced by Elias; Elias sojorneth with the widow of Sarephta, and raiseth hir sonne from death. Obadia hideth an hundreth prophetes of God in two caves. 1. Reg. 18. 4.
Baal's prophets slain.	3223	Elias presenteth him selfe unto the king. Fier from heaven consumeth his sacrifice. 850 Prophets of Baal are slaine. 1. Reg. 18. 17. 38. 49.
Elizeus.		Elizeus is called to be a prophet. 1 Reg. 19.
Samaria besieged.		Towardes the end of this yeare, Benhadad king of Syria besiegeth Samaria with a great armie, which Achab overthroweth. 1 Reg. 20.
A second victory.	3224	The Syrians again are overthrowen, and Benhadad is taken. 1 Reg. 20.
Naboth stoned.		This year Naboth, by the wicked practice of Jezabel, was stoned for his vineyard. 1 Reg. 21.
	3226	This yeare the Sunamite conceaveth a sonne, as Elizeus had said. 2 Reg. 4.
Ahasia made king.	3226	Ahasia is made king over Israel, his father Achab yet living. 2. Reg. 1.
		Also Jehosaphat caused his sonne Joram to be saluted king of Juda. 2 Reg. 1. 3.
Jehosophat reproved.		About this time Jehosaphat is reproved by Eliezar the prophet, for joining with Ahasia in navigation. 2 Paral. 20.
Achab slain at Ramath.	3227	Jehosaphat goeth with Achab to Ramath, where Achab is slaine, 1 Reg. 22.
Ahasia raigneth.		The third moneth of this yeare Ahasia succeedeth his father Achab, in Israil, and dieth after 11 daies. The Moabites fall from Israel. 2 Reg. 3. About this time Elias consumeth 100 soldiars, and their ij captains, with fier from heaven. 2 Reg. 1.
100 Soldiars burnt.		

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Kinges.*
And almost iij monethes, Ahasia dieth, his brother Joram succeedeth. 2 Reg. 1, and 3. In the beginning of his raigne Elias was taken up into heaven.	3227	Joram king. Elias is rapt into heaven.
Elizeus cureth the waters, and curseth the children that mocked him. 2 Reg. 2. Jehosaphat is reproved by Jehu the prophet, and calleth back his people unto God. 2 Paral. 19.	3228	Elizeus. Jehosaphat reproved.
Joram king of Israel, with Jehosaphat, and the king of Edom, go out against Mesa king of Moab, and Elizeus with them. 2 Reg. 3.	3229	Warr with Moab.
This yeare, Elizeus multiplied the oile of the prophetes widow. 2 Reg. 4.	3230	Oile multiplied.
This yeare Elizeus raiseth from death the Sunamits sonne, &c. 2 Reg. 4, and 8. The same yeare was done the miracle of xx. loaves by Elizeus. 2 Reg. 4. A little before this, Elizeus had cured the pottage poysoned with Colocynthida.	3231	One raised from death. Pottage cured.
And three monethes, when Jehosaphat had raigned 22 yeares, his sonne Joram (who hitherto had only the title of the kingdome) was taken by him into the fellowship of government.	3231	Jehosaphat
This yeare Jehosophat gott victory against Ammon and Moab without battail, as Jehasiel the prophet had said. 2 Paral. 20.	3232	his victorie. Naaman
The same yeare Naaman the Syrian was cured of his leprosie by Elezeus. 2 Reg. 5.		cured. Iron swim-
Elezeus causeth iron to swymme: An armie of angelles are shewed unto Elezeus his servant; he bringeth his enemyes into Samaria. 2 Reg. 6.	3233	meth. An armie of angels.
Benhadab besiegeth Samaria, but being made afraid, he leaveth his tents furnished unto his enemies the Israelites. 2 Reg. 6. and 7.	3234	Samaria besieged.
The thirde monethe of this yeare, Jehosaphat died. 2 Paral. 20. Joram slaieth his bretherne. 2 Paral. 21. Idumea and Libna fall from Joram. Elias but not the Thisbite, by letters denounceth the wrath of God against Joram. 2 Paral. 21.	3235	Jehosaphat d. Joram his murder. Elias proph.
About the beginning, the Philistines and Arabians wast Judea, and lead captives the kinges wives, and his sonnes, except Ahasia alias Johas. 2 Paral. 21.	3236	Judea wasted.
The 9 moneth of this yeare began Joram to be diseased in his bowells, ij yeares before his death. 2 Paral. 21.	3237	Joram diseased.
This yeare about harvest, ceased the 7 yeares famine foretold by Elezeus. 2 Reg. 8.	3238	The Sunamite her returne.
The Sunamite returneth out of Palestina, and recovereth hir landes by Joram. 2 Reg. 8.		
Benhadad king of Syria dieth, when he had raigned 55 yeares. Hazael succeedeth and raigneth 47 yeares.	3239	Hazael K. of Syria.
Ahasiah raigneth in Judah for his father lying sicke. 2 Reg. 9.		Ahasiah.
The 27ᵗʰ day of this yeare, Joram dieth, having raigned 8 yeares.		Battail with
The first moneth, Ahasia goeth downe with Joram king of Israel, against Hasael king of Syria unto Ramoth, where Joram is wounded. After they are both slaine by Jehu. 2 Reg. 9. Jezabel is eaten of dogges. 2 Reg. 9.	3240	Hasael. Jehu. Jezabel. Achabs sonns
And 90 daies, Jehu beginneth to raigne over Israell. 70 sonnes of Achab are slaine. Baales priestes are slaine in their temple. 2 Reg. 10. Jonadab the Rechabite was neare frind to King Jehu.	3240	slain. Baal his priests slain.

Kinges.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Athalia's murder.		Athalia, mother to Ahazia, killeth the kings sonnes, only Joas escapeth. 2 Paral. 22. 23.
Jubil. 14.		This yeare and sixe monethes, began the 14 jubilie.
Joas made k. of Judah.	3245	And 90 daies Joas being 70 yeares olde, was brought forth, and made kinge by Jehoiada the priest. Athalia is slaine. 2 Reg. 11. 2 Paral. 23.
Hasael invadeth Isr.	3246	About this time, Hasael king of Syria invaded Israel. 2 Reg. 10.
	3260	Amazias is borne unto Joas king of Juda. 2 Paral. 23.
Joahas king of Israel.	3267	And 90 daies, Joahas succeedeth his father Jehu in the kingdome of Israel. 2 Reg. 13. During whose raigne, the kinges of Syria afflict Israel.
Temple repaired.		Joas king of Judah, the 23 yeare of his raigne, repaireth the ruynes of the Temple. 2 Paral. 24.
	3282	Joas is made king of Israel in the life of his father Joahaz.
Jehoiada d.	3283	Jehoiada the priest dieth, being 130 yeare olde.
Joas his fal.	3284	Joas, after the death of Jehoiada, suffereth idolles to be worshipped in groves. Zacharias the priest reproveth it, and is stoned in the Temple.
Hazael his victorie.	3285	Hazaell spoileth Jehuda, and carrieth awaye the treasures of Jerusalem. 2 Reg. 12. Joas appointeth his sonne Amazia king over Jehuda. Joahas king of Israel dieth. 2 Reg. 13. Joas king of Juda in the 40 yeare of his raign, was killed of his servants. 2 Paral. 24.
Amazia reigneth.		
Elizeus d.	3286	Elizeus dieth, having prophesied 63 yeares. The irruption of the Moabites; a soldiar slaine, and cast into Elizeus sepulchre, revived. 2 Reg. 13. Hazael dieth the 47 yere of his raigne, Benhadad his sonne succeedeth. 2 Reg. 13.
Hazael d.		
Benhadad succeedeth.		
	3287	Joas king of Israel, thrice overcometh Benhadad king of Syria. 2 Reg. 13.
Jubil. 15.	3288	And 6 monethes was the 15 jubilie.
Amazia his victorie.	3297	About this time Amazia overcommeth the Idumeans; is an idolater, reproved of the prophet, procureth Joas unto battail, is vanquished and taken, &c. 2 Reg. 14. 2 Paral. 25.
His overthrow.		
	3298	And 89 daies, Joas dieth; his sonne Jerobeam the second of that name, succeedeth. 2 Reg. 14.
Jerobeam the second.	3309	And 89 daies Uzzia the sonne of Amazia is borne, called also Azaria.
Amazia d.	3313	Amazia dieth in the end of June, having raigned 29 yeares. 2 Reg. 14. his sonne Azariah succeedeth, but being only 4 yeares olde, the kingdome was governed by the senate of Sanhedrim, till he came to 16 yeares of age. 2 Reg. 15.
Sanhedrim.		
Phul Belochus.	3321	After this yeare almost 11 monethes, Phul Belochus succeedeth Sardanapalus king in Assyria, and raigned 48 yeares. This is thought to have bene that king of Ninivie, whom Jonas the prophet brought unto repentance. 2 Reg. 14. Jonas. 3.
Azaria ruleth.	3326	Azaria being now 16 yeares olde, beginneth himselfe to rule, in the end of June. About this time began Hosea to prophesie, and continued his ministerie more than 70 years. Ose. 1.
Hosea prophesieth.		
Amos prophesieth.	3337	Two yeares before those troubles of warre which followed presently after the death of Jerobeam, Amos prophesied of the destruction of

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Kinges.*
Israell. Amos 1. A litle before him prophesied Joel of a great drought, and against Samaria. Joel 1.		Joel.
And six monethes began the 16 jubilie.	3338	Jubil. 16.
One day after this year ended, died Jerobeam the second, when he had raigned 40 years and 277 daies. After his death, there is no king in Israel for 12 yeares and 60 daies.	3339	Jerob. d. No king in Israel.
Jotham the sonne of Azaria is borne.	3341	
And 61 daies, Zacharias, sonne of Jerobeam obtayneth the kingdome of Israel, which for the troubles of civil warres he hetherto had wanted.	3351	Zacharias raigneth.
And 240 daies, about the ende of November, Zacharia, when he had raigned only six monethes, was slaine by Shallum, who succeeded him in the kingdome. Hitherto from the beginning of the raigne of Jehu were 112 years, and 154 daies. Shallum raigned not after the moneth of December, and was slaine by Menachem. 2 Reg. 15. who after 178 daies possessed the kingdome.	3351	Is slaine. Shallum succeedeth. Is slaine. Menachem raigneth.
Phul Belochus king of Assyria invadeth Israel; and for 1000 talents of silver confirmeth Menachem in the kingdome. 2 Reg. 15.	3353	
Tobias the elder is borne. Tob. 1. and 14.	3355	Uzzia a lepar.
Uzzia stricken with leprose, committeth the governement of his house unto his sonne Jotham, being but 16 yeares olde.	3356	Jotham.
In the entrance of this yeare Achaz was born. After 88 daies of the same yeare dieth Menachem, when he had raigned 10 whole yeares; whom Pekahia his sonne succeedeth in the kingdome. 2 Reg. 15.	3362	Achaz b. Pekahia raigneth.
And almost iij monethes in the ende of the second yeare of his raigne, Pekahia is slaine by Pekah sonne of Remalia, who is made king of Israel in the moneth of June. 2 Reg. 15.	3364	Is slaine. Peakah raigneth.
And almost iij monethes Uzzia dieth, having raigned 52 yeares; his sonne Jotham of the age of 25 yeares raigneth in his steade. 2 Paral. 27. 2 Reg. 15.	3366	Uzzia d. Jotham raigneth.
This yeare Esay saw the Lord sitting upon an high throne. Esay 6. and therefore had begon to prophesie somewhat before this.		Esay his vision.
And 91 dayes began the Grecians to number yeares by the Olympiades.	3368	Olympiades begin.
About this time began Michah the Moraskite to prophesie, and taught 56 yeares.		Michah prophesieth.
And almost 11 monethes, Phul-Belochus dieth, after whom succeeded Thiglath-Pilleser, or Phul-Assar, who raigned in Babylon twenty-five yeares.	3369	Thiglath-Pilleser.
Ezechia is borne; then was Ahaz about 11 yeares olde, and so could not be the natural father of Ezechia, but adopted him.	3372	Ezechia b. Pekah and
From this time Pekah and Rezin conspired to invade Juda. 2 Reg. 15. Upon the end of this yeare Jotham dieth, when he had raigned 15 yeares and 279 daies, whom Ahaz his sonne succeedeth in Judah. 2 Reg. 16.	3381	Rezin conspire. Jotham d. Ahaz king of
Ahaz sacrificeth his own sonne, &c. 2 Reg. 16.	3382	Judah.
Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel besiege Jerusalem, and take it not, but carrie many Jewes captive to Damascus and	3383	Jerusalem besieged.

Kinges.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Obed proph.		Samaria, whom Obed the prophet commaundeth to set free. 2 Reg. 16. 2 Paral. 28. Esa. 7.
Esay prophesieth of Christ.		This yeare Esay prophesieth that Christ should be borne of a virgine, which was done 759 yeares after, and that Rezin and Remalia should shortly after be destroied.
Damascus besieged.	3384	Thiglath-Peleser king of Assyria, hired by Achaz, besiegeth Damascus, and killeth Rezin the king thereof. 2 Reg. 16. At the same time he invadeth Israell, and carrieth the tribes of Gad, Ruben, and halfe Menasse, captive into Assyria. 1 Paral. 6. 2 Reg. 16.
Gad, Rub. Manasses captive.		
Pekah slain.	3385	About the 88 day, Pekah sonne of Remalia, when he had raigned 20 yeares was slaine of Hosea and his confederates. 2 Reg. 15.
No king in Israel.		After his death Israel had no king for viij. yeares, and 278 daies.
Warres.		In the meane time happened those wars wherein the Idumeans, Philistines, and Thiglath-Pilleser troubled Juhah and Achas. 2 Paral. 28.
Jubil. 17.	3386	And six monethes began the 17 jubilie.
Rome founded.	3391	And 19 daies the foundation of Rome was laied, the 20 day of April. The same was the 10 yeare of Achaz his raigne.
Hosea king of Israel.	3393	And one day, about the 2 of April, Hosea obtaineth the kingdome of Israel. About this time Habacuc prophesied.
Habacuc prophesied.	3395	Phul Assar, alias Thiglath-Pelleser, dieth, having raigned 25 yeares; and Zalmanesser (called by Ptolomie Nabonasser) succeedeth him in the kingdome of Assyria, in the ende of Februarie. Hosea calleth him Salman, cap. 10.
Salmanass. king of Assyr.		
Ezech. king of Judah.	3396	Ezechias was made king of Judah, being of age 25 yeares. 2 Reg. 18.
Achaz d.	3397	Achaz dieth in the 16 yeare of his raigne; then Esay foretold the victorie of Ezechia against the Philistines. Esa. 15. 2 Reg. 18.
Ezechias reformeth religion.		Ezechias openeth the doare of the house of God, and causeth the same to be purged. 2 Paral. 29. He destroieth idolatrie in Judah; breaketh the brasen serpent. 2 Reg. 18. celebrateth the passover; destroieth the idolatrie of Jerobeam. 2 Paral. 31.
Hosea king of Israel.	3398	This yeare, Salmanesser maketh Hosea kinge of Israel tributarie. 2 Reg. 17.
Salmaness. 2 assault.	3400	Salmanesser againe invadeth Israel, and besiegeth Samaria 3 yeares. 2 Reg. 17, 18. Before this siege they of the tribe of Simeon obtaine Gedar, and destroy the remnant of the Amalekites. 1 Paral. 5.
Israel carried captive.	3403	In the beginning Samaria was taken, and Israell carried captive into Assyria, without promise of returne into Canaan.
Sanherib besiegeth Jerusalem.	3410	In the 14 yeare of Ezechias, Sanherib invadeth Judeah. 2 Reg. 18. The same time Thartan, one of his captaines, taketh Asdod. Esa. 20. The angell of God killeth 158,000 Assyrians, Sanherib flieth to Ninivie, and is slaine of his owne sonnes in his idols temple, and Asser-Haddon succeeded in the kingdome. 2 Reg. 19.
Sanherib slaine.		
		This yeare Tobia became blinde. Tob. 2.
Ezechias sicknesse.		Ezechias falleth sicke unto death, and is cured by Esay the prophet. 2 Reg. 20. Esay 38.
Achaz diall.		The shadow of Achaz his diall is carried backe 10 degrees.
Esay prophesied of Cyrus.	3411	Merodach k. of Babylon sendeth ambassadors unto Ezechias. 2 Reg. 20. Esay 39. About that time Esay prophesieth of Cyrus that

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Kinges.*
he should destroy Babylon, and restore Judah, which came to passe 192 yeares after.		
Manasses was borne. Tobias the yonger taketh a wife: his father receaveth his sight. Tob. 11. 14.	3414	
Ezechias dieth, having raigned 29 yeares, and Manasses succeedeth him, being but 12 yeares olde. 2 Paral. 33.	3425	Ezechias death.
Deioces king of the Medes began to raigne for 53 yeares.	3434	Deioces.
And six monethes was the 18 jubilie.	3435	Jubil. 18.
Manasses, a most wicked idolater, burning his owne children, and killing the prophets, was about this time bound with chaines, and carried captive into Babylon; and Eliachim ruled in Judah. Esay 22. Tobia dieth.	3456	Manasses captivitie.
Manasses in prison repenteth of his sinnes, and is restored unto his kingdome.	3457	Manasses repentance.
Amon sonne of Manasses is borne.	3458	Amon b.
And 46 daies, Josias sonne of Aman is borne.	3473	Josias b.
And 45 daies, Manasses having raigned 54 yeares and more, dieth about the middest of May; Amon his sonne succeedeth, being 22 yeares olde.	3479	Amon raigneth.
And 45 daies, Amon, when he had raigned 2 yeares, was slaine of his courtiers: whom after the people put to death. 2 Reg. 21. and made Josias his sonne king, being but 8 yeares olde.	3481	Amon slain. Josias raigneth.
The first moneth of this yeare, Nebuchadnetzer, the father of Nebuchadnetzer the Great, began his raigne, and raigned 35 yeares.	3483	Nebuchadnezer the First.
And six monethes began the 19 jubilie.	3484	Jubil. 19.
Phraortes succeeded his father Deioces in the kingdome of the Medes, after he had raigned 53 yeares. Herodot. Lib. 1.	3487	Phraortes.
About the middest of this yeare was Sallum the eldest sonne of Josiah borne. After him was borne Eliakim sonne of Josiah, who was after called Joiakim. 2 Reg. 23.	3488	Sallum b. Eliachim b.
And 45 daies Joachas sonne of Josia was borne.	3490	Joachas b.
And 45 daies began the 12 yere of Josia his raigne; he destroied the high places, groves, idols, and altars of Baal, and burnt upon them the boanes of the priestes. 2 Reg. 23. according as it was prophesied 344 yeares before. 1 Reg. 13. Anno 3148.	3492	Josias destroyeth idolatrie.
Jeremie began to prophesie in the 13 yeare of Josias. Jer. 1. About the same time Zephanias prophesied. Zeph. 1.	3493	Jeremie. Zephenias.
This yeare and 334 daies, Nebuchadnezer the First, overcame the king of the Medes.		Nebuchad. Holofernes
Holofernes is slaine the 14 yeare of Josias king of Judah.	3495	slaine.
And 45 daies, began the 18 yeare of Josias his raigne: he restored the house of the Lord his God. 2 Reg. 22. 2 Paral. 34. Hilkija the high priest findeth the booke of the law written by Moses. Huldah the prophetisse foretelleth the destruction of Judah. Here begin the 40 yeares of the sinne of Judah. Ezech. 4.	3498	The house of God restored. The booke of the law found.
And 13 daies, Josias holdeth a most solemne pasover at Jerusalem. 2 Reg. 23.	3499	A solemne pasover.
Zedechias the sonne of Josias is borne. 2 Reg. 24.	3503	Zedechia b.
This yeare was Joachim or Jechonias borne. 2 Reg 24.	3506	Joiachim b.

Kinges.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Phraortes slaine.	3509	Phraortes king of the Medes, perisheth in battail: after whom Cyaxares his sonne succeedeth, and raigneth 40 yeares. Herod. 1.
Cyaxares.	3512	And 45 daies, Josias, going out to meet Pharo Neco king of Egipt,
Josias d.		dieth in Megiddo, when he had raigned 31 yeares. 2 Paral. 34.
Joachas k. of Judah.		his sonne Joachas succeedeth, being 23 yeares olde. About this
Jeremie imprisoned.		time Jeremie was cast into prison by Passur. Jer 19. Joachas,
Joachas d.		when he had raigned three monethes, was carried by Pharo Neco
Sallum d.		into Egypt, and dyed there. Thither also was carried Sallum,
Eliach. k. of Judah.		and there dyed. Jer. 22.
Urias prophet slaine.	3512	And 137 daies, Eliachim, sonne of Josias, is made king of Judah by Neco, and is called Joiakim: he paieth a great tribute unto Pharao. 2 Reg. 23. He causeth the prophet Urias to be slaine with the sworde. Jer. 26.
	3515	Joachim ordaineth his sonne Jechonias king of Judah, being then but eight yeares olde. 2 Paral. 36.
Jerusalem besieged.		This yeare, after winter, Nebuchadnezer the Great, sent by his father, besiegeth Jerusalem, and taking Joiakim, carrieth away part of the holy vesselles, and manie of the Jewes captive: and
Daniel, &c. captive.		amongest them, Daniell, Hanania, Misael, and Asaria. Dan. 1. 2. Who are taught the tonge and learning of the Chaldeans for three yeares. Dan. 1. 4.
Rechabites.	3516	The Rechabites, for feare of the warres, came to Jerusalem. They refuse to drink wine. Jer. 35.
Pharao Neco overthrowen.		About this time Nebuchadnezer overthroweth the host of Pharao Neco at Euphrates. Jer. 46.
	3517	About the 122 day, Nebuchadnezer, called also Nebuchadretzar,
Jeremie imprisoned.		succeedeth his father in the kingdome of Babylon. Jer. 25. Jeremie is againe cast into prison, and commaundeth Baruch to
Baruch.		write his prophesies, which he readeth unto the people, and princes. The kinge burneth the booke, &c.
Susanna.	3518	Daniell, a yong man about 20 yeares olde, delivered Susanna.
Joiakim rebelleth.	3519	Joiakim rebelleth against Nebuchadnezer, in the sixth yeare of his
Daniel his advancement.		raigne, and is distressed of the Chaldeans. Daniel and his companions excell the rest. He expoundeth the kinge's dreame. Dan.
Burning furnace.		2. Is renowned for his wisdome: is advanced unto honor, and preferreth his iij companions: who shortly after are cast into the burning furnace. Dan. 3.
	3523	Nebuchadnetzar besiegeth Tyrus, in the seventh yeare of his raigne.
Jechoniah k. of Judah.	3523	And 29 daies, Jechoniah is made king of Judah by Nebuchadnezer, when he was 18 yeares old: then were carried captive into Babylon 3023 Jewes. Jer. 52. 2 Reg. 24.
	3523	And 122 daies, Nebuchadnezer sendeth his host to Jerusalem for
Zedechia.		Jechonia, and the holy vesselles of the temple. 2 Paral. 36.
The captivitie of Judah began.		Then were carried captive with Jechonia tenne thousand of the nobles, and valiant men, &c. 2 Reg. 24. Jer. 24. Presently after this, Methania was made king of Judah, and called Zedechiah: he was the sonne of Josias. Jer. 37. At this time began the yeares of the captivitie of Judah, according to Ezechiel, cap. 40. before the burning of the temple 11 yeares.
	3526	And 131 daies. Hether referre the end of the 27 and the 28 of

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Cyrus.*
Jer. Not long after the false prophet Hanania dieth, the death whereof Jeremie had foretold. Jer. 28.		
Zedechias, in the 4 yeare of his raigne, goeth into Babylon. Jer. 51. At the same time Jeremie committeth unto Seraia his prophesie against Babylon. Jer. 50. and 51.	3527	Zed. goeth into Babylon.
And 45 daies, the fift yeare of the raigne of Zedechias, Ezechiel began his prophesie, and taught by the space of xx yeares. Unto this time are to be referred Ezech. cap. 8. to the 19.	3528	Ezechiel prophesieth.
And 131 daies referre hither. Ezech. 20, 21, 22, 23.	3529	Jerusalem besieged.
And 128 daies, in the 9 yeare of Jechonia his captivitie, died the wife of Ezechiel. The same day Nebuchadnezer with his armie besieged Jerusalem. Jer. 52. 2 Reg. 25.		
And 343 daies, Ezechiel foretelleth the desolation of Egipt for 40 yeares. Ezech. 29.	3531	
And 122 daies, Jeremie was againe imprisoned. Jer. 32. 33. and accused to be the cause of his third captivitie. The first was An. 3513. The second An. 3517.	3532	Jeremies 2 impris.
This yeare and six monethes was the 20 jubilie, wherein should have ben set free all bond men and bond women, Levit. 25; for violating of which law, they are reproved by the prophet Jeremie.	3533	Jubil. 20.
At this time Nebuchadnezer left the siege of Jerusalem, and went against Pharao. Then Jeremie came out of prison, and preached, his cap. 34. foretold the returne and victorie of the Chaldeans; and was the 4 time put in prison, and accused of treason. Jer. 37.		Nebuchad. goeth against Pharao. Jer. 4. Imprisonment.
Ezechiel prophesieth against Tyrus, cap. 26, 27, and 28. and against Egipt, 30.	3534	
And 60 daies, Zedechia conferreth with Jeremie: he is the 5 time imprisoned, but more tollerably then before, cap 37. After he is put in the dungeon of Myer, which was his 6 imprisonment: he is delivered by Ebedmelech. Jer. 38. in the time of the famine.	3534	Jer. 5. Imprisonment.
2 Reg. 25. Nebusaradan entreth the citie to burn it. Zedechias is taken in flight. Jer. 39. hath his eyes pulled out, when he had seene his sonnes slaine; is carried bound into Babylon, and there dieth. Jeremie is delivered by Nebusaradan. Jer. 39. 40.		Zedechia taken, &c.
The 131 day of this yeare, was the temple, palace, and citie of Jerusalem burnt. Jer. 52. About this time Abdiah prophesied against Idumea.	3535	The citie and temple burnt.
Gedalia gathereth the remnant of the people, and is slaine by Ismael. The people, for feare of the Chaldæans, go into Egipt, and carrie Jeremie with them by force.		Gedalia slaine.
This yeare the 122 day, Nebuchadnezer taketh Tyrus, having besieged it 13 yeares. The same yeare Jeremie prophesieth against the king of Egipt. Jer. 44.	3536	Tyrus taken.
Pharao Neco goeth against Carchemin. 2 Reg. 23. 2 Paral. 35. The spoile of Egipt is promised to Nebuchadnezer. Ezech. 29.	3538	Carchemin.
The 23 yeare of the raigne of Nebuchadnezer, after he had subdued the Ammonites, Moabites, and Egiptians, he sendeth Nebusaradan into Judah, who carrieth captive 745 men. Jer. 52. Here are determineth the 390 years of the iniquitie of Israel, and the 40 yeares of the sinne of Judah. Ezech. 4. about this time Cyaxares destroieth Ninive.	3539	Nebuchad. 745 captives.

Daniel.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
The vision of the tree.	3541	This yeare Nebuchadnezer sawe the vision of the great tree to be cut downe; which was expounded unto him by Daniel. Dan. 4.
Darius, b. Nebuchadnezer his madness.	3542	Darius Medus was borne, who helped Cyrus in taking of Babylon. He was the sonne of Ahasuerus. Dan. 9. this yeare Nebuchadnezar for madnes was driven from his kingdome to live amongst beasts, seven yeares. Dan. 4.
Astyages raigneth. Nebuchad. restored.	3549	Astyages succeedeth his father Cyaxares in the kingdome of the Medes, and reigneth 35 yeares. Nebuchadnesar is restored to his reason and kingdome, and praiseth the most high God. Dan 4.
He dyeth. Evilmerodach.	3559	Nebuchadnesar dieth, having raigned 45 yeares. His son Evilmerodach succeeded him, being saluted king 2 yeares before the death of his father.
Jechonias preferred.	3560	About the 358 day of this yeare, Evilmerodach preferreth Jechoniah, who had ben captive more then 36 years, and was now 55 years old. 2. Reg. 25. Jer. 52.
	3579	This yeare ended the 40 yeares of the desolation of Egypt. Eze. 29.
Jubil. 21.	3582	And 6 moneths was the 21 Jubilie.
Astyages taken.	3584	Astyages king of the Medes was taken by Cyrus. After this victory, Cyrus lived: he raigned 29 yeares.
Evilmerodach, d. Belshatzar	3589	And 122 daies Evilmerodach dieth, and his sonne Belshatzar raigneth after him. About this time Daniel sawe the vision of foure beasts, signifying the foure kingdomes of the world. Dan. 7.
Vision of 4 beastes vision. Babylon taken.	3593	This yeare, or 3602, was the third yeare of Belshatzar, in which Daniel saw the vision contained, Dan. 8. The same yeare in the spring time, the Medes and Persians tooke Babylon, according to Daniel his prophesie. Then was verified the saying of Jer. 51. Darius Medus was at this time with Cyrus; Belshatzar was slaine in the 5 yeare of his empire.
The returne of the Jewes to Jerusalem. Daniel prayeth.	3604	Cyrus, in the first yeare of his raigne, permitteth the Jewes to returne to Jerusalem, to builde the temple, &c. Esra 6. Then was fulfilled the prophesie of Esay concerning Cyrus, cap. 44. The same yeare Daniell praieth, and is informed by the angell Gabriell, of the coming and office of Christ. Dan. 9. He is after
The lions denne.		cast into the lions denne, and miraculously delivered. Dan. 6.
	3605	The 9 day of the fifth moneth, were ended the 70 yeares of the desolation of Jerusalem. The first day of the 7 moneth, the Jewes then returned, assembled themselves at Jerusalem, and the same moneth offered sacrifices, and held the feast of tabernacles. Esd. 3. This yeare died Darius Medus.
The feast of tabernacles. Daniel's fast.	3606	In the entrance of this yeare Daniell fasted and mourned. cap. 10. about the 24 day of this yeare, Daniel receaveth of the angel the prophesies of his 11 and 12 chapters. And shortely after dieth.
His death. The temple founded.		In the moneth of May, the foundation of the temple was layed by the Jewes. Esd. 3. And the worke hindered by their neighbours.
Samarit. hinder the work.	3607	In the beginning of this yeare, the Samaritanes againe seeke to hinder the worke of the temple, and complaining to Ahasuerus, cause the staying thereof 16 yeares, all the daies of Cyrus unto the 2 yeare of Darius the son of Hystapis. Esd. 4. 5. The same yeare Cyrus going to warre against Tomyris, queene of the
Cyrus warre against Tomyris.		Scythians, committeth his kingdome unto Ahasuerus, otherwise

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripure.	*A.M*	*Hester.*
called Cambyses his sonne, who raigned 6 yeares under Cyrus, and after him before Darius seven yeares.		
Ahasuerus made a great feast, wherein Vasthi was divorsed. Hest 1.		
Cyrus dieth, having raigned 29 yeares, Cambyses raigneth alone after his father 7 yeares, and 5 moneths.	3613	Cyrus, d. Hester married to Ahasuerus.
Toward the ende of this yeare in Januarie, the 7 yeare of Ahasuerus, Hester, called also Atossa, or Edesza, became wife unto Ahasuerus. Hester 2.		Mardoch.
Mardocheus by Hester signifieth unto Ahasuerus the treason of Bigthan and Theres his servants, Hester 2. Haman is advanced unto high honor. Hester 2.	3614	Fidelitie. Haman advanced.
In the entrance of this yeare, Haman practiseth to destroy the Jewes, perswadeth the king, and sendeth letters for execution of his devise. Hest. 3. Which Hester understanding by Mardochai, commandeth a fast to be held of the Jewes. Hest. 4. After calleth Ahasuerus and Haman unto a banquet; Mardochai is honored; Hester intreateth the king for hir people, and obtaineth. Haman is hanged, &c. Hest. 7, 8, 9. The feast of Purim is instituted.	3619	His practise against the Jewes. Haman hanged. Purim.
And 5 monethes, Cambyses or Ahasuerus killeth himselfe with his owne sword: and Magus raigneth for vii. monethes.	3620	Cambyses killeth himselfe.
Darius, the sonne of Hystaspis, beginneth his raign, who toke Hester to wife, by whom he had Xerxes father of Artaxerxes Longimanus, a great benefactor of the Jewes: he raigneth 36 yeares.	3621	Darius raigneth.
In September the second yeare of Darius his raigne Serubabel and Jehoshua the priest, stirred up by Aggay and Zacharie the prophets, began to finish the building of the temple, which had ben intermitted for more than 15 yeares. Ezr. 5. Agg. 1. and that by the commandement of Darius. Ezr. 5.	3623	The Temple built.
The second temple was finished in the ende of this yeare, about the third of March, the 6 yeare of Darius Hystaspis. Esr. 6.	3627	Finished.
The 14. day was held the passover. Esr. 6.	3628	
And six monethes was the 22. Jubilie.	3631	Jubil. 22.
Darius dieth, having raigned 36 yeares; after succeeded his sonne Xerxes by Atossa, or Hester, and raigned 21 yeares.	3657	Darius, d.
In the end of this yeare, Xerxes went with his army against Grecia, according to Daniel's prophesie. Dan. 11. The same time was a marvelous great eclipse of the sunne.	3664	Xerxes went into Grecia.
In the moneth Nisan, Ezra deliberateth to ascend unto Jerusalem. Esr. 7. and commeth thither the first day of the 5 moneth. Ezr. 7. 8.	3671	Ezra commeth to Jerusalem.
The 10. moneth, &c. was inquisition made of those that had married strange wives. Esr. 10.		Strange wives put away.
Xerxes died when he had raigned 21 yeares, slaine by Artabanus, who shortly after was slaine by Artaxerxes in revenge of his father's death, who succeeding in the kingdome, raigned 59 yeares and six monethes.	3678	Xerxes slaine.
And 182 daies, Pericles, after the flight of Themistocles, obtained the governement of Athens, which indured 40 yeares.	3679	Pericles governeth Athens.
And six monethes was the 23 Jubilie.	3680	Jubil. 23.

Nehemias.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
	3683	The Jewes build the walles and gates of Jerusalem, by favor of Artaxerxes.
Samaritans.	3684	This yeare in the beginning, the Samaritans, and other borderers, threw downe the walls, and burnt the gates of Jerusalem by commaundement of Artaxerxes. Ezra. 4.
Nehemias.	3685	In the first moneth, Nehemias obtaineth leave of Artaxerxes to build againe the streates and walls of Jerusalem, Nechem, 7. 11. From this yeare begin the 70 weeks or 490 yeares, which the angell Gabriell saieth unto Daniell, should be unto the death of Christ. This yeare was a great famin in Jerusalem. Nehem. 5.
The 70 weeks begin. Famin.		
The wall finished.		The wall was finished, and the Feast of Tabernacles celebrated. Also the 207 day of this yeare was a fast, and the booke of the law read. Nehem. 9.
	3696	In the beginning, Nehemias returned unto the king after he had governed in Judæa 12 years. Nech. 5.
	3697	This yeare, or the yeare following, Nehemias returneth to Jerusalem, and reproveth such as had offended. cap. 13.
Apseudes.	3710	Apseudes governed in Athens, and Enesius was Ephorus in Sparta.
Pythod.	3716	Pythodorus was pretor at Athens.
The warre of	3717	In the spring time began that great warre of Peloponesus.
the Peloponesus.	3718	Now began the second yeare of the same warre: and brought a so an exceeding great plague.
A plague	3725	Pericles died about the middest of this yeare, after he had governed in Athens 40 yeares.
Pericles d.		
Artaxerx.	3725	The 225 daies Artaxaxes Longimanus died, when he had raigned
Long. dieth.		59 yeares and an half, after Xerxes his father's going into Europa.
Jubil. 24.	3729	And six monethes, was the 24 Jubilie.
Hannibal.	3737	This yeare Hannibal with 100,000 men came into Sicilia. This was not he that after warred against the Romaines, but an other more auncient.
Jubil. 25.	3778	And 6 moneths was the 25 Jubilie.
Alexander	3808	In the beginning Alexander the Great succeeded his father Philip
the Great.		in the kingdome of Macedonia, and raigneth 12 yeares.
	3810	And 15 daies, entred the 4 yeare of Alexander his raigne, in which
Tyrus taken.		he besieged and tooke Tyrus, as Esay had said, 23. The same
Alex. came		yeare he came to Jerusalem, but was pacified of Jaddo the high
to Jerusal.		priest, and went thence towards Babylon. Jer. 50.
The battaile	3811	About the middest of this yeare was the last battaile fought, be-
at Arbela.		tweene Darius Codomanus, and Alexander, at Arbela, wherein
Dan. vision		was fulfilled the prophesie of Daniel, cap. 8., of the goate over-
fulfilled.		throwing the ramme. About the same time happened that great victorie of the Jewes (2 Machab. 8.) in Babylonia.
Alexander	3818	The 225 day Alexander died, when he had raigned 11 yeares and 7
Mag. dieth.		moneths. His monarchie was divided into four kingdomes. Daniel 7. 6.
The yeares	3819	The first of Aprill next following, the death of Alexander the Great,
of the Grecians begin.		was the beginning of the yeares of the kingdome of the Grætians, mentioned in the historie of the Machabies.
Jubil. 26.	3827	And six monethes began the 26 jubilie.
The yeare	3831	The 230 daies began the numbring of the yeares of the Chaldæans,
of the Chaldæans.		with the raigne of Seleucus in Syria and Babylonia.

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The twelfth day, Ptolemæus Philadelphus began his raigne: when his father Ptolemæus Lagi had raigned 38 yeares after the death of Alexander.	3857	Ptol. Phil. raigneth.
The 194 Ptolomæus Philadelphus had raigned 13 yeares and an halfe.	3870	
Began the 17 yeare of the raigne of Ptolomeus Philadelphus, what time the 70 interpreters translated the Old Testament, out of the Hebrew into the Greeke tonge, which translation is not now extant, but an other far differing from the Hebrew.	3873	The 70 interpreters. Jubil. 27..
And six monethes was the 27 jubilie.	3876	Ptol. Phi-
Ptolæmeus Philadelphus died, having raigned 38 yeares, whom Ptolæmeus Evergetes succeeded, and raigned 26 yeares.	3895	lad. dyeth. Evergetes.
Ptolæmus Evergetes dieth, and Ptolæmeus Philopator succeedeth, who raigned 16 yeares and six moneths. Somewhat before this time, Jesus Sirocides wrote his booke called Ecclesiasticus.	3921	He dieth. Philopat. Ecclesiasti-
And six monethes was the 28 jubilie.	3925	cus written.
Ptolomeus Philopator dieth, and Ptol. Epiphanes succeedeth, for 23 yeares.	3937	Jubil. 28. Ptol. Epi-
Antiochus the great, king of Syria, father of Antiochus Epiphanes, was slaine in the 36 yeare of his raigne.	3944	phanes. Antiochus
Heliodorus is raised from death. 2 Machab. 3. 4.	3954	the Great.
This was the 137 yeare of the raigne of the Grecians, wherein Seleuchus died in the 12 yeare of his raigne, and his brother Antiochus Epiphanes raigned in his steade.	3956	Heliodorus raysed. Seleuchus
And about 7 monethes, Onia was put from the priesthood by his brother Jason. 2 Machab. 4.	3958	dieth. Antiochus.
The 36 day, began the raigne of Ptolomeus Philometor. The same yeare, about the 170 day, Lucius Æmilius Paulus overcame Persea kinge of Macedonia. Antiochus Epiphanes bringeth back his armie out of Egipt: is honorably receaved by Jason, high priest, at Jerusalem, who after is deprived of the priesthood. 2 Machab. 4.	3961	Onia. Ptolomeus Philometor.
The same yeare Antiochus goeth againe into Egipt: he winneth Cyprus by the treason of Macron. Signes are seene in the aire at Jerusalem, portending grievous things. Jason invadeth Jerusalem; exerciseth great crueltie. Antiochus, compelled by Popilius, returneth out of Egipt, commeth to Jerusalem with great furie, killeth 80 thousand: carrieth captive 40,000, and selleth 80,000. Entreth into the holy place, spoileth the treasurie of 800 talents of silver.		Cyprus wonne. Antiochus rageth at Jerusalam.
In the 145 yeare of the raigne of the Grecians, Antiochus sendeth Apollonius to Jerusalem, who invadeth Jerusalem by fraud, and wasteth it. 2 Machab. 5. Judas Machabeus, with his nine brethren, go into the woodes and mountaines. 2. Machab. 5. Antiochus forceth the Greake religion upon the Jewes, many are cruelly handled, amongst whom Eleazarus, with the mother and her seven sonnes. 1 Machab. 1. 2 Machab. 6. 7. Then also was the abomination of desolation sett upon the altar of the Lord. After followeth the storie of Mattathies. 1. Macha. 2.	3964	Apollonius wasteth Jerusalem. Greake religion forced upon the Jewes.
Mattathias dieth; his sonne Judas Machabeus succeedeth, and overthroweth Apollonius. 1. Mach. 3.	3965	Mattathias d.

Machab.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Judas his victorie.	3966	Judas Machab. giveth a great overthrow unto Lysias his captains. 1 Mach. 4. and after to Timotheus and Bacchides, of whose armie he slew 20,000.
	3967	Judas againe discomfiteth the armie of Lysias. 1 Mach. 4. purgeth the temple, and fortifieth the citie of Jerusalem, and Bethzuram.
Antiochus sicke.		Antiochus hearing of the evill successe of his armie in Judeah, falleth greivously sicke; and appointeth his sonne Antiochus Eupater to raign after him. 2 Mach. 9. Sacrifice is offered at Jerusalem the 25 of December. 1 Mach. 4. Judas Machabeus againe overthroweth Lysias in the moneth of November.
Ant. Epiphanes d.	3968	In the beginning of this yeare, being the 146 yeare of the Grecians, Antiochus Epiphanes dieth. 1 Mach. 6. which Lysias understandstanding from Eupater, maketh peace with the Jewes. 1 Mach. 6. Judas overcometh the Arabians, and after Timotheus at Datheman, 1 Mach. 5.; where followeth a second victorie against Timotheus.
Famine.		This yeare was a great famine, which caused the rendring of Bethzura and the temple. 1 Mach. 6.
	3969	Judas besiegeth Sion. 1 Mach. 6. meeteth Antiochus Eupater comming with a great army; is besieged of the king, and receaveth conditions of peace; the king hearing of the treason of Philip in Antiochia, hasteth thither. 1 Mach. 6.
Ant. Eupater slaine.	3970	Antiochus Eupater, in the third yeare of his raigne, is slaine with Lysias at Antiochia by the soldiars of his uncle Demetrius, sonne of Seleuchus.
Alcimus.		Alcimus accuseth the Machabeis, and is restored by Bacchides unto the priesthood. 1 Mach. 7.
Nicanor his falshood.		Nicanor is sent against Judas, maketh peace with him, after breaketh covenant, and invadeth Judah; and finally is slaine with 35,000
He is slaine.		men, in the moneth of March. 1 Mac. 7. Judas sendeth em-
Judas sendeth to Rome.	3971	bassadors to Rome, Demetrius sendeth Bacchides and Alcimus against Judas; who, forsaken of his soldiars, is slaine, &c. Mach.
Jud. slaine.		8. 9. Jonathas succedeth Judas, revengeth the death of his bro-
Jonathas.		ther Johannes, and overthroweth 1000 of Bacchides soldiars.
Alcimus stricken.	3972	Alcimus pulleth downe certaine walls of the temple, is stricken with palsey, and dieth. The Jewes have peace for ij yeares.
Peace made with Jonathan.	3975	Bacchides assaulteth Jonathan, but being compelled, maketh peace with him, and returneth into Syria.
	3979	This yeare in October began the 29 jubilie.
Jubil. 29.		Alexander sonne of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the 160 yeare of the
Alexander, sonne of		raigne of the Grecians, taketh the citie of Ptolemaida, and raign-
Epiph.		eth there. 1 Mach. 10. Jonathan becommeth high priest.
	3980	Demetrius dieth in battail against Alexander.
Jonathan high priest.	3981	Alexander marrieth Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolomeus Philometor, king of Egypt; where Jonathas is honorably receaved. 1 Mach.
Demet. d.		10.
Cleopatra.	3984	Jonachas and Simeon take Joppa, which was fortified by Apollonius.
Joppa taken.	3986	Ptolomeus Philometor taketh both kingdome and wife from Alex-
Alex. depri-		ander his sonne-in-law, and giveth them unto Demetrius, the sonne

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Machab.*
of Demetrius, called Nicanor; and when he had seene the head of Alexander, which Zabdiel the Arabian had cut off, he dieth the third day after, in the 167 yeare of the Grecians raigne. Demetrius possesseth the kingdome of Asia. Jonathas sendeth him 30,000 choise soldiars.		ved of kingdome and wife. Is slaine. Ptolo. Philometor d.
Antiochus, the sonne of Alexander, taketh the crown, and expelleth Demetrius, &c. 1 Mach. 11.		Antiochus,
Tryphon circumventeth Jonathas by treason, and taketh him prisoner. Simon his brother is chosen captaine in his stead, and resisteth the attemptes of Tryphon. 1 Mach. 13. Shortly after Jonathas and his ij sonnes are slaine in Galuad.	3987	sonne of Alexand. Jonathas taken.
In the 169 yeare of the Grecians, Tryphon secretly killeth Antioc. sonne of Alex. and taketh the crown unto himself, whom Simon resisteth. 1 Mach. 13.	3988	Simon. Jon. and his sonns slain.
Demetrius easeth the Jewes of their former burdens.	3989	Antiochus
Simon purgeth the tower of David, which the enemies had helde for 18 yeares, and maketh his sonne John captain over his whole host. 1 Mach. 13.	3990	slaine. Simon.
Arsaces, king of the Persians and Medes, taketh Demetrius prisoner. 1 Mach. 14. Tryphon tyranniseth in his kingdome ij yeares. 1 Mach. 15.	3991	Demetrius taken.
The Romaines renew with Simon the covenant made with Juda and Jonathas; so doth the Spartanes. The priesthood and government is confirmed unto Simon. 1 Mach. 14.		The Rom. covenant with Simon.
Antiochus Soter, sonne of Demetrius, father of Nicanor, entreth his father's kingdome, expelleth and distresseth Tryphon. 1 Mach. 15. Judas and Johannes put Cendebeus to flight; Judas is wounded, Johannes pursueth the victorie. 1 Mach. 16.	3993	Anti. Soter obtaineth the kingdom. Cendebeus
And 306 daies, in the 177 yeares of the Grecians, Ptolomeus, sonne of Abobus, killeth Simon his sonne-in-law, with his ij sonnes, Mattathia and Judas, in a banquet. Johannes Hyrcanus, sonne of Simon, obtained the kingdome for 31 yeares.	3995	his flight. Simon and his sonnes slaine.
About this time arose amongest the Jewes iij sectes, the Pharisees, Esseis, and Sadduces.	4000	Johannes Hyrcanus.
And six monethes began the 30 jubilie.	4023	3 Sectes.
And 10 monethes ended the 31 yeare of the raigne of Johannes Hyrcanus.	4026	Jubil. 30. Aristobulus
Six moneths and 14 daies died Aristobulus, having raigned one whole yeare, and somewhat more; whom Alex. Janneus his brother succeded, married Salome his wife, and raigned 37 yeares.	4028	dieth. Alex. Janneus raign-
Alex. Janneus dieth; his wife holdeth the kingdome, and his sonne Hyrcanus the priesthood for 9 years.	4065	eth. He dyeth.
And six monethes entred the 31 jubilie.	4072	Jubil. 31.
Salome, called also Alexandra, dieth; hir sonne, Hircanus, holdeth the kingdome iij monethes, and is expelled.	4072	Salome d.
About this time was borne Herod the Great.		Herod b.
And iij. monethes, Pompeius taketh Jerusalem, when C. Antonius, and M. Tullius were consuls, in the yeare of Rome 690.	4080	Pompeius taketh Jeru-
And 348 daies, C. Julius Cæsar was slaine in the senate the 15 of May; whom, the 19 of August, Octavius Augustus succeeded,	4099	salem. Jul. Cæsar slaine.

Christ.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Octavius.		who held the empire 12 yeares with Antonius, and 44 yeares alone, in all 56 yeares.
	4103	And ij. monethes, about the feast of Pentecost, Pacorus king of the Parthians, entred Jerusalem, carried Hircanus captive, and set Antigonus for him over Judea.
Herod made k. of Judea.	4104	In the end of this yeare, the Romaines, taking in evil part that Antigonus raigned in Judea; Herod the Great is made king of Judea.
Jerusalem besieged and taken.	4107	In the beginning of Feb. Herod besiegeth Jerusalem.
	4108	In the third moneth Herod taketh Jerusalem.
	4112	And almost iij. monethes, was fought that battaile, which is called Actiaca; then began Augustus to raigne alone. Antonius flieth unto Alexandria in Egypt.
Hyrcanus slaine.	4113	Hyrcanus is slaine, being 80 yeares olde.
	4121	And six monethes entered the 32 jubilie.
Jubil. 32.	4124	Eight monethes and 24 daies, was the feast of Eucænia instituted. 2 Mach. 1. What time Herod began to prepare for the building of the third temple; this preparation indured 8 yeares.
Eucænia instituted.		
Temple built the 3 time.	4133	The temple is built, and finished in one yeare and 6 monethes. The second temple hetherto had stoode almost 506 yeares.
	4135	In the third moneth, the temple was dedicated.
Zacharia is promised a sonne.	4141	The angell appeared unto Zacharia in the temple; he is promised a sonne, whose name should be John. Luke 1.
Christ conceaved.	4142	About the 6 day, the angel Gabriel, declared unto the Virgin Marie, that she should conceave a sonne, which should be the sonne of GOD. Luc. 1. Then it is thought that the starre first appeared unto the wise men in the east. Matth. 2.
Starre.		
Christ born.		The 268 day of this yeare, the 25 of December, was borne in Bethlehem in Judea, our Lord JESUS CHRIST, in the 42 yeare of the raigne of Augustus emperor of Rome, at whose birth the angels rejoice, Luc. 2. The 276 day he was circumcised and called Jesus, for which the Hebrewes write Jehoschua, the Lord and Savior.
Wise men out of the east.		After this the wise men came out of the east to Jerusalem, and enquire for Christ. Matth. 2. whence they are directed unto Bethlehem, &c. After Christ is presented unto the Lord in the temple at Jerusalem, to whom Simeon and Anna beare witnesse. Luc. 2. Herod causeth the infants of Bethlehem to be slaine; and after killeth the senate of Sanhedrim. Now was fulfilled the prophesie of Jaacob, concerning the comming of Schiloh. Gene. 49.
Christ presented at Jerusalem.		
Infantes slaine.		
Herod d. Archilaus.	4144	And 7 daies, Herodes Magnus dieth, and Archilaus his sonne succeedeth in the kingdome of Judea.
	4145	After the death of Herod, the angel appeareth unto Joseph in Egypt. Matth. 2.
Archilaus banished.	4152	And 7 daies, Archilaus was banished unto Vienna, entring the 9 yeare of his raigne.
Jesus disputeth with the elders.	4153	And 24 daies, Jesus, lost of his parentes, is found in the temple disputing with the elders. Luc. 2. 41—45.
M. Amb.	4154	Marcus Ambivius was president in Judea.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Christ.*
Anius Rufus was president in Judea.	4156	An. Rufus.
And 140 daies, Augustus dieth, after he had raigned 56 yeares; Tiberius succeedeth 14 yeares.		August. d. Tiberius.
Valerius Gratus, is the fifth president over Judea.	4158	Valerius
And 20 daies was ended, the 26 yeare of the nativitie of Christ, and the 69 weekes of Daniel.	4167	Gratus.
Pilatus succeedeth unto Valerius Gratus, who had been president in Judea 11 yeares.	4169	Pilatus.
And six monethes was the 33 jubilie, and the middest of Daniel his 70 wekes, in which the sacrifices of the Olde Testament should be abolished, (Dan. 9.) and the New Testament begin.	4170 *A.Ch*	Daniel's weekes ended.
About the 11 day of October, in the yeare of Christ 29. John the Baptist was called, and began to preach in the 15 yeare of Tiberius.	29	John Bapt. called.
And 281 day was the sixt of Januarie, on which day Christ was baptised by John in Jordan.	4170	Christ baptized.
The 14 of Februarie, John witnesseth of Christ unto those that were sent from Jerusalem. Joh. 2.		John's testimonie.
And 320 daies, were ended the 40 daies of Christes fasting and temptation in the wilderness. The next day, John having witnessed of Christ, that he was the Lambe of God, sendeth unto him two of his disciples. Joh. 1. Simon is called Peter. Christ calleth Phillip; he bringeth Nathaniel unto Christ. Joh. 1. Christ goeth unto Cana in Galilea to the marriage, after to Capernaum, and thence ascendeth to Jerusalem against the passover, which then was the 7 of April; and casteth the buyers and sellers out of the temple. Joh. 2.	4170	Christ's temptation. The Lambe of God. Nathaniel. A marriege in Cana. Christ purgeth the temple.
This yeare were done the things described by John, cap. 3. and 4. Matth. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. Mark. 1. 2.	4172 *A.Ch*	
The 268 day of this yeare, entred the 31 yeare of Christ.	31	
This yeare was done the thinges contained Joh. 5. Matth. 10, 11, 12, 13. Mark 3, 4, 5, 6. Luk. 6, 7, 8, 9.	4173	
The 268 day began the 32 yeare of Christ.		
The 13 of April, John Baptist was beheaded.	4174	John beheaded.
Shortly after, Christ feedeth 5000 men with five loaves and ij. fishes. Joh. 6.		
This yeare were done the thinges written Matth. 14. from the 13 verse unto the 20 chap. at these wordes: Behold, we ascend unto Jerusalem, &c.	*A.Ch*	
The 268 day of this yeare, began the 33 yeare of Christ.	33	Christ's last
To this yeare referre Christ his last journey and miracles, his passion, resurrection, apparitions, ascension; and the comming of the Holy Ghost. The 15 day of the first moneth, which was the third of April, Christ was crucified, in the ende of Daniel his 70 weeke. The 24 day of May, Christ ascended into heaven, 40 daies after his resurrection. In one of the 10 dayes following, Matthias was chosen to be apostle in the place of Judas. Act. 1. The 24 of May, was the feast of Pentecost, then the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles. Act. 2. Referre unto this yeare, all that is written unto the 7 of the Actes.	4175	journey to Jerusalem. Christ crucified. Ascended into heaven. Matthias chosen. The comming of the Holy Ghost.

Christ.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Stephanus stoned.	*A.Ch* 34	The 268 day of this yeare, entred the 34 yeare of Christ. The next day Stephanus was accused, and stoaned to death. Act. 7.
Persecution.		After followed a great persecution of the church at Jerusalem, &c. Act. 8.
Samaria converted by Philip.		Philip preacheth the gospel in Samaria: whither Peter and John are sent; Simon Magus. The eunuche of Æthiopea taught and baptised by Philip. Act. 8.
Saul's conversion.		The 25 of Januarie, Saul going to Damascus was converted in the way, &c. Act. 9. 22. 26. The Jewes conspire against him; he is convayed away by the disciples, and goeth into Arabia. Gal. 1. after he returneth to Damascus.
Tiberius.	4176	The 141 day, began the 20 yeare of Tiberius his raigne. Philip the brother of Herod dieth.
	4177	And 268 daies, entred the 37 yeare of Christ his nativitie.
Paul commeth to Jerusalem.	*A.Ch* 37	Paul, three yeares after his conversion, commeth to Jerusalem. Gal.
	4178	1. is brought unto the apostles by Barnabas. Act. 9. Praying in the temple, he saw Christ and heard him. Act. 22. Thence
Is sent to Tarsus.		he is convayed unto Cæsaria, and so sent to Tarsus. Act. 9. Cæsaria is a citie in Syria, and Tarsus a citie in Cicilia. Gal. 1.
Peter rayseth Dorcas.	4179	Peter comming to Lydda, healeth Æneas; at Joppa raiseth Tabitha, or Dorcas; seeth a vision, and goeth to Cornelius; who with
Goeth to Cornelius.		others receaveth the Holy Ghost, and is baptised. Act. 10. And returning to Jerusalem, geveth a reason of his entrance unto the
Barnabas is sent to Antiochia.		Gentiles. Act. 11. Barnabas is sent by the church of Jerusalem unto Antiochia, whither he fetcheth Paul from Tarsus. Agabus foretelleth of a famin. Act. 11.
Tiberius d.	*A.Ch*	The 268 day of this yeare entred the 38 yeare of Christ. The 349
Caligula.	38	day, being the 16 of March, Tiberius the emperor died in the 23
Josephus b.		yeare of his raigne; C. Caligula succeedeth in the empire, and de-
Vitellius.		livereth Herodes Agrippa out of prison, where Tiberius had left
Marullus.		him. This yeare Flavius Josephus was borne.
Paul and Barn. came to Jerusal.	4180	The 14 day, Vitellius commeth to Jerusalem in the feast of Easter; a little after, Marullus, sent by Caligula, is president of Judea. Paul and Barnabas come with almes to Jerusalem, and after re-
They are		turne to Antioch, having with them Mark. Act. 12.
sent unto the	*A.Ch*	The 268 day, entred the 39 yeare of Christ, in which Paul and Bar-
Gentiles.	39	nabas, sent out by the Holy Ghost, travaile into Seleucia, Cyprus,
Sergius Paulus.		Salamina, and Paphus, where Sergius Paulus was converted. Act. 13.
Perga	4181	The 268 day began the 40 yeare of our Lord.
Pamphilia.	*A.Ch*	They went to Perga in Pamphilia, where Mark leaveth them. They
Antiochia.	40	come unto Antiochia in Pisidia. Act. 13. At this time Caligula
Caligula his fall.		having hetherto governed well, began to degenerate.
	4182	The 268 day, entred the yeare of our Lord 41. All which yeare,
Iconium.	*A.Ch*	with part of the next, Paul and Barnabas tarrie at Iconium. Act.
Pilate d.	41	14. About this time Pilate killeth himselfe. Herodes Antipas
Herodes		dieth in Spaine.
Antip. d.	4183	The 268 day, began the 42 yeare of Christ.
The gospel	*A.Ch*	About this time S. Matthew writeth his gospel in Judæa.
of Matth.	42	The 298 day, the 24 of Januarie, Caligula dieth, when he had raign-
written.		ed 3 yeares, 10 monethes, and 8 daies. Claudius succeedeth in
Caligula d.		

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Christ.*
the empire; and giveth the kingdome of Judæa unto Herodes Agrippa; his brother, called also Herod, was made king of Chalcida. Josephus.		Claudius succeedeth. Herodes Agrippa k. of Judea.
Paul and Barnabas driven from Iconium, flie to Lystra and Darbe, and preach theare. At Lystra, Paul was stoned, and left for dead, but was raised againe. Act. 14.	4184	
The 268 day, began the yeare of Christ 44. They returne to Lystra, Iconium, and Antiochia in Pisidia, and ordaine elders in every church. Act. 14.	4183	Paul and Barn. come to Lystra.
And the 15 day, at Easter, Herod havinge slaine James the brother of John, put Peter in prison, &c. Act. 12.	4186	Paul stoned returning.
The 298 day, was the 45 yeare of Christ.		They ordain elders.
About this time, Mark the disciple of Peter, preached the gospel in Egipt. Not long after this, Herod was stricken of the angel. Act. 12.		Peter imprisoned by Herod.
This yeare Paul and Barnabas came into Pamphilia, and preached the woord at Perga; and thence returned to Antiochia in Syria, whence they were commended to the grace of God. Act. 14. 26.		Mark preached in Egipt. Herod dieth
The 268 began the yeare of Christ 46.	4187	of wormes.
A great part of this yeare they tarried at Antioch. Act. 14. 28.		Paul & Bar.
The 268 day, entred the 47 yeare of Christ. About this time Theudas the rebel, his head was brought to Jerusalem; not his that is mentioned Act. 5. but an others. This yeare, as is thought, S. Luke wrote his gospel.	4188	returne to Antioch and tarry there. Theudas
The 268 day, began the 48 yeare of Christ.		the rebell
This yeare, which was the 14 of Paules conversion, he went up with Barnabas and Titus unto Jerusalem, to the synode there. Act. 15. Gal. 2. After this Peter was reproved of Paul at Antioch. Gal. 2. Not long after the synode, Barnabas and Marke sayled into Cyprus; Paul and Silas travailed through Syria and Silicia, confirming the brethren. Act. 15. And comming to Derbe and Lystra, Paul taketh Timothie to be a companion of his journey.	4189	slaine. Luke wrote his gospel. The sinode at Jerusal. Peter reproved.
The 268 day, beginneth the 50 yeare of Christ. About this time, in the 8 yeare of Claudius the emperor, Cumanus succeeded Tiberius Alexander in the government of Judea.	4191	The travail of Paul and Silas.
This yeare of Christ, Paul wrote both his epistles to the Thessalonians.		Timothie called.
The 268 day, entred the yeare of Christ 51. This yeare, not before September, Paul came from Athens to Corynthus.	4192	Cumannus governeth in
The 268 day, began the 52 yeare of Christ, 30 daies after began the 11 yeare of the raigne of Claudius the emperor.	4193	Judæa.
The 334 day, Paul having continued at Corynth one yeare and six monethes, (Act. 18.) in the biginning of March, sailed thence with Aquila and Prisilla, and leaving them at Ephesus, went now the fowerth time after his conversion to Jerusalem; and thence descended to Antioch; after into Galicia and Phrygia. Act. 18. In the mean time Apollo came to Ephesus. Act. 18.		The epist. to the Thessalonians. Paul came to Athens. His being at Corinth.
The 268 day, entred the 53 yeare of our Lord. About this time, in the 12 yeare of Claudius his raigne, Agrippa advanced by the emperor, gave his sister Drucilla, wife to King Azizus, whom	4194	Ephesus. He went the 4 time to Jerusalem.

Christ.	*A.M.*	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Apollo came to Ephesus. Drus. married to Aziza. Paul came to Ephesus. 12 Discip. Philip martyred. The former epist. to the Corinth. The first epist. of Pet. Paul left Ephesus. came to Philippi. 2. epist. to the Cor. Claud d. Nero suc. Epist to Titus. Paul came to Corinth. The epist. to the Romaines. 2 Epistle of Peter. Paul came the 5 time to Jerusal. Taken there. Sawe a vision. He is sent to Cæsaria. Tertull. accuseth him. Festus succeedeth in Judea. Pa. defence before Agr.		shortly after she forsoke and married with Felix. In the end of this yeare, Paul came to Ephesus, and found there 12 disciples, Act. 19. who being before baptized with baptisme of John, then receaved the Holy Ghost. At this time, Paul fought with beastes at Ephesus. 1 Cor. 15.
	4195	The 268 day, began the 54 yeare of Christ. This yeare Philip the Apostle was martyred at Hierapolis.
	4196	The 268 day, entred the yeare of Christ 55. This yeare was written the former epistle to the Corinthians, by Paul, being then at Ephesus with Priscilla and Aquila. Act. 18. The same yeare was written the first epistle of Peter from Babylon in Egypt, not in Chaldea. 1. Pet. 5. 13.
	4197	This yeare in June, Paul departed from Ephesus about Penticost. 1 Cor. 16. after the tumult raised against him there. Act. 20. After being at Philippi, he wrote his second epistle to the Corinthians.
		The 13 of October, Claudius the emperor died: after whom Nero succeeded.
		From Nicepolis in Macedonia Paul wrote his epistle to Titus, in the winter time.
	A.Ch 56	The 268 day, began the yeare of our Lord 56.
		In the beginning whereof, Paul came thorough Macedonia into Grecia. Act. 20. in which jorney also he came to Corinth. At this time was written the epistle to the Romaines: and purposing thorough Syria to go to Jerusalem, understanding of the treacherie of the Jewes against him, turned by Macedonia and came to Philippi. Act. 20.
		This yeare Peter wrote his second epistle.
	4198	The 63 day, Paul the 23 yeare of his conversion, came the fifth time to Jerusalem, and was kindly entertained of the brethren. Act. 21. But after the Jewes laied handes upon him, and would have slaine him, had he not bene rescued of the Tribune. Act. 21. The next day he was brought before the elders. Act. 22. Fortie men conspire against him. Act. 23. The Lord appeareth unto him; he is sent unto Cæsaria to Felix, before whom Tertullus and others accuse him; he defendeth himselfe. Act. 24.
	4199	The 268 day of this yeare, entred the 57 yeare of our Lord.
	A.Ch 58	The 268 day, was the beginning of the yeare of Christ 58.
	4200	The 63 day, when Paul had ben captive an whole yeare, Porcius Festus succeeded Felix in the government of Judea. Act. 24. Paul speaketh for himselfe before Agrippa and Bernice. Act. 25.
		The 183 day, in October, Paul and his companions, were in danger at sea. Act. 27.
		The 3 monethes following, November, December, and Januarie, Paule wintered in the ile of Miletum. Act. 28.
		The 268 day entred the yeare of Christ 59. About the 14 of February in the 4 yeare of the raigne of Nero, Paule came to Rome. Act. 28. 16.
	4201	The 268 day began the 60 yeare of our Lord.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.	*A.M.*	*Paul.*
The 268 day entred the yeare of our Lord 61.	*A.Ch*	His danger
The 319 day, was ended that two yeares space, which Paul continued in his owne hired lodging. Act. 28. 30. During which time he wrote these epistles.	60 4202	at sea. Miletum.
To the Galatians.		Paul came to Rome.
To the Ephesians, by Tychicus.		His impris.
To the Philippians, by Epaphroditus.		at Rome.
To the Colossians.		Epist. to the Galatians.
To Philemon.		Ephesians.
At this time, as seemeth, the Acts of the Apostles were written by S. Luke. About this time Paul, 27 yeares after his conversion, was delivered out of his first imprisonment at Rome, in the 6 yeare of Nero the Emperour.		Philippians. Colossians.
	4204	To Philem.
The 268 day entred the yeare of our Lord 63.	*A.Ch*	The Acts of
The 30 day James the Lesse was slaine of the Jewes, after he had bene thirtie yeares bishop of Jerusalem.	63 4205	the Apostles written.
The 195 day entred the 10. yeare of Nero his raigne wherein began the seconde persecution of the Christians, and continued until the death of Nero, the pretence was the burning of Rome; which Nero himself had caused to be done, and after laied it on the charge of the Christians.	4206	Paul delivered. James the Lesse slaine. The 2 persecution of
In May, began the last warre against the Jewes.		
The 268 day was the yeare of Christ 68. About this time Paule wrote his 2 epistle to Timothie.	*A.Ch* 68	the Christians.
The 89 day in the last yeare of Nero, and the 68 yeare of our Lord, Paule at the commaundment of the emperour was beheaded at Rome, the 35 yeare after his conversion.	4210	2 Epist. to Timothie. Paul beheaded at Rome.
The 7 yeares and almost an halfe of the Apostle his life, after his deliverance out of prison, was in good part bestowed in visiting of the churches of Grecia, Macedonia, Asia, &c.		Paul his visitat. of the
The 195 day, which was the 13 of October, began the 14 yeare of Nero his empire.	4210	churches.
The 268 day entered the yeare of Christ 69.	*A.Ch*	
The 76 day, the 16 of June, Galba tooke the empire. Nero being yet alive, and helde it for seven monethes.	69 4211	Galba tooke the empire.
The 268 day was the yeare of our Lord 70.		
The 268 day, the second of Januarie, Vitellius was saluted emperour of his armie, Galba and Oto yet living. The 15 day of the same moneth, Galba was slaine. Whom Oto succeeded.	*A.Ch* 70 4212	Vitellus saluted emp. Galba slain.
The 19 day, being the 20 of April, ended those 95 daies in which Oto raigned alone, and began the 8 monethes of Vitellius his empire.		Otho succeedeth. Vitell. emp.
The 91 day, the first of July, Flavius Vespasianus being 60 yeares old, was compelled of his army then in Judæa, to take upon him the empire; after which time he lived almost nine yeares.	*A.Ch* 71	Flav. Vesp. emperour.
The 268 day, entered the 71 yeare of Christ.		
The 306 day, in the beginning of February, Vespasian sent his sonne Titus to destroy Jerusalem.	4213	Titus sent to Jerusal.
The 131 day was the 10 of August, in which the souldiers of Titus Vespasianus fired the third temple, which Herode built for the second. Math. 26.		The temple burnt.
	4220	
The 268 day, began the 79 yeare of Christ.		

	A.M.	*A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.*
Vespas. d. Titus Vesp. succeedeth.	*A.Ch* 79	The 84 day, the 24 of June, died Flavius Vespasianus, when he had raigned almost nine yeares. After him succeedeth Titus Vespasianus, who raigned two yeares and 81 daies.
	4221	
Titus Vesp. dieth.	4222	The 268 day, entered the yeare of Christ 81.
Domitian succeedeth.	*A.Ch* 93	The 165 day, being the 13 of September, Titus Vespasianus died; after whom succeeded Domitianus.
	4236	The 268 day, began the yeare of our Lord 93.
3. Persecut. of christian. John banisheth into Pathmos: He writeth his gospell, &c. Other epist.	4236	The 165 day, began the 14 yeare of Domitian his raigne, in which was raised the third persecution against the christians. Then was John the apostle banished into Pathmos where (as is thought) he wrote his gospell, and the Revelation. The epistles of John, as also those of Jude, James, and to the Hebrewes, when they were written, cannot certainely be determined.
	4237	The 268 day, entered the 96 yeare of Christ.
Dom. slain. Nerva succ. John commeth to Ephesus.	*A.Ch* 96	The 170 day, being the 18 of September, was Domitian the emperour slaine, whom Nerva succeeded. At this time John commeth
	4238	from Pathmos to Ephesus.
	4239	The 210 day, Nerva had raigned 13 monethes and ten daies; and adopted Trajanus in the fellowship of the empire, and after lived three moneths, and died the 27 of January.
Trajanus succeedeth.	*A.Ch* 98	The 268 day, began the 98 yeare of Christ.
Nerva.		The 210 day ended the first, and began the second yeare of Trajanus
	4240	raigne.
John d.	4242	The yeare S. John the apostle died.
4. Persecution of the christians.	4250	The 210 day, entered the 12 yeare of Trajanus his raigne. At this time began the 4 persecution of the christians.
	4257	The 268 day, began the 116 yeare of Christ.
Adrianus emperour.	*A.Ch* 116	The 130 day, Adrianus being in Syria, understandeth that Trajane being sicke, had nominated him emperour of Rome. Who also
	4258	died the third day after.
	4266	The 130 day, the 9 of August, Adrian began the ninth yeare of his raigne.
	A.Ch 125	The 268 day, entred the 125 yeare of Christ.
Barochabas his crueltie. The finall destruction of the Jewes.	4271	The 130 day, began the 14 yeare of Adrian his raigne. At this time Barochabas head of the Jewish faction, drew unto punishment the christians that would not denie Christ. This warre continued for six yeares, and brought a finall destruction upon the Jewes.
	4276	The 268 day, entred the 135 yeare of Christ.
Adrian his edict against the Jewes.	4277	The 130 day, ended the 19 yeare of Adrian his raigne, in which he finished the warre of the Jewes, and banishing them out of the land, charged them, not so much as from any high place to looke towardes the land of their fathers.
	A.Ch 136	The 268 day, began the yeare of Christ 136.
	4278	The 268 day, entred the yeare of Christ 137.
Adrian dyeth.	4279	The 100 day, being the 10 of July, Adrian the emperor died, when he had raigned well neare 21 yeares.

The Holy Bull, and Crusado of Rome: First published by the Holy Father Gregory XIII. and afterwards renewed and ratified by Sixtus V., for all those which desire full pardon and indulgence of their Sinnes; and that for a little Money, to weete, for two Spanish Realls, viz. Thirteen Pence.—Very plainly set forth, and compared with the Testimony of the Holy Scriptures, to the great Benefite and Profite of all good Christians.

2 Pet. 2. vers. 18. For when they speake the great swelling woords of vanity, they entise through lusts, with the bayte of wantonnesse of the fleshe, them that were cleane escaped from them, which are wrapped in errour: while they promise them liberty, whereof they themselves are the bond servaunts of corruption.

Imprinted first by Richard Schilders, printer to the States of Sealand; with consent of the States. Given at Middleborrowe, the xii of September 1588.

Subscribed, CH. ROELS.

And reprinted at London, by John Wolfe, dwelling in the Stationers Hall. 1588.

It was no small inconvenience to the Roman Catholic controversialists, that, during the dark ages, their religion had been gradually corrupted by a number of absurd tenets, which the peculiar form of their church, and its claims to infallibility, prohibited them from abandoning, while it was impossible to defend them. These, which would otherwise probably have been gradually consigned to oblivion, were dragged forth by the malicious assiduity of the reformers; who, as in the present tract, gave them publicity, accompanied with such commentaries as seemed best fitting to awaken the hatred and contempt of the public. The sale of pardons and indulgencies, as it contained a doctrine monstrous in itself, and fraught with the most dangerous consequences to morality, continued long a favourite point of attack.

Gregory XIII., more remarkable for the change he achieved in the calendar, published this bull of pardons and indulgencies in 1585, to animate the Catholics against the Turks, whose arms were then making formidable progress in Europe. But the coin of indulgencies and pardons, in which the soldiers of the crusade were to be paid, was now much deteriorated in the public opinion. The reader will probably be amused with the stile of the commentary on the bull, which has much of the flippant raillery introduced by Luther into the controversy between the churches, and to say truth, is not always very fair or candid.

The bull was renewed by Sixtus V., when he extended all its benefits and privileges to those who should bear arms against the heretics of England.

The Pope's Bull, translated out of Spanish, with the Answere thereunto out of the Holy Scriptures.

The [1] bull of the [2] holy [3] crosse, newly graunted by our most holy father Gregory the Thirteenth, and enlarged with many and very great [4] graces, pardons, faculties, and

[1] *Bulla*, in Latin, signifieth a bubble, which riseth on the water, or that which children doe make with soape and water in a mussel shell; and therefore the Lord God, by his juste judgment, hath ordained that this should be termed a Bulle, to the end all men may be advertised, what benefite is to be expected thereof, unlesse men would, after the Spanish manner, call it *Burla*, which is a jeste or mockerie, because they herewith do openly deride and jeste with God and all the world.

[2] That is called holy, which is appropriated unto God, and seperated from all uncleannesse of the world. Now what holinesse is contained in the bulle, all men may perceive which shall examine the same with the word of God.

[3] The crosse, in times past, hath been esteemed as we esteeme the gallowes, and therefore all manner of sufferance, oppression, shame, and ignomie of the worlde is called a crosse. Nowe whether this be called a crosse, because they herewith doe persecute and destroy the poor members of Christ, each one may judge.

[4] By what authoritie he presumeth to have power to graunt these pardons, indulgences, and advantages, shall be more at large hereafter declared.

stations for all the citizens, inhabitants, and all those which remain in this realme of [1] Spaine and islands thereabout, of Sicilia, and Sardinia, for the aide and assistance of the [2] wars against the [3] faithlesse and heretiques, [4] the enemies of our holy fayth, and christian [5] religion, which bulle is for the [6] sermon of the yeare [7] 1585.

[8] THE title, name, and dignitie, which was given to King David, by reason of the great good successe, which God vouchsafed to graunt unto him, is declared unto us by the Holy Scriptures, in the first booke of the Kings. Whereunto King Saul (through the wil of God) did greatly exhorte him, promising unto him (for rewarde of the victories which he hoped for by his meanes) his eldest daughter in marriage, saying unto him, behave thy selfe like a valiant and vertuous man, and fight the battaile of the Lord, by vertue of which commission (and trusting in the helpe of God) hee obtained the victorie against the Amalechites and their adherentes: amongst the which was greatly renowned and extolled the revenge which he tooke upon Siceleg, which was a famous cittie, which Achis the king of Beth delivered unto him. Where he restored the great booties of women and children, certayne dayes before taken captives of the same towne, which had beene burned by the Amalekites: for the which the King David was greatly extolled

[1] He doeth very well in chusing those countries specially for the utterance and sale of his bulles, from whence the gospell is most of all excluded, and where the truth of the gospell is least knowen, fearing least otherwise he might be discovered and brought to light.

[2] Here men may perceive what pronouncers of peace and unitie these holy fathers be, which do sell their bulles for the maintenance of warre.

[3] He calleth all those infidels and heretikes, which doe acknowledge Christ Jesu onely to be their mediatour, saviour, intercessour, high priest, bridegrome, and supreme head of the church of God, and which doe receive the holy scriptures of the prophets and apostles, for the onely foundation of the perfect christian doctrine, without respecting the pope of Rome in this behalfe.

[4] That is to say, enemies of the Romish atheisme, and antichristicall blaspheming of God, wherby they induce men to beleeve that they are gods here on earth, and vicars of the living God, for to command and prohibite what pleaseth them: desiring, moreover, that none of the common people should knowe what he beleeveth; but all men must beleeve that which our mother the holy church, with the rablement of munkes and fryars, doe beleeve, without knowing what it is.

[5] A religion is properly a service of God; nowe who they bee which bee enemies of the christian religion: againe, which onely call upon God in spirit and truth, through the onely mediatour Jesu Christ, or those which beside the living God, doe in their neede, and for their help invoke or call upon all maner of deceased creatures, and do serve the Lord not in spirit and truth, but in external images and pictures of carved wood and stones, and with external mumblings and ceremonies, which they themselves understand not: these Christ most plainly setteth downe in the doctrine which he hath left unto us, by the mouth and penne of his apostles and disciples.

[6] Here wee see howe that in steede of preaching the word of God, and to instruct the people of God's mercie, obtained in the blood of Christ, they doe rush in with their bulle. Nowe whether the same doe agree with the doctrine and example of the apostles, their epistle written to the church of Christ (which they had instructed with the preaching of the worde) doe prove, and specially Rom. 10. vers. 14. 15, 16, 17.

And marke when Christ sendeth foorth his apostles, whether he did commande them to thrust buls into the handes of the people in steede of sermons. Math. 28. vers. 19. Mark 16. vers. 15.

[7] Consider that this preparation and league for the extirping and rooting out of all true christians, hath already been practising three yeares. But the Lorde God can suddenly let his winde blowe over them, even as he did over the people of Pharao. Exod. 15.

[8] This preface would have served to verie great purpose, if David had borne armes against those which onely tooke their refuge to God in spirit and truth, and not against the Amalekites and other faithlesse idolaters, which had their churches full of dumbe idols, and wodden saintes, and did by them make all their prayers to God, and did take all maner of deceassed persons (being their Baals, that is, saintes,) for their intercessours and protectours, even as this holy father likewise doth; howbeit hee will not much deceive the people, for he doth sufficiently manifest in the first attempt what he pretendeth, comparing himselfe to Saule, which gave David a good commission and chardge to fight the battaile of the Lord: but whiles hee all his life time did nothing els but murther the faythfull servaunts and prophets of the Lord, yea, and persecuted David himself with all his vertuous adherentes, which reposed their trust on God's promises, fearing least he should lose his kingdome: even so this holy father doth preserve the battaile of the Lorde, but whiles he seeketh to murther and burne the prophets and faithfull servants of the Lorde, and wholy to roote out the true David, Christ Jesu, with all those which onely depende on him, and acknowledge him to be the head and king of the catholike church, fearing least his kingdom of this world might decay, and his belly-cheere decrease.

and praised, and the people greatly holpen and protected under the defence of David, and through the mercie and providence of God, who had elected him for that service. In comparison whereof our most holy father Gregory the Thirteenth, hath not onely [1] given the name or title of defendour of the people of God unto the majestie of the King Don Philip our lord, but for the greater zeale he hath to the increase and preservation of the [2] holy catholique faith, considering the great charges which daily arise for the common defence of [3] christendome, continually fighting the [4] battailes of the Lord, [5] purging the sea from the incursions and piracies which the infidels and heretikes committe, being very [6] Amalekites, the same pope, for the aide and succour of so rightfull defence, opening the [7] treasures of the church, hath given unto him, and newe prolonged the [8] bulle of the holy crosse, to the ende that all [9] faythfull christians, which shall accept thereof and give [10] the nomber of [11] almes hereunder declared, doe receive the [12] graces and absolutions, and pardons hereafter following.

[1] Here you see that he doth appropriate to himself that which onely appertaineth unto God, for through him alone kings do rule, and the antichrist doeth here place himselfe in God's throne, attributing to himselfe the honour due to God, as though he might institute kings and protectors of the people of God; which hee shall never prove to have beene doone, or purposed by the apostles.

[2] The holy catholike fayth is here called the extirpation of the knowledge of the truth of the gospel, and of the salvation which we have obtayned in Christ. For the Pope doeth specially and above all things maintaine, that the common people ought not to know any particular things thereof, but to referre them simply to their mother, the holy Church, which is the saying of the monkes and fryars, and other beastly persons, which doe instruct the people with dumbe idols, with crosses, with garlands, with hallowed *Agnus Dei*, and like bables, to the ende to keepe them still in their childish ignoraunce and catholike, that is to say, generall simplicite. And this holy simple catholike faith, their divines and doctors doe call *fides implicita*, that is a beleefe foulded together, and is like to a cloth which is foulded, so that no man may looke within it: which beleefe the king of Spayne, through an indirect or blinde zeale these many yeares, hath sought to defende and protecte with fyer and sworde, to the spoyle of his Lowe Countries, yea with hazard of his realmes and dominions, extirping all those which would plant the true christian faith, through the light of the gospel, to the end to sever the truth from lyes.

Christendome doeth he here terme the seate of Rome, that is, all those which doe acknowledge the pope for head, brydegrome, high priest, and father of the church: for whosoever will onely acknowledge Christ for the same, and not the pope, he here is accompted among the Turkes and faithlesse heretikes. Therefore for as much as there may not be two Christes, nor two heades of the church, but the one must be Christ, and the other antichrist, you shall not take christendome in this place for any other thing, but the trayne of the second Christ, who vaunteth himselfe to be Christ, but is very antichrist in deede.

[4] You must here take the battailes of the Lorde, according to the comparison of Saul, (which he himselfe heretofore hath set downe) when he persecuted David, and murthered and burned the prophets and high priest of Nobe, viz. the battailes of our lord the pope, for to mainteine his kitchin well furnished.

[5] That is to say, in making a great and fearefull army for to overrunne the countries and realmes of other princes, and to roote out all those, even to the very children and women, which will not acknowledge the pope to be the vicar here, and robbe Christ of his honor.

[6] Who be the Amalekites, is here before set downe.

[7] Behold here doth this antichrist attribute to himselfe the power to devide or imparte, according to his beastly unsatiable desire, to those which mayntaine his potage pot, the grace which the sonne of God by his precious bloud hath obtained for those which beleeve in him, and call upon him, and doe acknowledge him to be the head of the church of God.

[8] Turne to the first ([1]) and ([2]) p. 149.

[9] Which signifieth poore ignorant men, which doe suffer themselves to be led like to a beare with a ring in the nose, not knowing what they beleeve, no more than beastes: but reposing them in that behalfe on the holy father the pope, and their mother the catholike or chief beast.

[10] This is the whyte* they shoot at, to wit, to get money, and to make warre therewith. Nowe let each one that hath eyes see, and he that hath eares for to heare let him heare, whether this bee the voyce of Peter, (whose successor and vicar this holy father vaunteth to be,) who sayd to Simon Magus, (which offered him money) thy money perishe with thee, because thou thinkest that the favour or grace of God may be obtained with money. Act. 8. ver. 20.

[11] This word almes is derived of a Greek worde *eleemosyna*, which properly signifieth compassion and pitie. And behold here the holinesse of this father doeth esteeme it a deede of great charitie, to give money for to spill christians bloud, and doth so shamefully pervert every thing, that he turneth charitie into cruell bloud-sheeding.

[12] According to that which before we have repeated of Simon Magus, who thought that the grace of God was to be solde for money, it may playnely appeare that this marchant is a successor not of Simon Peter, but of Simon Magus, whose workes he evidently followeth.

* The mark.

Imprimis hee doeth give unto all faithfull christians of these realmes and dominions dwelling, being resident in the same, and to those which shall come there which bee[1] inflamed with the zeale of the defence and increase of the holy catholike faith, and which shall take his part for to serve[2] in the wars under the power and with the men which his majestie sendeth, for the space of one yeare for to fight against the[3] Turke, or to do any other service, or personall helpe under the aforesaid armie, remaining under the same untill the end of the aforesaid yeare,[4] the full pardon and forgivenesse of all their sinnes, so that they do hartely[5] repent and be sorowfull for them, and do by mouth make confession of the same, or if they cannot confesse themselves, that they doe with hart desire to do the same,[6] even as they are accustomed to give the same pardon to those which goe to helpe to recover the holy lande, and in the yeare[7] jubileo. And it is to be

[1] This is sufficiently set downe before.

[2] This is the trompet of this holy apostle: Christ sayeth to his apostles, I give you my peace, I leave you my peace: Peter writeth in the beginning of his epistle, grace and peace be multiplied unto you; and again in the end, peace be with you al which are in Christ Jesus. Paule writing of the apostles and their vocation, sayeth: howe beautifull are the feete of them which bring glad tidings of peace, Rom. 10. 15. But this brave successor of Peter and Paul, doeth here sounde his trompet for to induce all the worlde to warres, under the armie of the king of Spayne, for to take in, and overrunne by force, and murther, the realmes of other princes; and for that effect he doeth sell his bulles, graces, pardons, &c. and doeth drawe the poor silly soules out of his purgatorie for to helpe thereunto.

[3] This bull was first graunted against the Turke: For whereas the apostles were wont to convert the infidels with preaching of the gospell, and examples of life, the Romish apostles will doe the same with the sworde, murthering all those which knewe nothing of the Christian religion. But they did yet cloake this with the name and shewe of a zeale which they had of the honor of Christ against the Turkes. But now this apostle hath so well inchaunted the king of Spaine, that he hath made a truce or league with the Turke, being an originall enemy of Christ, to the end to assayle with all his power and might, those which onely call upon Christ and God the father in his name, and which doe acknowledge none els for the Head, Bridegrome, High Priest, Mediator, and Peace Maker of the Church of God: For this doeth much more greeve this holy father, then the infidelitie of the Turke: for he thinketh that by this his kingdome must decay, seeing that the kingdome of Christ only thereby is erected, and therefore, he hath now changed the bulles which were made against the Turke, and made them against the poore members of Christ, to the end utterly to extyrpe and roote them out. And in the meane time, the Turke hath time and meanes on the other syde, given him wholy to subvert christendome. And this is the zeale wherewith these holy fathers are so inflamed.

[4] Here we see plainely how this antichrist maketh an open jest of the forgivenes of sinnes, which the Sonne of God with so deere a price, to witte with his death and bloodsheeding, hath obtained for us. For he here with his bloudy trompet doth pronounce this remission, not unto those which with an humble hart (taking their refuge to Christ) doe repose all their trust and confidence upon his satisfaction and intercession betweene God and man; but to these which either do spill christian bloud, or give money to the same effect. And secondly, where as he with all his doctors and divines, openly doth affirme that the remission and pardon of sinnes, which Christ hath obtained for us, can take away but onely the offence, and not the deserved punishment or payne of sinnes committed after the baptisme: for which effect they have instituted their invented purgatorie, to the ende there to pay the sayd punishment and penaltie; so likewise he is not ashamed to graunt his pardon so amply, that therewith not onely the offence, but also the deserved punishment is wholy taken away, even as he hereunder in the forme of an absolution plainly expresseth: Yea, vaunteth the same to be of such force, that it draweth the soules of others out of purgatorie; so that he doeth esteeme his bulles more excellent and worthier, then the most precious sacrifice of the body and blood of the Sonne of God, which according to their report, is not of such force that it can deliver us from the paines of purgatorie. Whether these be not the most horrible blasphemies, which this beast uttereth against God, his name and tabernacle; whereof John in his Revelations, 13. ver. 6. doeth speake, every vertuous person easely may perceive.

[5] This harty penitence is nothing els but a false color, wherwith this whore doeth paynte and hyde her uncleane face. For they doe publikely teache, that no forgivenesse of sinnes can be obtayned through the merites of Christ, how penitent soever men be for their sinnes, unlesse man himselfe do satisfie for the same: And this satisfaction doe they inferre to the mumbling of Pater Nosters, and Ave Maries, being babled out in Latin, to pilgrimages, to fryars weedes, to erecting of cloysters and other like, which they themselves without warrant out of the word of God have invented, and that which is not cleane swept away therewith, they reserve for purgatorie, to the ende to be purged there with dirges, and other babels, which they for money sake have invented, in steede of the bloodsheeding of Jesus Christ, so that it is manifest that a harty penitence is nothing worth with them, but onely to set a colour on their subtill satisfaction.

[6] It is very well to be credited that the one pardon is as good as the other, for they be both forged in the forge of lyes.

[7] Jubileus is derived from a Hebrew word, which doth signifie a trompet, wherewith the yeare of jubilee was

understoode, that they shall receive the like pardon, which before the ende of the dispatch shall happen to [1] dye on the way going towardes the saide forces, or being among the same. Item, they also which by reason of sicknes or other lawefull busines which unto them shall happen, shall be constrained to depart out of the armie. And likewise doeth give the said pardon to those the which (howbeit they shall not goe together in person) shall neverthelesse [2] send other thether in their steede and place, and that in manner following, that if he which so shall sende any other, were a [3] cardinall, a primate or patriarke, a bishop, the sonne of a king, prince, duke, marques, or earle, that he sende so many persons as he commodiously may, to the nomber of eight, or if he cannot sende so many, that he at the least doe sende foure. And all other persons of what condition soever they be, temporall or ecclesiasticall, shall every of them sende his man, unles they were so poore that they could not doe the same, in which case two, three, or foure of them together, shall sende a souldiour [4] contributing therin every of them to their power.

Item, the frieries or deanes of churches and cloisters of [5] religious persons, eyther men or women, although they were of the begging order, which for every ten persons of such deanes, fryers, and cloisters, shall sende one souldiour, having first communicated and

declared to those of the Olde Testament: For besides the Sabaoth which God had commanded to be sanctified on the seventh day of the weeke, so likewise he would that men should every seaven yeares keepe a feaste, to let the country rest for a remembraunce of the miraculous delivery, whereby the children of Israel were delivered out of the tyrannie of Pharao, and bondage of Egypt, by the which was prefigured the spiritual and perpetuall delivery, which should happen through Christ: but especially after that the seaven times seaven, which is fourty-nine yeares, were expyred, God would that they should with all thankefulnes keepe holy the next yeare following, being the fiftie yeare, resting wholly in the Lord, and giving libertie to all the Israelite slaves, and letting the countrey or lande reste that whole yeare, untill such tyme that the spirituall deliverie in Christ (which thereby is prefigured) should be perfourmed; for then by the comming of Christ (the very and perfect fulnes of all such prefigurations) that ceremonie should cease, and the right Jubileus in the spirit and trueth of all faythfull christians should be kept. But these Romish fathers, which in apish sort have againe newe brought up all the Jewish ceremonies (which Christ had abolished) have in steede of that Jubileus induced a very stage playe, commaunding that men not onely everie fiftie, but everie five and twentie yeares, should come and buye bulles and pardons at Rome, where they with a golden crosse doe knocke upon a hollowe walle, crying *Aperite portas principes vestras?* And the same walle being broken open from without, al they which do creepe through that hole which they call the golden gate, in putting a peece of money in the boxe, they doe thereby deserve pardon of all their sinnes, and doe release a great many souls out of purgatorie, which is an excellent way to get money. And now this bulman doth promise us here the very same pardons, which there are deserved, if we will here give money for to persecute and destroy all those which will not acknowledge him for chief pope. Now whether this do agree with the learning of Peter and Paule, and whether the same hath any part with the remission of sinnes which Christ hath obtained for us with his death and passion, each one may judge which is not berefte of his wittes.

[1] Consider that they which shall dye before this dispatche, shall receive greater benefit of their bulles, if they can cary the same whole and uncanceled with seale and writing into purgatorie. For Lucifer, who no doubt is a great friend to the pope of Rome, and would doe much for him, will doubtles let their soules goe out of his clawes, if they can shewe him these bulles, being so solde.

[2] Paul saith that every one shal, Gal. 6. 5. And that eache one shall give accompt unto God for him selfe, Rom. 14. 12.; and receive according to his owne works, be they good or bad, Rom. 2. 6. and 2 Cor. 5. 10. But this Romish apostle, which alloweth that one do heare a masse for an other, and that one giving a peece of money to the priest, may deliver the soule of an other out of purgatorie; he can also give licence, that one may goe for an other in this holy warre; and being contributorie thereunto, also to enjoy the pardon for an other. So that he get money, he careth not whether he burne in purgatorie, or that he get out of the same.

[3] Whether this exception of persons doe in any manner agree with the trueth of the gospell, or the doctrine of Peter and Paule, reade Acts the 10 chapter, vers 34. 35. Rom. 3. vers 27. and 10. vers 12. Item 1 Cor. 1. ver. 26. 27. 1 Cor. 11. vers 22. Coll. 3. vers 11. James 2.

[4] It is all for to make this contribution, which doeth as well agree with the apostles vocation, as fyer with water, and light with darkenesse.

[5] The fryers, monkes, nonnes, and other spirituall persons, which are exempt from all temporall charge, may not here goe free. For when to spill the bloud of the christians, and persecute those which will onely call upon the name of Christ Jesus, neither cowler, coffe nor coape avayleth, all must licke of one sauce: Yea, the holy spirituall persons are the first and chiefest which herein must shew their zeale, for it toucheth them the nearest, and howsoever the dice runne, the pope must keepe his crowne on his head.

concluded the same for their fryerie or deanrie, shall injoy the same pardon, which pardon they which so shall be sent shall also enjoye if they be poore.

Item, the temporall priestes, which with consent of their ordinarie, and the regulars of their superiour, shall come and preach the worde of God, or do any other vertuous church service, which they shal be permitted to doe in the sayd army, and without incurring irregularitie, and that they in the meanewhyle shall neverthelesse injoye their benefices by sufficient deputies, not being any pastors, or vicars, or curates of soules, for such may not goe without consent of his holines. And the souldiours which shal submitte them in these warres [1] shall not be bound to the fasting dayes, although they by promise or charge of the church, were bounde thereunto, if they themselves were in the warres. Item his [2] holines doeth permit all the persons before specified, and those which shall neither goe nor sende thether, so that they liberally doe [3] contribute of their goods, and helpe to this holy worke with their almes hereunder written, that they during the saide yeare, which beginneth from the day of the publishing of this bull, may injoy in all places all the graces and faculties in this bulle conteined, to wit, that they at the time of [4] apostolical or ordinarie prohibition, may heare masses in the churches or cloysters, or in the [5] particular places of prayers, (described and visited by the ordinary) saying masses, or other godly offices, if they be priests, by their owne persons, or els cause the same to be done by others in their presence, and of their familie and friends or kinsfolke, and to receive the holy sacrament of the Lordes Supper, and all other sacraments, except on Easter day, although it were at the time when the same [6] were prohibited, so that they be not cause of such prohibition, or that it have not been their fault that such prohibition hath not beene called on, and conditionally that they alwayes when they imploy such places of prayers for the effect aforesaid, doe praye and make their praier, every one according to his devotion, for the preservation of the league of the christian princes, and victorie [7] against the infidels.

Item doeth permitte that at the time of interdiction the bodies of the dead, may be buried in [8] hallowed sepulchres with meane [9] pompe of buriall.

Item doeth permitte to all persons which shal accept of this bul, that they during the said yeare, may, with the advice and consent of both the doctours of soule and bodie, eate flesh in the Lent and on other fasting dayes, and other [10] prohibited dayes, during the

[1] Marke howe this holy father doth take upon him power to rule over the conscience, and to bynde the same to his fastes, or to discharge it thereof, as pleaseth him; thinke you whether that bee not to place him selfe in God's seate?

[2] This is also the very title and name of God, who in all places is called the Holy One of Israel, as with his owne name. But this heathenly father, which exalteth himselfe above all that which God is called by, doeth attribute to himselfe the title of the most holy, and of holinesse it selfe.

[3] Of this contribution, there is sufficient rehearsall before; doe but onely marke that they will, that men shall liberally contribute, for a litle may not suffise such an unsatiable gulfe.

[4] That these interdictions or prohibitions may bee esteemed for Apostolicall, we will so beleeve, when they shall shew us out of the Holy Scriptures, that the apostles did ever defend to call uppon God in all places.

[5] Whether this do agree with the doctrine of Jesus Christ, who sayeth that the father will not be worsshipped, neither upon one hill, nor at Hierusalem, nor in one place rather than in an other, but in all places, in spirit and truth. Reade John 4. vers 21. 23. and 1 Tim. 2. ver. 8.

[6] Howe this doth agree with the institution of the holy apostle, reade Paule to the Gallat. 4. ver. 10. Colloss. 2. ver. 16.

[7] Paul doth learne us, 1 Tim. 2. that men shall pray unto God, for the princes, lordes and rulers, not because they should joyne together in warre, blood-sheeding and rooting out of the faithfull christians, as this holy father doeth here propounde, but to the ende we might under them live a quiet and peaceable life in al godlines and vertue.

[8] Whether the apostles did ever in their life time hallowe any sepulchres, wee may looke in the popish gospell, and in their decrees. For the gospel and doctrine of Christ and his apostles, doe not make any mention at all of any such heathenish superstition.

[9] Also whether these pompes of burials doe proceede from Christ, his apostles, or from the heathenish, each one can judge who ever did reade the Holy Scriptures, or doeth therewith examine the prophane histories.

[10] This difference in meates and dayes, doeth evidently repugne against all that which Paule with plaine wordes

said whole yeare. And that they also may freely at their pleasure [1] eate egges and other meate, in such maner that those which shall eate no flesh, observing in the rest the maner of the usual ecclesiasticall fasting dayes, shal be accompted as having observed and kept the aforesaid [2] fasting. And in this permission of eating of egges and other victuals at their pleasure, be not conteined the [3] patriarkes, primates, archbishops, bishops, nor other inferiour prelates, nor whatsoever regular person, or priestes temporall, for as much as concerneth the dayes of the Lent onely. Neverthelesse, excepting and reserving from these, those which shal be of the age of threescore yeares, and all the knightes and rulers of the warre, to the which it shal be lawefull to eate egges and other victuals at their pleasure, and shall neverthelesse enjoy the aforesaid pardon or [4] indulgence.

Item the abovenamed, which shal not be able to come nor to send, if they be contributorie and assisting with their goods, and that they besides the same contributions doe of their owne devotion voluntarily faste upon no ordinarie fasting days, and make their prayer, calling on God to help in the victorie against the unbeleeving [5] heretiques, and for his favour to the league of the christian princes. And if they by reason of any lawfull hinderances could not fast, then let them do some [6] other good worke at the discretion of their [7] confessor, or of their pastor; as often as they shall doe the same, during the aforesaid yeare, he doeth remit and discharge them for fifteene yeares, fifteen [8] forty partes of the penaunce upon them imposed, and which they in any wise doe owe. And are yet also made partakers of all the prayers, almes, [9] pilgrimages, and also of those of Hierusalem, and of all other good workes which are done in the universall militant church, and every member thereof.

doth write thereof in sundrie places, Rom. 14. 1 Cor. 8. 8. and specially Colloss. 2, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27. Yea he termeth it (writing to Timothie,) 1 Tim. 4. ver. 3. the doctrine of the Divel, out of the which may playnly be scanned what a holy father he is, which thrusteth these bulles in to our hands.

[1] Here men doe againe clearely perceive that this holy father doth take unto himselfe full power and godly authoritie over the consciences of those which Christ with his precious blood hath delivered from that kynde of subjection to the elements. Coll. 2. 12.

[2] Behold and consider, that all the holines of this Romish bulman, consisteth onely in externall ceremonies and bodily motions, which the apostle Paule affirmeth to be to small purpose, 1 Tim. 4. ver. 8. commanding that in steed thereof, men should exercise themselves in godlines, which is profitable in all things, having the promise of the life present, and of that which is to come. Whereas to the contrarie, this holy father in his buls maketh as though the kingdome of God did consist in meate or drinke, or like externall things, directly contrary to that which Paul every where teacheth, Rom. xiv. ver. 17. and 1 Cor. 8. 8.

[3] Behold here againe, whether this terrestrial god be not an acceptour of persons.

[4] Who cannot out of this playnely perceive that this is a carnal pardon, which can bee good or bad with eating or not eating of flesh, which hath no comparison with the remission of sinnes, which Christ by his blood hath obtayned for us, and not published by bulles, but by preaching of the gospell, not consisting in the externall diversitie of meats, but in an inward conversion of the mynde to God.

[5] Nowe the heretikes are layde aboorde, whereby men may perceive that this good father is not bent against the Turks, but onely against those which will not acknowledge him for the head of the church of Christ, nor accept his decrees and commandements, in steede of God's commandements, and institutions of the apostles; for they must all be faithlesse heretikes, though so it were that they dubble fould did acknowledge Christ the sonne of God, for their only Saviour, Redeemer, and Mediatour.

[6] Here the merites of Christ Jesu, are not much worth for to obtaine remission of sinnes, but men must deserve this pardon with the merites of his owne good workes, which are nothing els but an externall shewe of hypocriticall ceremonies, without any right foundation of godlines, or of the right fayth and trust in Christ Jesu, wherein this merchant of bulles is wholly ignorant.

[7] This is the satisfaction for sinnes, which the confessor doeth impose upon the confessed, which is commonly some certayne nomber of Pater Nosters and Ave Maries, to be sayde, like as a parrot prateth, without understanding, and that will be preferred in the judgement of this terrestriall god, before the satisfaction which Christ with his death and passion hath atchieved.

[8] Here the score is cleane stricken out, for undoubtedly the Lord God (at the leastwise this terrestriall god) will accompt the penaunces with dayes, moneths, and yeares, for to punish or to forgive sinnes, not according to the word of the doctrine of the gospel, as Paule meaneth, Rom. 2. ver. 16. but according to the score of these sweete bulles and pardons, which are almost duely registred in the register of the soules of Saint Michaell, and he will weigh them in his ballance against their sinnes.

[9] Here the pilgrimages of the good catholickes do tend to forgivenesse of our sinnes. Now whether this holy

'Item, it is given and graunted to all those which on the dayes of Lent, and other dayes of the yeare (when there shall be stations within Rome) shall visite five [1] churches of five altars, [2] five times one church or one altar, and that they devoutly do pray for the union and victory before recited: that they shall deserve and enjoy all the pardons, indulgences, and remissions which are gotten and enjoyed by those which do visite the churches in [3] Rome, and without the walles thereof, and as they should deserve the same, if they did personally visite them. Item, because they with more puritie and cleannesse of conscience may pray, his [4] holines doth permitte to all the persons aforesaid, that they may choose for a confessor any priest, either temporall or regular, being one of the approoved by the ordinarie, who may once during their life, absolve them, and once more at the houre of death of all and singular sinnes and offences, [5] though they were of those which were reserved to the popes apostolicall seate, and also of those which are declared in the [6] bulle in *Cæna Domini* (the crime or delicte of heresie excepted) and they to have and enjoye full pardon and indulgence thereof. And of the offences and sinnes, which are not reserved to the apostolicall popish seate, that it shall be lawfull for him to absolve the same as often as they with a godly penitence shall confesse the same, according to the greatnes of the offence. And if there were any [7] satisfaction required for to attaine to the sayd absolution, they then to do the same in their owne persone, and if there were any hinderance, it shall be lawfull for them to cause the same to be done by their [8] heires or others for them. And it shal be lawfull for the sayd confessor also to

father hath drawne the same out of the writinges and doctrine of Peter and Paul, (of whome he vaunteth himselfe to be a successor) it may easily be perceived, if their writinges bee examined with this bull.

[1] This visiting of the five churches, or five altars, whereby men do deserve great pardons by this earthly father, is also grounded on the doctrine of Peter and Paul, even as the former. And therefore is it that their epistles be full thereof, as each one may see, who will but peruse the same.

[2] Christ the sonne of God doth teach us, that the Lord, at the latter day, shall judge the good and the bad by the works of charity and love, which they shal have done to the poore. And the holy scripture doth also teach in other places, that faith shall be called in accompt, so that every man shall be dealt with according to his faith. But that God should judge men by the nomber and quantity of the churches that they shall have visited; and where there are not five churches, that there one church or one altar being five times visited, shall stand in stead of five churches or five altars, is a fraudulent and vayne invention or deceit, forged in the forge of the holy father, or of the god of this world, who, by such vayne hypocriticall supersticions, seeketh to seduce the world from the right fayth, and true godlinesse.

[3] In all the Holy Scriptures there is not one worde mencioned that there should be any more pardons, and remissions of sinnes to be gotten in Rome than els where: therefore all this is nothing els but a divellish invention for to mainteyne the Babilonical cittie, which hath always from the very beginning, filled her selfe with the blood of the apostles and martyrs, and to heap up much money for to mainteine her pryde and vanitie.

[4] Marke, I pray you, wherin this holy father doth repose the holinesse and puritie of the conscience, and consider whether the same doeth in any part, yea, in the very least part, agree with the puritie, which the apostles, Peter and Paule, doe lay before us.

[5] Here we doe playnely see how they doe deryde and make a jeste of the remission of sinnes, which Christ hath obtained for us, and doe put them selves in God's steede for to forgive and retaine sinnes according to their pleasure, which onely they doe for to get money, and therfore the pope's apostolical see of Rome is heere admonished, that he is the child of perdition, whereof Paul writeth, which hath made his seat in the temple of God, and doeth tearme himselfe God, vaunting himselfe of the power and dominion of the Lord, consisting in the remission of sinnes.

[6] In the bull, all maner of abhominable sinnes are noted or set downe: yea, such that a christian hart should have an horror and feare to heare them named: but neverthelesse they are all set downe and forgiven in the text of the apostolical chamber, for a certain somme of money. But the sinne of heresye, that is to saye, of those which doe only take Christ for the head of the christian church, and do not esteem of the pope's buls, can not be forgiven, and is therefore excepted here, because the pope, without any mercy, wil have those rooted out with fyre and sworde, which be of that opinion.

[7] Of this auricular confession and satisfaction, there is enough set downe before.

[8] This doeth plainely repugne against the doctrine of the gospell, wherein is declared unto us, that whosoever beleeveth in the sonne of God, he already hath life everlasting. But who so doth not beleeve, is damned, and shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him. Joh. 2. ver. 18. and 3. ver. 36.

Therefore all that which these holy fathers do perswade men unto, that there yet should be a waye betweene both, or a purgatorie, out of the which men might be delivered by the good deedes and deserts of others, which

[1] alter any of their promises of pilgrimages or other whatsoever, and to converte them in any succour and ayde for this expedition or dispatch, except the promises of chastitie, religion, or pilgrimage beyond the sea. And if, during the said yeare, it shall happen, that they through present and sudden death, or by reason of the absence and want of a confessor, chaunced to dye without confession, if so be they be deceased with good penitence, and that they at the [2] time limited and ordained by the church, shall have confessed themselves, and that they shall not have bene carelesse or negligent in the trusting to this grace, they then shall likewise injoye full indulgence, pardon, and remission of all their sinnes. And it shal be lawfull to yeelde unto their bodies ecclesiasticall buriall, if they be not deceased being excommunicated, notwithstanding the interdiction or prohibition. Likewise his holines, by his particular breife, hath graunted that all faithfull christians which shall take this bull twice [3] within the time of the aforesaid yeare, may once more in their life time, besides that which hereabove is graunted and given them, have [4] absolution of all and singular sinnes, and trespasses, and offences, or excesses, howe grievous soever they may be, and of all and singular sentences of excommunication, wherin they shal be fallen, although they were of those which are contained and expressed in the bull of the Lorde's supper, and wherof the absolution is reserved to his holines, except the [5] crime of heresie, as is aforesaid. And that they for [6] two times may enjoye all the graces, indulgences, remissions, faculties, pardons, or absolutions in this bull conteined. [7] And his holines doeth give power and authoritie to us the licentiate, Don Thomas de Salazer, treasurer and canon of the holy church of Sivill, councceller of his majestie, [8] general commissioner of the holy and general inquisition, that we may detaine and keepe in suspence, during the yeare of the publication of this bull, all the graces, indulgences, faculties, and privileges graunted in these aforesaide kingdomes and dominions, iles and provinces, and all and singular churches, cloisters, hospitalles,

yet are alive, is nothing els but a fetche to gether mony together with dirges, erecting of cloysters, and other like matter, which, without any proofe of scripture, are invented of men, and have no resemblance at all with the doctrine of the holy prophets and apostles. But be mere antechristes inventions, wherewith the grace and saving health of Christ, by fayth in his blood, is made vayne and of none effect.

[1] This doeth plainely repugne against the Holy Scriptures, where it is evidently commaunded of the Lord, that men shall strictly performe and paye the vowes made unto his majestie, (if so it be that they be in our power, and be not repugnant to his commandements.) Deut. 23. ver. 21, 22, 23, &c. So that no auricular confessor, nor any creature in the worlde, hath any power at all to release us thereof. Therefore, even as this holy father doth attribute to himself this power, not only to the end hee himselfe might dispence withall such promises, but also to give an other the same power, he doeth evidently shewe that he is the antichrist, whereof Daniel, Paul, and John, had written.

[2] Of such auricular confession, to be made at certaine times, the Holy Scriptures doe make no mention at all, and it is nothing els but mans invention for to get money, and to bring the priests to the knowledge of all secrets of the world, and moreover to reach men's consciences, and to bring them to the racke.

[3] This is a fyne glose for the utterance of his trompery, and for to make these men to be much esteemed off.

[4] Of this absolution and pardon of sinnes, which this holy father doeth attribute to him selfe, sufficient mention is made before.

[5] This cryme of heresy is in al places excepted, because the holy father doeth esteeme all the sinnes done against the majestie of God to be but small, and doeth cleanse them all with a bull. But that which is done against his purse, and the proffit of his churches, can never be forgiven, neither in this life, nor in the life to come, as it is most playnely set downe in his decrees. *Cap. Violatores, 25. quæst.* 1. c. *nemini.* 17. *qu.* 4. c. *nulli fas dict.* 14.

[6] If the first bull be good and firme, wherefore serveth the second? Or is the second necessary because the first is not sufficient, then doth it evidently appeare, that although there were yet two hundreth of the like bulles, it woulde not avayle. Turne to the apostle Paule, Hebr. 10. 13, 18.

[7] This is a marvellous power which this terrestrial god, and vicar of the Sonne of God, here vaunteth off, as that not he only may suspende and make voyde all the graces which theretofore are graunted, but doeth also give another full power to doe the same. Truely if these graces, pardons, absolutions of sinnes, did proceede from God, no man could suspende them, that is to say, detayne or keepe backe the effect, but bicause they proceede not from God, but from men, and not from Christ, but from antichrist; therefore antichrist and his servaunts, may play therewith as with a ball, and make the same either good or bad, as best serveth for their purpose.

[8] Consider whether any apostles, or ministers of the church, did ever take upon them the vocation of the inquisition, and you shall find that the Holy Scriptures doe not make any mention thereof.

friaries, holy places, and particular persons, though it were so that the graunt did containe [1] any clause contrary to the said detention or suspence. And likewise also, to the end we might cause the saide graces and faculties, and all other things againe to take effect. And to the end we and our subdelegates, may suspende the interdict, if there shall bee any, where this bull shall bee preached or published. And likewise also for to arbitrate, judge, and declare, according to the qualities of the persons, the contributions and almes, which they must give that will injoye this bull. And we the said licenciat, Don Thomas de Salazer, treasurer and canon of the holy church of Sivill, counceller of his majestie of the holy inquisition, general commissioner of the aforesaid holy crosse, given unto us by the apostolike Romish authoritie, in favour of this holy bull, and to the ende so holy a worke be not hindered, nor do not [2] feare by reason of other indulgences. Therefore we doe suspende, during the yeare of the publishing and preaching thereof, all and singular graces, pardons, and indulgences, and faculties, given joyntly or severally by his holines, or by the holy popes his predecessors, or by their holy apostolicall seate, or by his aforesaide authoritie, in all the aforesaid realmes and dominions of his majestie, to all and singular churches, and cloisters, hospitals, and to other holy places, universities, fryeries, and particuler persons, although the saide graces and faculties were for the [3] building of Saint Peter of Rome, or of other like crusados. And though it were so, that all the same, or any of them, did containe [4] any clause contrary to this suspence. And also, though it were so, that we for the getting of the publishing thereof, had given our consent, during the yeare of the publishing and preaching of this aforesaide bull, no bodie may obtayne or injoye any other graces, [5] indulgences, pardons, or faculties, nor publish the same, except those which are given and graunted to the chiefe of the [6] begging fryars, foramuch as toucheth their fryars. And in favour of this aforesaide bull, we doe declare by the same apostolicall authoritie, that those which shall accepte this aforesaide bull, may have and injoy all the graces, faculties, indulgences, pardons, jubilees, in the pardons and absolution of sinnes, which unto them have been given and graunted by our most holy father Gregorie the Thirteenth, and by the other deceased popes of blessed memorie, and by the holy apostolike seat, or by his authoritie in the aforesaide suspention conteined, which we by vertue of the said apos-

[1] Here you doe plainly perceive that they can say and unsay, they may give and take againe their graces, pardons, and buls, suspende and annulle them, alowe, and disalowe them, and doe therewith what they will; for they be but crafty devices for to drawe money out of men's pursses.

[2] Here againe, it may easely be perceived, that all these indulgences and pardons, be nothing els but idle, vaine, and frivolous bulles, or waterbubbles, and wyndes, which the popes of Rome doe graunt for to deceive the simple people. For if such pardons were good, and of value, they would alwayes remayne so, and would never be suspended or kept back, for the mercie and calling of God is without repentance, sayth Paule, Rom. 9. 11. 29.

[3] Marke the vyle bloody minde of this holy father, howbeit he doeth most highly esteeme the building of the churches of Rome, and doeth sell heaven for to get money to that effect, and for to maintaine therewith his proud and whorish arrogancie. Yet, neverthelesse, he doeth preferre this present action of persecuting the poore christians before all other, and is content that the giving of money towardes the buylding aforesaid, shal for a time cease, so that this cruell warre, and the contributions thereof, may have their course.

[4] Here men may perceive againe, that upon their clauses, and in generall upon all their buls, no regard at all is to be had, seeing they may be called in, cancelled, and made of none effect as you please.

[5] Poore seelie blinde men, open heere your eyes, and behold the wicked proceedinges of these antichrists. Christ hath forever and ever obtayned for us grace and remission of our sins, without any exception or restriction; and these holy fathers doo cancell all other graces, favours, and remission of sinnes, because they might erect their bloody warres and cruell persecution against the poore Christians. And meane whiles they would perswade men that the graces or pardons which they so doo dispend and make voyd, should bee the very same which Christ Jesus had with his pretious bloud obtained for us. Whereas they are not ashamed to make open defence, that none either may give or receave any such grace, indulgence, and pardon, but onely the same which they themselves doo heere explaine, at the least, during the time that this bull shall continue, which is a meere jest and derision of God, and of the grace which we receave by his pretious death and bloudsheading.

[6] Heere bee onely excepted the pardons graunted to the fryars mandicants, even as though Christ died rather for them then other men; whereas to the contrary it is written in the lawe of God, that there shall not bee any

tolical commission doe corroborate, and by the saide apostolike authoritie wee doe [1] suspende the interdiction, if any there be, where the suplication and preaching of this bull shalbe made [2] eight dayes before, and eight dayes after, even as in the bull of his holines is conteined. And we doe declare that those which shall accept the same, must receive and keepe this discourse and [3] bull printed in paper, sealed and subscribed, without name and seale; for otherwise they shall not obtaine nor enjoye the aforesaide bull, nor the graces and pardons of the same.

And forasmuch as you have given two silver reals, which is the almes whereat we have taxed and valuated the same, and accepted this bull, and your name written therein, therefore you have obtained, and have here graunted unto you the indulgences, pardons, graces, and faculties, and you may use and enjoye all the same, in manner and forme aforesaide. Wherefore wee have caused these presents to bee given thee, which are printed in Madrid, the xiiii. daye of September. 1584.

The Forme of Absolution.

[4] The forme of absolution, which may bee given once during life, and againe at the houre of death, by vertue of this [6] bull, to whatsoever persons, which shall accept thereof.

[7] *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, &c.* By the authoritie of the Almightie [8] God, and of the blessed [9] apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paule, and of our most [10] holy father spe-

beggar in Israell. Deut. 15. verse 4. And whereas Paule also dooth greately rebuke idle persons saying, that who laboureth not ought not to eate. 2 Thess. 3. v. 11.

[1] Marke, I pray you, these jesters, which doo dispend, make voyde, and then againe confirme their subjects buls, even as though they did play with a bubble or ball.

[2] This is even so as men doo publish the free fayres, and heere doo all interruptions surcease, because this commoditie might be well solde.

[3] Let all Christians consider heere, whether this bee the meanes wherewith the apostles Peter and Paule did reveale and preach the remission of sinnes, and the grace of the gospell to the people, that they must have a bull sealed, and give two silver reals for to be partakers thereof.

Who doth not heere perceave that these seald buls be the very marke of the antichristical beast, without which nobody may buy nor sell. Apoc. 13. ver. 16. 17.

[4] It is heere to be noted, that all these graces, pardons, and indulgences, are to bee bought for two silver reals, whereat they bee taxed by these holy fathers, for a publike scorne of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, which could not with any gold or silver, or other earthly thing, but onely with his holy pretious bloud and sufferance, fulfil the fathers sentence, for to obtaine for us forgivenesse of our sinnes. 1 Pet. 1. ver. 18, 19. And herewithal note also, that these apostles bee right disciples and mediators of Simon Magus, who would have bought the grace of God with money. Wherefore let all men shunne these antichristical pedlers, and give eare unto Christ, who by his prophet Esay saith: come to me all you that thirst, come to the water, and you that have no money, come buy and eate, come buy without money both wine and milke.

Wherefore doo you lay out silver and not for bread, and your labour without being satisfied, harken diligently unto mee, and eate that which is good, and let your soule delight in fatnes, incline your eares and come unto mee, heare and your soule shall live, and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David, &c. Esay 55.

For thereby you doo perceave that Christ Jesus dooth extend his graces, not for money, but of his loving kindnesse, not unto those which doo buy these many buls, and doo cause their names to bee put therein, or which goe to warre against their neighbours. But to those which doo encline their eares to the doctrine of the gospell, beeing the covenant of the Almightie, which dooth prescribe unto us the sure mercies of David.

[5] We have heere before seene, that there is no other maner of absolution prescribed of Christ, nor ordained by the apostles, but that the remission of sinnes should be preached to all those which beleeve the gospell, and doo give eare to Christ Jesu, therefore this forme must of necessitie be esteemed for an antichristical forme.

[6] It is sufficiently declared here before what vertue this bull hath.

[7] And the more openly to skorne with God, they doo utter to the poore silly people their pardons in a language which they understand not, directly contrary to all the doctrine of Paul, 1. Cor. 14.

[8] They ought first to shew that God Almightie had given him authoritie for to graunt such buls.

[9] We have beene able sufficiently to perceave by the premisses, that all this is cleane repugnant to the doctrine of the apostles, and specially against the epistles of Peter and Paule, and therefore it cannot bee that they have not receaved any such authoritie of them.

[10] To the ende to declare unto all men what power and authoritie this most holy father hath, wee briefly will

cially given and granted unto you, and unto me committed, I do absolve you of all censures or condemnations of excommunication, great and smal, suspence of interdict *à jure vel ab homine*, and of all other censures, sentences, or condemnations and penalties, into which you for any cause might be fallen, although the absolution thereof were reserved to the holy apostolicall chaire, even as by these presentes the same is graunted unto you. And I do place you againe in union and communion with the faithfull Christians. And likewise I doe absolve you of all your sinnes, and offences, and excesses, which now you have confessed unto me, and of those which you should confesse, if they came to your remembrance, though so it were that the absolution thereof did belong to the holy apostolical chaire, as is aforesaide. I doe graunt unto you perfect indulgence, pardon, and absolution of all your sinnes, which now or at any other time you have confessed, forgotten, or beene ignorant of, and of the paines which you ought to suffer for them in purgatory: *In nomine Patris, et filii, et Spiritus Sancti*, Amen.

In the houre of death the confessor shall say: and if God through his mercie doe let you escape this sicknesse wherein now you be, then you shal keepe this indulgence or pardon until the very houre of your death.—*The End of the Bull.*

heere rehearse that which the apostle John in his Revelation doth write thereof. He saith, that the old dragon, that is the divell, hath resigned his seate and great might to the beast with seven heades, which beast, the angell saith, doth signifie the city with seven hils, whereupon the whore sitteth arrayed with purple and scarlet, gold, pretious stones and pearles, which is the old towne which had her dominion (at the time of John) over the kings of the earth, Apoc. 17. ver. 4. 18. Nowe this towne cannot be any other but the citie of Rome, which at that time did almost raigne over all the kings of the world, and many yeares cruelly persecuted all faithfull Christians, and hath made herselfe droonke with the bloud of martyrs, Apoc. 17. verse 6. Therefore he dooth moreover say, that this beast was wounded even to the death, but hath given all her power to another beast, which hath two hornes like to the hornes of the lambe, and speaketh like the dragon, and dooth use all the power of the former beast, and procureth that all the inhabitants of the earth doo worship againe the first beast, destroying all those which will not doo the same, and dooth seduce all those which dwell on the earth, causing them to have a signe or marke in their hand or on their forehead, without the which no body may buy or sell, Apoc. 13. Out of the premisses it may plainly bee seene, that this holy father is heere lively set forth and described. For all his cardinals and whole rablement be clothed in purple and scarlet, which is the very livery whereby they be described; he is furnished with gold, silver, pretious stones, and pearles, more than all the kings of the world; hee hath also receaved all the power of the cittie of Rome, and he hath againe erected the Romaine seate, which (through the declining of the Romaine empire) was (as it were) wounded to the very death: and dooth compell all the inhabitants of the earth to worship the seat of Rome and to acknowledge the same for supreme head of the Christian Church, or els he doth murther them: he hath also a name blaspheming the Lord, whose power he dooth atribute unto himselfe: he selleth his merchandises to kings, princes, and lords, and dooth make them kisse his feet: prohibiting that no body may buy or sell which hath not his character, that is to say, his marke or buls which he presseth on all his preests.

So that it dooth manifestly appeare, that he is the very antichrist which in all things dooth cleane oppose himselfe against the Lambe of God Christ Jesus. For even as the person of Christ is most plainly knowne in that he is very God, and very man, which none can be unlesse he be the very Christ, which is the annoynted of the Lord. Even so the Pope of Rome dooth vaunt himselfe that he is, neyther very God nor very man, mitigating that which standeth in the decrees. *Nec Deus est nec homo, sed neuter et inter utrumq.;* he is neyther God nor man, but neuter betweene both, which none can be but the very antichrist, which in all things is contrary to Christ.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

SECOND CLASS.

TRACTS RELATING TO CIVIL AFFAIRS.

SECOND CLASS.

TRACTS RELATING TO CIVIL AFFAIRS.

The First Paper, or Memorial of Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh, and Lord High Treasurer of England,) Anno Primo *Eliz.*

OUT OF THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY.

All the political skill and sagacity of Sir William Cecil had been scarce able to save him during the tempestuous reign of Queen Mary, especially as he was suspected of attachment to the reformed doctrine, and had repeatedly endeavoured to screen its professors. During the latter part of this reign, he was privately engaged in correspondence with Elizabeth, and was sworn privy counsellor and secretary of state, immediately on her assuming the government. His first public commencement of a long train of services, was presenting to her the following Memorial, containing twelve particulars of the utmost consequence to be attended to. This he did on the very day she assumed the throne, 16 November 1558.—STRYPE'S *Annals*, Vol. I. p. 5.

I. To consider the proclamation; to proclaim it; to send the same to all manner of places and sheriffs with speed; and to put it in print.

II. To prepare the Tower, to appoint the custody thereof to trusty persons, and to write to all the keepers of forts and castles in the queen's name.

III. To consider for removing the queen to the Tower, there to settle her officers and council.

IV. To make a stay of passage to all the ports until a certain day; and to consider the safety of all places, dangerous, towards France and Scotland, especially in this change.[1]

V. To send special messengers to the pope,[2] emperor, the kings of Spain and Denmark, and to the States of Venice.

VI. To send a new commission to the Earl of Arundel and the Bishop of Ely; and to send one into Ireland, with a new commission; and letters under the queen's hand to all ambassadors, with special promises to authorise their service.

[1] The claims of Queen Mary of Scotland, and those which Philip of Spain might pretend in right of his marriage with the late queen, were topics of apprehension at this important crisis.

[2] A messenger was accordingly dispatched to Sir Edward Karne, then the English envoy to the Papal See. But the pope affecting to consider Elizabeth as illegitimate, received the annunciation of her succession with such insolence, as broke measures for ever between England and Rome.

VII. To appoint commissioners for the interment of the late queen.

VIII. To appoint commissioners for the coronation, and the day.

IX. To make a continuance of the term, with patents to the chief-justices, to the lord-treasurer, justices of each bench, barons, and master of the rolls, with inhibition, *quod non conferant aliquod officium.*

X. To appoint new sheriffs and justices of peace, or continue the old by a proclamation sent to the quorum.

XI. To inhibit by proclamation, the making over any money by exchange, without knowledge given to the queen's majesty, and charge all manner of persons that either have made any, or have been privy to any exchange made, by the space of one month, before the 17th of this month.

XII. To consider the condition of the preacher at Paul's cross,[1] that no occasion be given to him, to stir any dispute touching the governance of the realm.

The Lord Treasurer Burleigh's Advice to Queen Elizabeth, in Matters of Religion and State.

This memorial of Burleigh's political sagacity seems to have been written about 1583.

Most gracious Sovereign,

CARE (one of the true-bred children of my unfeigned affection) awaked, with the late wicked and barbarous attempts, would needs exercise my pen to your sacred majesty, not only encouraging me, that it would take the whole fault of boldness upon itself, but also, that even the words should not doubt to appear in your highness's presence in their kindly rudeness: for that, if your majesty, with your voice, did but read them, your very reading would grace them with eloquence.

Therefore, laying aside all self-guilty conceits of ignorance, (knowing that the sign is not angry with the well-meaning astronomer, though he happen to miss his course,) I will, with the same sincerity, display my humble conceits, wherewith my life shall be amongst the foremost to defend the blessings, which God, in you, hath bestowed upon us.

So far then, as can be perceived by any human judgment, dread sovereign, you may judge, that the happiness of your present estate can no way be encumbered, but by one of these two means, viz.

1st, Either by your factious subjects.

2dly, Or by your foreign enemies.

Your strong and factious subjects, are the Papists. Strong I account them both in

[1] The *condition* of the preacher here means his disposition. The sermons at Paul's Cross were often made the means of inflaming the audience against the crown. Cecil could not but remember the memorable sermon of Dr Shaws on the illegitimacy of the sons of Edward IV.; and the inconvenience from a possible discourse on a similar topic, applied to Elizabeth, was easily foreseen.

number and nature: for, by number, they are able to raise a great army, and by their natural and mutual confidence, and intelligence, they may soon bring to pass an uniting with foreign enemies; factious, I call them, because they are discontented, of whom, in all reason of state, your majesty must determine whether you will suffer them to be strong, to make them the better content; or, discontent them, by making them weaker? For, what the mixture of strength and discontent ingenders, there needs no syllogism to prove.

To suffer them to be strong with hope, that, with reason, they will be contented, carrieth with it, in my opinion, but a fair enamelling of a terrible danger.

For, first, men's natures are apt, not only to strive against a present smart, but to revenge by past injury, though they be never so well contented thereafter; which cannot be so complete a pledge to your majesty, but that, when opportunity shall flatter them, they will remember, not the after slacking, but the former binding; and so much the more, when they shall imagine this relenting to proceed from fear: for it is the poison of all government, when the subject thinks the prince doth any thing more out of fear than favour. And therefore the Romans would rather abide the uttermost extremities, than, by their subjects, to be brought to any conditions. Again, To make them absolutely contented, I do not see how your majesty, either in conscience will do, or, in policy, may do it; since, hereby, you cannot but thoroughly discontent your faithful subjects; and to fasten an unreconciled love, with the losing of a certain love, is to build a house with the sale of lands; so much the more, in that your majesty is embarked in the Protestant cause, which, in many respects, cannot, by your majesty, be with any safety abandoned, they having been, so long time, the only instruments both of your council and power; and, to make them half content and half discontent, methinks, carries with it as deceitful a shadow of reason as can be, since there is no pain so small, but if we can cast it off, we will; and no man loves one the better for giving him the bastinado, though with never so little a cudgel.

But the course of the most wise, most politick, and best grounded estates, hath ever been, to make an assuredness of friendship, or to take away all power of enmity.

Yet, here I must distinguish between discontent and despair; for it sufficeth to weaken the discontented, but there is no way but to kill desperates, which, in such a number as they are, were as hard and difficult, as impious and ungodly.

And therefore, though they must be discontented, yet I would not have them desperate; for amongst many desperate men, it is like some one will bring forth some desperate attempt.

Therefore considering, that the urging of the oath must needs, in some degree, beget despair, since, in the taking of it, he must either think he doth an unlawful act, (as without the special grace of God, he cannot think otherwise,) or else, by refusing it, must become a traitor, which, before some hurt done, seemeth hard: I humbly submit this to your excellent consideration, Whether, with as much security of your majesty's person and state, and more satisfaction for them, it were not better to leave the oath to this sense, That whosoever would not bear arms against all foreign princes, and namely, the pope, that should any way invade your majesty's dominions, he should be a traitor? For, hereof, this commodity will ensue, that those Papists (as I think most Papists would that should take this oath) would be divided from the great mutual confidence, which is now betwixt the pope and them, by reason of their afflictions for him, and such priests as would refuse that oath then, no tongue could say, for shame, that they suffer for religion, if they did suffer.

But here it may be objected, They would dissemble and equivocate with this oath, and that the pope would dispense with them in that case. Even so may they with the present oath, both dissemble and equivocate, and also have the pope's dispensation for the

present oath, as well as for the other. But this is certain, that whomsoever the conscience, or fear of breaking an oath, doth bind, him would that oath bind.

And, that they make conscience of an oath, the troubles, losses, and disgraces that they suffer, for refusing the same, do sufficiently testify, and you know that the perjury of either oath is equal.

So then, the farthest point to be sought, for their contentment, is but to avoid their despair. How to weaken their contentment, is the next consideration.

Weakened they may be by two means: First, by lessening their number. Secondly, by taking away from their force. Their number will be easily lessened by the means of careful diligent preachers in each parish, to that end appointed; and especially by good schoolmasters, and bringers up of their youth; the former, by converting them after their fall, and the latter, by preventing them from falling into their errors.

For preachers, because thereon groweth a great question, I am provoked to lay at your highness's feet, my opinion touching the preciser sort.

First, Protesting to God Almighty, and your sacred majesty, that I am not given over, no, nor so much as addicted to their preciseness; therefore till I believe that you think otherwise, I am bold to think that the bishops, in these dangerous times, take a very ill and unadvised course, in driving them from their cures; and this I think for two reasons.[1]

First, Because it doth discredit the reputation and estimation of your power, when foreign princes shall perceive and know, that even amongst your protestant subjects, in whom consisteth all your force, strength, and power, there is so great a heart-burning, and division; and how much reputation swayeth in these, and all other worldly actions, there is none so simple as to be ignorant: and the Papists themselves (though there be most manifest and apparent discord between the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Jesuits, and other orders of religious persons, especially the Benedictines,) yet will they shake off none of them, because, in the main points of popery, they all agree and hold together; and so far they may freely brag and vaunt of their unity.

The other reason is, because, in truth, though they are over squeamish and nice in their opinions, and more scrupulous than they need; yet, with their careful catechising, and diligent preaching, they bring forth that fruit which your most excellent majesty is to desire and wish, namely the lessening and diminishing the papistical numbers.

And therefore, at this time, your majesty hath especial cause to use and employ them, if it were but as Frederick the Second, that excellent emperor, did use to employ the Saracen soldiers against the pope, because he was well assured, and certainly knew, that they only would not spare his sanctity.

And, for those objections, what they would do if once they got a full and intire authority in the church: methinks they are *inter remota et incerta mala*, and therefore, *vicina et certa*, to be first considered.

As for schoolmasters, they may be a principal means of diminishing their number; the lamentable and pitiful abuses in this way are easy to be seen, since the greatest number of Papists is of very young men; but your majesty may prevent that bud, and may use, therein, not only a pious and godly means, in making the parents, in every shire, to send their children to be virtuously brought up at a certain place for that end appointed; but you shall also, if it please your majesty, put in practice a notable stratagem, used by Sertorius in Spain, by choosing such fit and convenient places for the same, as may surely be at your dovotion; and, by this means, you shall, under colour of education, have them as hostages of the parents fidelities, that have any power in England, and by this way, their number will quickly be lessened; for I account, that

[1] Burleigh's reasoning on this subject is the more worthy of attention, as far from being of puritanical tenets, he was always considered as the steady friend and constant protector of the church; perhaps in opposition to his rival Leicester, who affected to be at the head of the puritanic party.

putting to death doth no ways lessen them, since we find by experience, that it worketh no such effect, but, like Hydra's heads, upon cutting off one, seven grow up, persecution being accounted as the badge of the church; and therefore, they should never have the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom in England, where the fulness of blood, and greatness of heart, is such, that they will even, for shameful things, go bravely to death; much more, when they think themselves to climb heaven; and this vice of obstinacy seems to the common people, a divine constancy; so that, for my part, I wish no lessening of their number, but by preaching and by education of the younger, under good schoolmasters.

The weakening and taking away of their force is as well of peace's authority, as of war's provision: their peace authority standing either in offices, or tenantries. For their offices and credit, it will be available, if order be taken, that, from the highest counsellor to the lowest constable, none shall have any charge or office, but such as will really pray and communicate in their congregation, according to the doctrine received generally into this realm.

For their tenantries, this conceit I have thought upon (which I submit to your farther piercing judgment) that your majesty, in every shire, should give strict order to some that are, indeed, trusty and religious gentlemen; that, whereas your majesty is given to understand, that divers popish landlords do hardly use some of your people and subjects, as, being the tenants, do embrace and live after the authorised and true religion; that, therefore, you do constitute and appoint them, to deal both with intreaty and authority, that such tenants, paying as others do, be not thrust out of their living, nor otherwise unreasonably molested.

This would greatly bind the commons hearts unto you, (on whom, indeed, consisteth the power and strength of your realm,) and it will make them less, or nothing at all, depend upon their landlords. And although there may hereby grow some wrong, which the tenants, upon that confidence, may offer to their landlords, yet those wrongs are very easily, even with one wink of your majesty, redressed; and are nothing comparable to the danger of having many thousands depending on the adverse party.[1]

Their war's provision I account men and ammunition of whom, in sum, I could wish no man, either great or small, should so much as be trained up in any musters, except his parishioners would answer for him, that he orderly and duly receiveth the communion; and for ammunition, that not one should keep in his house, or have at command, so much as a halberd, without he were conformable to the church, and of the condition aforesaid.

And if order was taken, that, considering they were not put to the labour and charge of mustering, and training, therefore their contributions should be more and more narrowly looked into; this would breed a chilness to their fervour of superstition; especially in popular resolutions, who, if they love Egypt, it is chiefly for the flesh-pots; so that, methinks, this temper should well agree with your wisdom, and the mercifulness of your nature.

For to compel them you would not; kill them you would not; so, to trust them you should not: trust being in no case to be used, but where the trusted is of one mind with the trusting person; which commandeth every wise man to fly, and avoid that shamefacedness of the Greeks, not to seem to doubt them which give just occasion of doubt.

This ruined Hercules, the son of great Alexander; for, although he had most mani-

[1] This counsel Queen Elizabeth followed on all occasions, even to injustice. It had at once the effect of attaching the commons to her person, and of breaking the feudal power of those nobles who might have been inclined to oppose the crown. Even while the Earl of Shrewsbury was intrusted with the custody of Mary Queen of Scotland, we find him bitterly and frequently complaining, that Elizabeth encouraged his refractory tenants of Glossopdale in litigious proceedings against him. See Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. ii p. 218. Elizabeth was probably determined in this course by her suspicious temper; and resolved, that if Shrewsbury should prove unfaithful to his trust, he should have as little means of doing mischief as possible.

fest reasons, and evident arguments, to induce him to suspect his ill servant Poliperchon, yet, out of the confidence he had in him, and the experience he had of his former loyalty, he would not make provision accordingly, because he would not seem so much as to misdoubt or suspect him; and so, by that means, he was murthered by him.

But the knot of this discourse is, that, if your majesty find it reasonable, on the one side, by relenting the rigour of the oath, and, on the other side, by disabling your unsound subjects, you shall neither execute any, but very traitors, in all men's opinions and constructions, nor yet put faith and confidence in any but those, who even for their own sakes must be faithful.

The second point of the general part of my discourse is, the consideration of your foreign enemies, which may prove either able or willing to hurt you; and those are Scotland, for his pretence and neighbourhood; and Spain, for his religion and power; as for France, I see not why he should not rather be made a friend than an enemy; for though he agree not with your majesty in matters of conscience and religion, yet, in *hoc tertio*, he doth agree, that he feareth the greatness of Spain; and therefore that may solder the link which religion hath broken, and make him hope, by your majesty's friendship, to secure himself against so potent an adversary. [1]

And, though he were evilly affected towards your majesty, yet, the present condition of his estate considered, I do not think it greatly to be feared, himself being a prince who hath given assurance to the world, that he loves his ease much better than victories, and a prince that is neither beloved nor feared of his people: and the people themselves being of a very light and unconstant disposition; and besides they are altogether unexperienced, and undisciplined how to do their duties, either in war or peace; they are ready to begin and undertake any enterprise before they enter into consideration thereof, and yet weary of it before it be well begun; they are generally poor and weak, and subject to sickness at sea; divided and subdivided into sundry heads, and several factions, not only between the Huguenots and Papists, but also between the Montmorences, the Guises, and the and the people being oppressed by all, do hate all: so that, for a well settled and established government and commonwealth as your majesty's is, I see no grounds why to misdoubt or fear them, but only so far forth as the Guisards happen to serve for boutefeus in Scotland; and while it shall please your Majesty, but with reasonable favour, to support the king of Navarre, I do not think that the French king will ever suffer you to be from thence annoyed.

Therefore, for France, your majesty may assure yourself of one of these two, either to make with him a good alliance, in respect of the common enemy of both kingdoms, or at the least so muzzle him, as that he shall have little power to bite you.

As for Scotland, if your majesty assist and help those noblemen there, which are by him suspected, your majesty may be sure of this, that those will keep him employed at home; and also, whilst he is a Protestant, no foreign prince will take part with him against your majesty; and of himself he is not able to do much harm, the better part of his nobles being for your majesty; and, if in time he should grow to be a Papist, your majesty shall always have a strong party at his own doors, in his own kingdom, to restrain his malice; who, since they depend upon your majesty, they are, in all policy, never to be abandoned; [2] for by this resolution, the Romans anciently, and the Spaniards presently, have most of all prevailed; and on the contrary, the Macedonians in times past, and the Frenchmen in our age, have lost all their foreign friends, because of

[1] There is a remarkable silence on the subject of Queen Mary, though certainly the greatest object of hatred and apprehension. Yet she was certainly alive, for the tract is written before the war with Spain in 1584, and Mary was beheaded in 1587. Perhaps it was too delicate a subject to be mixed with others.

[2] The Earl of Morton, the head of Elizabeth's faction in Scotland, was probably by this time beheaded; but all the nobles, who confederated for the enterprise, called the Raid of Ruthven, and many others in Scotland, were at her devotion.

their aptness to neglect those who depended upon them: but if your majesty could by any means possible devise to bring in again the Hamiltons, he should then be beaten with his own weapons, and should have more cause to look to his own succession, than to be too busy abroad.[1] But Spain, yea Spain, it is in which, as I conceive, all causes do concur, to give a just alarm to your higness's excellent judgment.

First, Because in religion he is so much the pope's, and the pope in policy so much his, as that whatever the mind of Pope Gregory, and the power of King Philip, will or can compass, or bring upon us, is in all probability to be expected; himself being a prince whose closet hath brought forth greater victories than all his father's journies, absolutely ruling his subjects, a people all one-hearted in religion, constant, ambitious, politick, and valiant; the king rich and liberal, and, which of all I like worst, greatly beloved among all the discontented party of your highness's subjects; a more lively proof whereof one could never see than in the poor Don Antonio,[2] who, when he was here, was as much at mass as any man living, yet there did not so much as one papist in England give him any good countenance; so factious an affection is borne to the Spaniards. Now as of him is the chief cause of doubt, so of him the chief care must be had of Providence.

But this offers a great question, Whether it be better to procure his amity, or stop the course of his enmity? As of a great lion, Whether it be more wisdom to trust to the taming of him, or tying of him?

I confess this requires a longer and a larger discourse, and a better discourser than myself; and therefore I will stay myself from roving over so large a field; but only, with the usual presumption of love, yield this to your gracious consideration.

First, If you have any intention of league, that you see upon what assurance, or at least what likelihood, you may have that he will observe the same.

Secondly, That in a parlying season it be not as a countenance unto him the sooner to overthrow the Low Countries, which hitherto have been as a counterscarp to your majesty's kingdom.

But, if you do not league, then your majesty is to think upon means for strengthening yourself, and weakening of him, and therein your own strength is to be tendered both at home and abroad.

For your home strength, in all reverence I leave it, as the thing which contains in effect the universal consideration of government.

For your strength abroad, it must be in joining in good confederacy, or at least intelligence, with those that would willingly embrace the same.

Truly not so much as the Turk and Morocco, but at some time they may serve your majesty to great purpose; but from Florence, Ferrara, and especially Venice, I think your majesty might reap great assurance and service, for undoubtedly they abhor his frauds, and fear his greatness.

And for the Dutch, and northern princes, being in effect of your majesty's religion, I cannot think but their alliance may be firm, and their power not to be contemned; even the countenance of united powers doth much in matters of state.

For the weakening of him, I would, I must confess from my heart, wish that your majesty did not spare thoroughly and manifestly to make war upon him both in the Indies, and the Low Countries, which would give themselves unto you; and that you would rather take him, while he hath one hand at liberty, than both of them sharply weaponed.

[1] This powerful family, who were the next heirs to the Scottish crown, were at present in disgrace and exile. James had conferred the title of Earl of Arran, long proper to their house, with much of their estate, upon his worthless favourite, James Stewart.

[2] Don Antonio, prior of Crato, nephew of Henry king of Portugal, who died in 1581. Antonio's pretensions to the vacant throne were rejected on account of illegitimacy. He fled from Portugal to France, and thence to England, where he was received kindly by Queen Elizabeth.

But, if this seem foolish hardiness to your majesty's wisdom, yet, I dare not presume to counsel, but beseech your majesty, that what stay and support your majesty, without war, can give to the Low Countries, you would vouchsafe to do it, [1] since, as king of Spain, without the Low Countries, he may trouble our skirts of Ireland, but never come to grasp with you; but, if he once reduce the Low Countries to an absolute subjection, I know not what limits any man of judgment can set unto his greatness. Divers ways are to be tried; among the rest one, not the worst in my opinion, might be to seek either the winning of the prince of Parma from the king of Spain, or at the least to have the matter so handled, as that the jealousy thereof may arise betwixt them; as Pope Clement did by the noble Marquiss of Pescara, for he practised with him, for offering the kingdom of Naples, not so much with hope to win him, as to make his master suspect him. And when I consider that Parma is a Roman by blood, a prince borne, placed in the place he hath, by Don John, and maintained in it by the malecontents, whereunto the king hath rather yielded of necessity than any other way; lastly, when I remember the city of Pierousa kept by the Spaniards, and the apparent title of his son Remutio to the crown of Portugal, things hardly to be digested by an Italian stomach, I cannot see how such a mind in such a fortune can sell itself to a foreign servitude.

The manner of dealing with him should be by some man of spirit, with the Venetian ambassadors at Paris, and afterwards with his own father in Italy; both which are in their hearts mortal enemies to the greatness of Spain.

But these sheets of paper bear witness against me, of having offered too tedious a discourse to your majesty, divers of which points yet, as of mitigating the oath, the school hostages, the heartening of tenants, and the dealing with the prince of Parma, would require a more ample handling; but it is first reason to know whether your majesty like of the stuff, before it be otherwise trimmed.

For myself, as I will then only love my opinions, when your majesty liketh them; so will I daily pray, that all opinions may be guided with as much faith, as I have zeal to your majesty's service, and that they may be followed with infinite success.

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY,

(Which was destroyed by the Fire there.)

Julius F. VI. 80. Fol. 203.

A Discourse that it was not convenient for the Queen to Marrie, with the Answer.

In this discourse, the maxims or arguments to be combated are first detailed, and suitable answers subjoined to them. The main objection is founded on the unfortunate marriage of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain, and it is bucklered with all the dangers arising from wedlock. The second point of discussion, respects the person to be honoured by the queen's choice, in which the writer, while combating the arguments in favour of a foreign prince, seems to support the ambitious pretensions of the Earl of Leicester.

That it was not convenient for the Queen to marrie.

In this matter there must be respect to { God, Prince, Common-weal, } Or to all in conjunction.

[1] Elizabeth, under pretence of indulging the military disposition of her subjects, had permitted various bands of adventurers to engage with the States of the Netherlands. Their principal leader was the celebrated General Norris.

In respect to God.

Virginitie above matrimonie, because followed by Christ.
Preferred by St Paul, n. " The virgin hath care to please God, &c."
John Baptist, and the rest of the Apostles, virgines.
Virginitie kept in the primitive church as best pleasing to God.
Virginitie, because it is so hard to be kept, is more laudable in princes.

In respect of the Prince.

Danger, { After conception, { Loathsomeness of meats. / Appetite of strange meats. / Morphew. / At deliverance, of death, as Queen Jane and K. Parre.

Continuall danger if she be fruitful.

" If God had not given a notable quantitie of foolishness and forgetfulness to women, " after once child-birth, they would never accompanie with man again." *Erasm.*

In maryeng { a subject, { she disparageth herselfe. / a stranger, { she maketh him her heade.

Princes inheritance evilly intreated by their husbands, { Amalsventa. / Beatrix, Ladie of Verie. / Jane II. Neapol. / Maria Anglie.

In respect of the Common-Weale.

The good government now.
Compare Queen Marie's married time with this.
She may governe in peace by her council, in warre by a generall.
Not the presence of a prince in an army, but her wisdom is required.
By two princes the court's augmented, and the commons more burdened.

THE ANSWER.

In respect of God.

Virginitie an indifferent thing in itself, and altered by circumstances.
Abraham as holye in knowing Sara, as Elias in his virginitie.
Paul prayseth virginitie not for itself, but in itself, as having lesse trowble.
For a prince whose succession is the foundation of inwarde peace to live a sole life, is a great mischife.
Issue is a blessing of God to good princes, as to David and John; but the wante thereof a token of disfavour, as in Saul, Jeroboam, Achab.

In respect of the Prince.

Most women escape well in child-birth.

The tale of the ould countes of Ormond.

Aristotle in his Pol. would have lawe, that women should not use themselves to fine diet when they were with childe, and therefore in later tyme were pylgrimages appoynted for them.

The queen furnished with things necessarie, and physitians, might have easier travayle than other women.

The hope of posteritye and glorye thereof should comfort hir.

The profite ensuing more than the present danger, which at most is two or three hours.

In 500 years, onely two queens have died in child-birth. Queen Katharine Parre died rather of thought.

Because Henry I. died with eating a lamprey, Rufus in hunting, &c. therefore shall kings forbear the like?

The bringing forth of children doth preserve from other diseases, and amendeth colour.

In Respect of the Common-Weal.

In the good government now, the whole parliament desired an husband for the queen. It were to be wished, that the queen would do what laye in hir for issue, as Queen Mary did.

The happynes present should give occasion to provide for the continuance thereof. Herin he bringeth a *prosopopœia* of England, persuading marriage, and therin the place of St Paule: A woman shall be saved bringing forth children.

The presence of the prince most available, as of
- King Hen. VIII. &c. The Blacke Prince; Hen. V. &c. The Romanes did more by consules and proconsules than by ther legats.
- Because the Venetian generall is not absolutely as a dictator, the warres have the worse successe.

The augmentation of the courte, and burdening of the commons, is nothing in respect of the safetye of the whole state; and here he endeth with patheticall rehearse of the miseryes like to ensue.

A Stranger is to be preferred in Marriage of the Queen Majesty in respect of the Causes of Marriage; which are eyther,

EXTERNAL CAUSES.

The getting of children without offence of God.

The remedye to resiste temptation.

The comforte which one hath of the other.

Thies be indifferent, and do neyther exclude the stranger, or receive the Englishman.

ACCIDENTAL CAUSES.

Honour.

In marienge an Englishman, she maneth her subject, disparageth hirself.

In Marienge a Stranger, her Honour augmented.

Queen Mary purposed by marienge King Philippe.
Mary of Burgundye by marienge with Maximilian, made her progenye so honorable.
Mary of Scotland in matching with France purposed.
Claudie of Britanne by matching with the French king.

POWER, which consisteth

In keeping her owne Realme in Quietnes.

Marieng an Englishman, she hath not one man more to encrease hir power, but commonly the lesse through envy, which they bear at their equall so preferred, as the marriage of Edw. IV. with Elizabeth Woodvile doth shew.

In Resisting an Enemie.

Marienge a stranger, she uniteth hir husband's power unto her, and is thereby backed and strengthened.

RICHES.

In meryenge an Englishman, syth all is alredye her owne, she nothing enricheth hir self, but rather empoverisheth, to furnish him accordinge to his estate.
In marienge a stranger, she doth adjoine the riches of another region unto her heirs.

THE ANSWER.

That an Englishman is to be rather chosen in respect of both causes.

ESSENTIALL.

The *first*, is nott indifferent to the English and straunger; for a prince mere English is to be wished, which will not derive his love to his father's country as the Danes and Normans did at the first.
For the *second*, straungers more prone to temptation of the flesh, both Italians, French, Spaniards, and Germans, which shadow that faulte with their dronkennes.
For the *third*, diversity of language, conditions, manners, lawes, &c. is neither comfortable nor pleasant: And he will labour to conforme us thereunto.
For thies three causes therefore, the Englishman to be perferred, with a comparison of them both, for love toward hir, and sure knowledge of their names and inclinations.

ACCIDENTALL HONOR.

It is no disparagement to marrye a nobleman of England, for the nobilitye are the

right armes of the prince, the nurcerye of the bloud royall, and therefore they are called cosyns by the queen hirselfe.

The kings of England never disparage themselves by taking Englishwomen to their wives.

Erasmus sayth, it maketh no mater whom the prince marieth, if it be for the realme, and calleth marieng with straungers uneven mariages, and that they borne of such mingled blouds, have their love mingled, which Queen Marye descended of Spanish bloud shewed in her affectionate love towards the Spaniards.

The evell successe and dishonor of Medea, Ariadne, Phillis, Omphale, Dido, in marienge with straungers.[1]

Queen Marye lost Callays to our dishonour.

Marye of Burgundye brought her countrye Burgundye to be subjecte to the house of Austria, by her mariage, and to dishonour, which before was moste honorable for martiall prowes, and a terrour to France.

Marye of Scotland empoverished hir realme by hir match in France, through the oppression of the French.

Power.

In marienge an Englishman, her power is not dispersed, nor the mariage with Elizabeth Woodvile cause of trouble, but the disallowing of the Earle of Warwicke's ambassage.

England without other helpe sufficient to perform her owne warres; King Henry VIII. marieng at home, gott both in France and Scotland.

In marienge a stranger, and unityng regions, the more trouble, more danger, more charge. Edward III. with adjoyning France, dispeopled England. So Constantine, when he toke the empire, left Britanne to the oppression of Picts and Scots. Henry VI. having adjoined France to England, lost both.

Riches.

As for riches, England, by good government, is full able to enrich the prince.

In marienge a stranger she should rather empoverish England. For no prince will be so unnatural as to empoverish his native countrie to enrich our realme.

No region can do more than beare ordinary charges for warre, &c. They are enforced to amasse moneye by extraordinary meanes.

Queen Marye's match with King Phillip, was so farre from enrichinge England, that never prince left it more indebted, both at home and beyond sea.

It was declared in parliament, by a burgess of London, that London was worse at hir death 300,000l. than at the death of King Edward VI.

The king of England, which got most abroad, left England the poorer.

Where these three accidental causes, Honour, Power, Riches, are respected in mariage, the Devell or the world are the brokers, and mariage-makers.

[1] Very strange authorities to be quoted on such an occasion.

Queen Elizabeth's Letter to the Duke of Wirtenbirgh, in Answer of his Offer to assist her in the preferring her in Marriage, dated the 27th of January, 1583.

So early as the year 1560, Charles Archduke of Austria, a younger son of the Emperor Ferdinand, was proposed in marriage to Queen Elizabeth, but the suit was rejected. In 1563, the treaty was renewed under the mediation and auspices of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who had offered his services to save the imperial dignity from the necessity of making first advances after such an affront. This mediator received the following certainly not inexorable answer, and the treaty proceeded to a considerable length, as appears from the letters of Anthony Munelt to Cecil, printed in Murdin's State Papers, Vol. II. Nay, the queen dispatched Sussex, under pretence of complimenting the emperor with the order of the Garter, to continue this matrimonial negociation. But while she would come under no positive engagement to marry the Archduke, she seems very desirous that he should have gratified her vanity, by undertaking, like Anjou, a journey to England. He did not, however, chuse to be exhibited as a suitor, without a certainty of success, and in 1567 broke off further treaty, by marrying Mary, daughter of Albert, Duke of Bavaria.

TOUCHING marriage to foraine prince, that although shee never yet was wearie of her maiden and single life, yet in regarde shee was the laste issue her father lefte, and only of her house, the care of her kingdome, and love of posteritie did ever councell her to alter this course of life, but in consideration of the leave that her subjects had given her in ample manner to make her owne choise, then they did to any prince afore, she was ever in curtesie bound to make that choise, so as should be for the best of her state and subjects, and for that he offereth therein his assistance she gratiously acknowledged the same, promising to deserve it hereafter.

The olde and auncient Order of keeping of the Parlement in England, used in the Time of King Edward the Confessor; collected by John Vowell, alias Hooker, a Member of Parlement for the Citie of Exeter, in the 13th year of Queen Elizabeth, 1571, *and before that Time a Burgess in a Parlement, holden at Dublin in the 11th Year of Queen Elizabeth, and published in the Year* 1572, 14o. *Eliz. MSS.*

[This tract was inserted in Hollinshed's Chronicle.]

NAM *ut gratum Viatoribus esse solet, eorum Vestigia Terere qui recte Ambularunt et optimi Gubernatoris est ea arte cursum dirigere, qua facile plurimi in portum dilati sunt: Sic Princeps qui reip. sua bene velit consultum, majorum exemplis, ac optimarum rerump: institutis eam excolere debet.*

First, The monition or summons of the parlement ought to be made or done forty days before the beginning of the parlement.

The Summons of the Spiritualitie.

All bishops, abbots, pryors, and all other greate clerks that holde by countie or baronny, by reason of their holding, ought to be monished, and also to come to the parlement, and none other inferiors of the clergie, unlesse their presence were profitable and necessary for the parlement; and to those the king is bound to give their costs coming and abiding at the parlement, and such inferior clerks not be monished to come to the parlement, but the king was accustomed to send his writtes unto such discrete men, desiring them to come and be at the parlement. Also the king was accustomed to send his monitions or summons to the archbishops, bishops, and other exempt persons, that is to say, abbots, pryors, deans, and other ecclesiasticall persons that have jurisdiction by such exemption and distinct priviledges, that they for every deanry and archdeaconry, that through England should elect and choose, or cause to be elected and chosen, two discreete and wise proctors of their own archdeaconry, which should come and be at the parlement, there to sustaine and allow, and to do that thing that every man of their deanry, or archdeaconry, might do if they were there in proper persons. And these proctors so sent for the clergie, should bring with them their double proxies, sealed with double seals of their superiors. The one of the proxies to remain with the clerks of the parlement; and the other to remain with the said proctors, and under this manner the clergie ought to be called to the parlement.

The Summons of the Temporalitie.

Also all and every earle, baron, and their peeres, that is to say, that have lands and rents to the value of an earledome, or of a whole barony; that is to say, twenty knight's fees, every fee containing xx pound land, which amounteth to iiij. c. pound in the whole, or to the value of an whole barony; that is to say, xiij fees, and the third part of a knight's fee. Every fee accounted at xx pound; which amounteth in the whole to iiij. c. marks; and no inferior persons of the temporalitie shall come to the parlement by reason of his holde, unlesse his presence be necessary and profitable, and they to be ordered for their charges at the king's cost, as is spoken before of the inferior clerks.

The Summons of the Barons of the Five Portes.

Also the king ought to send his writs to the warden of the five ports, that he should cause to be elected or chosen for every of the said portes, two discrete and wise barons that should come and be present at the parlement, there to answer, sustaine, alledge, and do all things concerning the said parlement, as well as if all and every of the barons were there personally.

And these barons so elect and chosen, shall bring with them their double proxies, double sealed with the common seale of the porte. The one thereof to be delivered to the clarke of the parlement, aud the other to remaine with the said barons so chosen and elected. And when it shall chance the said barons (licence obtained) to departe, they were accustomed to have a writ sealed with the greate seale to the warden of the five portes, for their reasonable expences done from the first of their coming home, to be levyed of the commonaltie of every partie, having expresse mention made in the writ from the said first day of their coming, until the tyme of their licence obtained; and it was accustomed that mention should be made in the said writ, what every baron should

take of the commons for a day, that is to say, some more some less, a consideration and respect had to the honestest for their tarrying, labours and expences, and it was not accustomed that any certaine summe was limited by the said court.

Of the Knights of the Parlement.

Also the king was accustomed to send his writs to all the sheriffes within the realme, that they should cause to be chosen two honest, wise, and discrete knights for every sheer, to come to the parlement with such proxies as is before spoken of the barons of the five ports.

But for the expences of the said two knights, for every sheer was not accustomed to be granted above xiij shillings and iiij pence for a day.

Of the Citizens of the Parlement.

In the like manner the mayor of London, and the sheriffes. The mayor and bayliffes, or the mayor and cittizens of York, and all other cities, were wont to be warned, that they for the commonality of their citties should elect and choose two discrete, honest, and wise cittizens, to come and be at the parlement, under the forme as is spoken of before of the barons, and of the knights of the sheere.

And the said cittizens were accustomed to be like and equal in their expences for coming, abiding, and returning to and from the parlement as are the knights.

Of the Burgesses of the Parlement.

In like manner the bailiffes and wisemen of the boroughs were accustomed, and ought to be warned, that they should choose two discrete, honest, and wise burgesses, of themselves, and by them to come and be at the parlement, in like manner as is spoken of the cittizens.

But it was not accustomed that two burgesses, should have for their charges above x shillings; and sometime not above vj shillings and viij pence: and that should be taxed by the court after the abilitie of the borough, and the honestie of the burgesses.

Of the Two Principall Clarks of the Parlement.

Also two principall clarks of the parlement shall sitt in the midst of the justices, which shall inroll all plaints and matters of the parlement. And it is to be known, that these two clarks be not subject to any of the justices of England, nor that any justice hath any authority in the parlement, unlesse he be assigned to any thing by the king and peeres of the parlement.

And when they be assigned, with other suitors of the parlement, to hear and determine divers pleas and petitions to be finished by parlement; yet the two clarks to be immediate subjects to the king and parlement in common, unlesse one of the judges, or two, be assigned to examine and amend their inrolling. And if the peeres of the parliament be assigned to hear and examine any speciall petitions, after they have broken their matter, they shall give their sentence and judgement in the full parlement, and the two clarks inroll the same, and other plaints and judgments of the parlement, in

the principall of the parlement, and there to deliver those rolls to the treasurer before the parlement be finished.

Provided, that the said clarks shall have a transcript or copy of it if they list. And these two clarks shall have for their expences xiij shillings and iiij pence, unlesse they have any fee or office of the king, and be daily waiters, having meat and drink of the king's cost, and then they to have vj shillings and viij pence every day during the parlement.

Of the Five Clarks.

Also the king shall assign five clarks, wise and approbate, of whom the first shall attende the bishop; the second, the proctors of the clergie; the third, the earles and barons; the fourth, the knights of sheeres; and the fifth, the cittizens and burgesses.

And every of them shall have ij shillings a day, unlesse they be the king's servants, and have sufficient living of the king, and then they to have but xij pence the day; which clarks shall write all doubts between the king and the parlement, and they to be at their councells wheresoever they be commanded. And in case they shall be vacant, they shall helpe the two principall clarks to inroll their business.

Of the Causes and Doubts of the Parlement.

When any breach, difficultie of doubt or diffuse, cause of warre or peace, doth appear within the realme or without, that case ought to be declared in writing in the full parlement, there to be treated and disputed amonge the peeres of the parlement; and if it be necessary the king shall command, or in the king's name it shall be commanded, that every degree, and the persons of every degree of the parlement, shall be present in the parlement; and to the clark of every degree in the parlement, the cause, breach, and doubt, shall be delivered, and by him, at a certain place, to be to them delivered and declared. And thereupon they to study, imagine, and consider, how this doubt or breach may be provided for, as they in time coming shall make answer for the preservation of the king, themselves, and the commons, whose persons they do represent.

And so in this behalfe, they shall make their answer or council to be written, so that every degrees answer, and advisement heard, the whole parlement to admit and allow the best and wisest councill, and thereafter to do; and whereas been divers opinions, then to incline to the more part of the parliament.

And in case there be any discord between the king and any of the estates, or between estates, whereby the peace of the realme, or the people of the countrey, might be disturbed, in this case, if the king think it expedient, it ought to be communed of, and reformed by the advice of all the peeres of the realme; or in case the king and the realme been troubled with warres, or a doubtful case be depending before the chancellour of England, or a diffuse judgment be depending before the justices.

And if in these the peeres of the degrees of the parlement cannot agree, then the Earle Steward, the Earle Constable, and the Earle Marshall, or two of them, shall elect twenty five persons of all degrees of the peeres of the realme; that is to say, two bishops, three proctors, for the clergie, two earles, three barons, five knights of the sheeres, five cittizens, and five burgesses.

And these twenty-five may condescend into twelve of themselves, and these twelve into six of themselves, and these six may condescend into three; but these three cannot condescend into a lesse number without the king's consent: and then these three may condescend into two, and the two into one; and after his opinion and determina-

tion, the matter shall be ordered unlesse the king will discent, as he may; and then may he, and his councell, examine and amend the ordination, so it be unwritten and done out of the parlement-house, without their consents.

Of Matters of the Parlement.

The matters whereof the parlement is holden or kept, ought to be delivered into the parlement, and to be called upon in manner of a kalendar according to every man's petition, and no respect to be had to any man's person, but that he who layeth first his bill in shall be first heard.

In the kalendar of the parlement, every matter ought to be had in memory under this manner and form.

First, Of warres if there be any, of matters concerning the king and queen's person, and of their children.

Secondly, Of matters concerning the common-weale, and to ordain new lawes, debarring the olde lawes made in times past, whose execution have been prejudiciall.

Thirdly, The matters concerning the private weale; and these to be examined according to the file and kalendar, as is before written.

The Days and Houres of the Parlement.

The parlement shall be holden every day, Sundaye, All-Soules-day, Allhallow-day, and the nativity of Saint John the Baptist, excepted. And every feriall day it should begin at mid-prime time, and that houre the king is bound to be in parlement, and all the peeres of the realme. On the holy-days the parlement shall begine at the prime, because the divine service should be first heard.

The Decrees of the Parlement.

The king is head and chief at the begining and at the end of the parlement, and to him no comparison is to be made, and so the king is one degree by himselff.

The *second* is, of archbishops, abbots, and priors, holding by baronyes.

The *third* is, of the proctors of the clergie.

The *fourth*, of earles, barons, and other estates and gentles, holding to the value of an earledome or barony, as is before written.

The *fifth*, of knights of the sheeres.

The *sixth*, of citizens and burgesses.

And so the parlement is of six degrees.

And it is to be noted, that if any of the said degrees be absent after their first monition or summons, the parlement is not of sufficient effect.

The Forme of the Parlement.

Sith it is shewed under what forme every man ought to be monished, and how long time the monition should be, and what they be that ought to be monished, to come to the parlement by reason of their offices. And also it is to be noted, that the two principal clarks of the parlement for the king and his councell, and other secondary clarks, of whome and of whose office mention shall be hereafter made.

The chief cryer of England, with his deputyes, and the chief porter of England; howbeit these two offices were accustomed to be occupied by one person; these ought to be there the first day of the parlement. The lord chancellour of England, the treasurer, the chamberlain, the barons of the exchequer, the justices, all the king's clarks and knights, with serjeants at the law of the king's retinue or fee, ought to be there the second day, unlesse they have a reasonable impediment or lett.

Of the Beginning of the Parlement.

The king ought to be in the parlement the first day, and should sit in the midst of the high bench. The sixth day, the chancellour, the treasurer, the barons of the exchequer, and the justices, were accustomed to recorde the defaults done in the parlement in forme following. The first day they must call all the citizens and burgesses of all England, and for lack of their appearance, a city shall be amerced in a C. l. and a borough in a C. marks.

The second day, they shall call knights of sheeres, and in default of their appearance, the sheer shall be amerced a C. pound.

The third day, the barons of the five ports, and after them the other barons, and then the earles; and for lack of appearance of every baron, they shall be amerced a C. marks, and of an earle, a C. pound. The like shall be done to them that be earles, and barons, peeres, that is to say, as have lands and rents to the yearly value of an earledom, or of a barony, as is before expressed. The fourth day, the proctors of the clergie shall be called; and for lack of their appearance, their bishops shall be amerced a C. marks for every archdeaconry that maketh default.

The fifth day, deans, priors, abbots, bishops and archbishops; and for lack of appearance of an archbishop, he shall be amerced a C. pound; a bishop, an abbot, and a prior, which hold an whole barony, a C. marks.

Of the Proclamations.

The first day of the parlement, proclamation shall be made first in the hall, or in the monastery, or some other open place, where the parlement shall be holden or kept, and after in the city or town openly; that every man having bill, or petition, to be examined or determined in the parlement, that it should be laid in within five days of the beginning of the parlement.

Of the Preaching of the Parlement.

An archbishop, or some famous discrete and eloquent clark, to be assigned by the archbishop, in whose province the parlement shall be kept and holden, shall preach on the first of the five days in the full parlement, and in the king's presence; and he shall begin when all the parlement, or the moste part, shall be there assembled; and in his orison or prayer, he shall require all the whole parlement, that they humbly beseech the Almighty God, for the peace and tranquility of the king and realme.

Of the Speaker of the Parlement.

After the sermon done, the lord chancellor of England, or the chief justice elect,

shall stand declaring in the parlement house, first generally, and then specially, the causes of the parlement, wherefor the same is holden. And it is to be noted, that every man (the king excepted,) shall stand while the said speaker doth declare his matter, to the entent that every man may hear him; and in case he do speak obscurely, or darkly, or so low that he cannot be heard, he must begin againe, or els another speake in his place.

What the King shall say after the Speaker hath done.

The king (after the speaker hath declared the causes of the parlement) shall desire the spiritualtie and the temporaltie, naming every degree, that is to say, archbishops, bishops, abbots, pryors, archdeacons, proctors, and others of the clergie; earles, barons, knights, citizens, and burgesses, and other of the temporaltie; that they do diligently, studiously, and lovingly, endeavour themselves to examine, pertract, and handle the causes of the parlement, to the honour of God principall: *Secondarely*, to the king's honour; and *lastly*, to the wealth of the realme.

Of the King's Absence.

The king ought dayly to be present in the parlement, unless he be sick or diseased, and then he may keepe his chamber, so that he lodge not out of the mannor or towne where the parlement is holden; and then he ought to send for xij persons of the great estates, that be monished or summoned to the parlement, whereof two to be bishops, two earles, two barons, two knights, two citizens, and two burgesses; to see his person, and to certifye of his estate, and in their presence he ought to commit power to the archbishop of the province, to the lord steward and the chief justices, that they jointly and severally shall continue the parlement in the king's name, making expresse mention in his commission of his disease to the other estates, and that the persons abovenamed can expresse the same; for it is a perilous case and dangerous for the commonalty and realme, that the king should be absent from the parlement; but only for bodily sickness.

Of Places and Seates in the Parlement.

First, as it is before said, the king shall sit in the midst of the bench; upon the right hand, the archbishop of Canterbury; at his left hand, the archbishop of Yorke, and then bishops, abbots, and pryors in order, and then every man in his degree, and amongst his peeres: that this order be kept the lord steward of England is bound to looke unto, unlesse the king assigne some other.

At the king's right foot, the chancellor of England, the chief justice of England, with his fellowes, and their clarks, that be of the parlement. And at his lefte foot shall sit the treasurer, the chamberlain, the barons of the exchequer, the judge of the common place with their clarks, that been of the parlement.

Of the Porters of the Parlement.

The chief porter of the parlement shall stand within the great gate of the monastery, hall, or place, where the parlement is holden, and shall attend that no man enter into the parlement, except he be called for matters that he sheweth in the parlement. And

it is expedient that the said porter have knowledge of every man's name that shall enter into the parlement, and if need require to have many porters under him.

Of the Cryers of the Parlement.

The cryer shall stand without the parlement door, and the porter shall shew him when and what he shall call. The king was accustomed to appoint his serjeants at armes to keep the parlement door, that no thrust, preace, or noise, were made there, by meanes whereof the parlement might be letted; and that such thrust, preace, or noise might be avoided, and proclamation should be made, that no person enterprise such things there under pain of imprisonment; for by the law, the parlement door should not be shut, but be kept by the porter or serjeant at armes.

Of the Help of the King.

The king was not accustomed to demand help of his realme, but onely for war that was instant, or for the creation of his sonnes to be made knights, or his daughter to be marryed; and these helps ought to be demanded in the full parlement, and in writing to be delivered unto every degree, and they in writing to make answer. And if this help ought to be granted, then every degree of the parlement should consent thereto. And it is to be known, that two knights, or two cittizens, or two burgesses, which come to the parlement, in granting or denying any thing demanded in the parlement, have more authority than the greatest earle in England. And in like case, two proctors for the clergy in one diocesse, have more authority than their bishops, in things to be granted or denyed in the parlement; and the reason is this: The king may holde his parlement, for the commonalty of his realme, without bishops, earles, or barons, so that they have lawfull summons, and come not; for some time there was no bishop, earle, nor baron, and yet the king did keep his parlement. But on the contrary, if the commonalty of the clergy, and the temporalty, be monished to the parlement, as they ought to be by the law, and for certaine causes they do not, or will not, come, as if they pretend that the king hath not ruled or governed them accordingly, and do therein express wherein he hath not ruled them accordingly; in this case the parlement, which the king holdeth with the bishops, earles, and barons, is of no effect. And therefore in all things that are to be granted, ordayned, established, or broken by parlement, the commonalty of the parlement of necessity must consent thereunto. For in the commonalty are contained iiij degrees of parlement, that is to say, proctors of the clergy, knights of sheeres, cittizens of cities, and burgesses of towns; and these persons do represent the whole commonalty of England, whereas the other estates do represent but their owne persons.

For Bills and Petitions of the Parlement.

The parlement ought not to be ended, whiles any petition dependeth undiscussed, or at least to whome a determinate answer is not made; and if the king permit the contrary, he is perjured. Also no peere of the parlement shall depart from the same without licence obtained of the king and of his peeres; which licence is to be obtained in open parlement, and to be recorded in roll of parlement.

And if it happen any of the peeres to be sick during the parlement, so that he cannot come to it; then for three days he shall send his excuse to the parlement; but if after three days passed he come not, then two of his peeres shall be sent to him to see his person, and

thereof to advertise the parlement; and if any suspition be had, these two peeres shall be sworne to testify the very truth. And if it appear he have feigned himself sick, he then to be amerced as a fault for his not appearance at the beginning of the parlement; and if he be sick then before, then he shall make a sufficient to appear in parlement for him.

No person of the parlement can be excused, having his health and memory.

The Ending of the Parlement.

The finishing of the parlement must be assigned, appointed, and openly proclaimed, both in the parlement and within the palace of the parlement; and if there be any will say, that he hath no answer of his bill delivered into the parlement, then the parlement to continue; but if no man so say, it is to be supposed that every man hath remedy, or assigned how to have remedy by the lawes. And at the proclamation made, if there be no bills to be laid in, the king may licence his parlement.

Of the Copyes of the Records of Parlement.

The clark of the parlement shall deny to no man the copy of his processe, but shall deliver unto every man that demandeth it, taking for every ten lines a peny; and if the party be poor, and thereupon maketh his oath, to have nothing: The rolle of the parlement shall be tenne inches brode. The parlement shall be kept wheresoever it shall please the king.

These orders in processe of time did surcease, and were out of all use, few or no parlements being kept, from the time of William the Conqueror, untill the reign of King Edward the First; who, by the advise of his wise and learned counsellors, prescribed a forme and order how the parlements within this realme should be observed and kept; which orders, also in the course of a certaine yeares, grew out of use in many points, and the order here ensuing is that which is in our dayes received and used. [1]

The Copie of a Letter, concernyng the Credit of the late published Detection of the Doynges of the Ladie Marie of Scotland, by the learned Buchanan.

The *Detectio Mariæ Reginæ* was published by Buchanan in 1571. A French translation appeared in 1572. To give its contents currency among the unlearned commons of England, this abridgement or review was carefully circulated. Elizabeth's ministers felt that some apology was necessary to the English nation, for the mode in which Queen Mary had been treated since her flight into England.

MANY are the practises of Papistes, and other false and hollow-harted subjects; and wonder it is, what they dare do and say, as if they had the majesty of our prince in con-

[1] John Vowell, *alias* Hooker, of Exeter, author of the above tract, was uncle to the famous Richard Hooker, a man of good family, and educated at Oxford. He was, in the study of divinity, a disciple of Peter Martyr; and, after having travelled upon the Continent, he settled in Exeter, and became the author of several learned works. Hooker translated Girald Barry's History of the Conquest of Ireland, and was hence enabled to add to Hollinshed's labours, "The Supplie of the Irish Chronicle, continued from the death of Henry VIII. 1546, untill the year 1586." In these annals, he has inserted a copy of the "Order and Usage," above written.

tempt, or did still beare themselves bold vpon the successe of some mightie treason, the bottom whereof hath not yet bene throughly searched. Of late hath bene published, out of Scotland, a treatise, detectyng the foule doynges of some that haue bene daungerous to our noble queen; by which detection, is induced a very excellent comparison for all Englishmen to judge whether it be good to chaunge queenes or no, and, therewith, a necessary enforcement, to every honest man, to pray hartely for the long continuance of our good mother to rule over us, that our posteritie may not see her place left empty for a perilous stepedame. Some caryed with popishe affection, that regardeth neither naturall prince nor contrey, and puffed with the dropsey of a trayterous humor, labour what they can to discredit the same detection, as untrue. Some of them, whyle they, lyke good sincere men forsoth, would fayne seme very indifferent iudges, say they will credit nothing, till they heare both parties, not remembryng, that, in the same one booke, are both parties to be heard, the one in the former parte, both in the declaration and oration of evidence; the other in the latter parte, in the parties owne contractes, songes, letters, iudiciall procedynges, protestations, examinations, and confessions. Some other more open fellowes say flatly that all is false, the booke hath no credit, the author is unknowne, obscure, the mater counterfaite, and all is nothing. If any such rumors come to your eare, first, I think verely, in truth you may be bold to say to the partie, *Et tu ex illis es*, thou art also one of them. And, for the mater, I have thought good to enforme you of so much as I know, for profe of the same treatise to be of credite, wherewith you may answere and stoppe the mouthes of such rumor spreaders.

The booke itselfe, with the oration of evidence, is written in Latine by a learned man of Scotland, M. George Buchanan, one privie to the proceedyngs of the lordes of the kynges secret counsell there, well able to understand and disclose the truth, havyng easie accesse also to all the recordes of that contrey that might helpe hym. Besides that the booke was written by hym, not as of hym selfe, nor in his owne name, but accordyng to the instructions to hym geven by common conference of the lordes of the privie counsel of Scotland: by hym onely for hys learnyng penned, but by them the mater ministred, the booke overseen and allowed, and exhibited by them as mater that they have offred, and do continue in offerying, to stand to and justifie before our soveraigne ladie, or her highnesses commissioners in that behalfe apointed. And what profe they have made of it already, when they were here for that purpose, and the sayd authour of the sayd booke one among them, when both parties, or their sufficient procurators, were here present, indifferently to be heard, and so were heard indeede; all good subiects may easely gather, by our sayd soveraigne ladyes procedyng, sins the sayd hearyng of the cause, who, no dout, would never have so stayed her request, but rather would have added enforcement, by ministring of aide to the ladie Maria of Scotland, for her restitution (the president and honor of princes, and her maiesties own former example of sinceritie, used in defence of the Scottish queene, herselfe in Scotland against France, and her maintenance of the French king's honor and libertie, against the hye attemptes of some his popish subjectes, considered) nor would have lyved in such good amitie with the yong kyng of Scotland, the regentes, and the true lordes mainteiners of that side, if these haynous offenses, alleged on that part, had not bene provable, or if the yong kyng had bene an usurper, or hys regentes, and other lordes of that faction, traytors, as they must have bene, if all be false that is obiected against the sayd Ladie Marie. I recite not what subscriptions and assentes have bene to confirme the booke, and the maters in it conteined; byside that I do you to wyte, that one written copie thereof, in Latine, was now, upon hys late apprehension, found in one of the duke of Norfolkes mens houses,[1]

[1] The anxiety of Norfolk to stifle the evidence against the unfortunate Mary, may argue gentleness of heart, or excess of ambition, as the reader has faith or charity.

and thether sent, by his commaundement, a little before his apprehension, to be secretlie kept there, with divers other pamphelets and writynges; whiche thyng not onely addeth credit to this booke, that it was not counterfait, but also geveth shrewed suspicions, that the duke could not so well lyke the woman, beyng such a woman, as, for her person's sake, to venture the overthrow of such a florishing state, wherein he stode before; but that some other greater thing,[1] it might be, that he lyked, the gredynesse whereof myght temper his abhorrying of so foule conditions, and of so great a danger to hymselfe, to be sent after his predecessours.[2] The byshop of Rosse[3] lykewise doth both knowe, that the duke had this booke, and can tell how the duke came by it. The other mater of the contractes, letters, songes, &c. have, among other, these proves: Lively witnesses, of great honor and credit, can tell, that the very casket, there described, was here in England shewed; the letters, and other monumentes, opened and exhibited; and so much, as is there sayd, to have bene written or subscribed by the sayd Ladie Marie, the Erle Bothwell, or other, hath bene, by testimonies and othes of men of honor and credite of that contrey, testified and avowed, in presence of persones of most honorable state and authoritie, to have bene written and subscribed, as is there alledged, and so delivered without rasure, diminution, addition, falsifieng, or alteration, in any point. And a nomber there be in England, of very good and worshypful calling, byside the commissioners thereto apoynted, that have seene the originals them selves, of the same handes whoes this book doth say them to be. Whiche thinges have been heard and understoode by those that can tell, and those whoes truth, in reporting, is above all exception.

Wherefore sithe the Scottishmen have, for satisfaction of us, their good neyghbours, among whom the sayd Ladie Marie remayneth, to the perill of both princes, as the Scottishemen say, published these matters, to the intent that the impudencie of the sayd Ladie Marie's fautors, in denyeng those truthes, may not seduce Englishe subjectes to the underminyng of the estate, honor, and noble procedyng of our most gracious soveraigne, and divertyng of affections to undue places, and to the great perill of both realmes, which the adversaries call, Beneficiall Unityng, but is in deede most maleficiall confoundyng, intended to joyne the realmes in other persones, excluding the person of our sayd soveraigne lady: let us receive this admonishment thankefully, and gather the frute thereof to the stablishment of our loyaltie to our owne queene, agaynst whom the favorers of the other side have banded themselves in hostilitie and treason.

This I have thought good to write to you, for your satisfaction in knowledge of the case; whom I know alreadie sufficiently satisfied in good and dutifull affection. God disclose these hollow hartes, or rather God graunt her majestie, and those that be in authoritie under her, an earnest will to see them, for they will disclose themselves fast enough. And God send her majestie so to remove the groundes of her perill, that not onely we, which by open thrustyng our selves agaynst her enemys, have set up our rest upon our Queene Elisabeth, and shall never be admitted to favour on the other side; but also all wise and honest men may know that it shal be safe to be true, and dangerous to be false; otherwise the mischief is evident. For men in nature and in policie will seke for their own safeties, which if they may not finde in truth, it is a great avauncement of falsehode. God long preserve our good and gracious Queene Elizabeth, and make her enemyes know, that there is sure perill in treason, and her true subjectes bold to sticke to her without dread of any revenge or displeasure. So fare ye well.

For further profe, that the sayd letters, written by the sayd Ladie Marie, and mention-

[1] viz. The crown of England and Scotland.

[2] Beheaded for treason.

[3] Lely, bishop of Ross, and agent for the Queen of Scots. In the subsequent tract, is an account of his imprisonment.

ed in the sayd booke, are not counterfait but her owne, I have herewith also sent you the most autentike testimonie of the three estates of Scotland assembled in parliament, the copie of which acte you shall receive word for word, as it was enacted in Scotland in December 1567, and remaineth publikely in print, savyng that I have for your more easy understanding changed the Scottishe orthography, which I would to God had been done for Englishemens better satisfaction in maister George Buchanans booke. Howbeit, the same is not so hard but that, after the readyng of two leaves, a man may easily enough grow acquainted with it; and doutlesse the knowlege and monumentes therein contained are wel worth so small a travell to understand them.

The Case of the Bishop of Ross, Resident to the Queen of Scots; who was seized and committed to the Tower by Queen Elizabeth, for traiterous Practices, and endeavouring to raise a Rebellion against her.[1]

John Lesley, bishop of Ross, a man of a bold, active, and enterprising disposition, had acted as Mary's agent ever since her flight into England. He had been active in furthering the scheme of her marriage with Norfolk; and when that miscarried, he engaged in a yet more desperate enterprize for her relief. The King of Spain, the Duke of Alva, and the Pope, were all engaged in her cause. Ridolphi, a native of Florence, who resided at London under the character of a banker, but was in reality an agent for the Pope, assisted in conducting the negociation. Various schemes were laid for seizing the person of Elizabeth, for invading England, and for liberating Mary. The first suspicion of the plot arose from one of Ridolphi's messengers being intercepted; it was fully discovered by the infidelity of a servant of Norfolk. Upon the discovery, Ross was imprisoned in the Tower, treated with the utmost rigour, and only liberated on condition that he should leave the kingdom. The transaction happened in 1571. The bishop's firmness in the cause of his mistress excites our respect, though he seems to have been little scrupulous in the means he employed to serve her.

The Bishop of Ross retired to the Continent, and received some ecclesiastical preferment. He was made bishop of Valence; but as the civil wars then raged in France, he never obtained quiet possession of the see. He died at Brussels in 1596. Bishop Lesley published, in 1575, a Latin History of the Scottish Nation, which is a work of some authority.

The reader who wishes further information on the subject of this tract, may look into MURDIN'S *State Papers*, Vol. II., which contains many documents respecting the Bishop of Ross's conspiracy, imprisonment, and examination.

RIDOLPHO, the Florentine, who was sent to sollicit the Queen of Scots affairs beyond sea, had communicated to Charles Bayliff, a Netherlander, the Queen of Scots servant, all his transactions with the Duke d'Alva; and had given him letters written in cyphers, for her, the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Norfolk, Ross, and the Baron of Lumley, made up in one packet; which Bayliff brought over himself, though Ross had ordered him to leave them with the governor of Calais to be conveyed over.

But, as soon as Bayliff was arrived at Dover, he was apprehended and imprisoned, and

[1] Which is in some measure applicable to the case of the Marquis de Botta and M. de Chetardie, ambassador at the court of Russia from France, and detected f treasonable practices against the Czarina.

the pacquet sent to the Lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque-ports. Ross was the first that had notice of it, who managed his business so industriously and cunningly with the Lord Cobham, that the packet was delivered to him, and another packet, made up of other obsolete letters, delivered to the council; and this Bayliff was acquainted with. But however, being put to the rack, he confessed some things, and amongst the rest, that a packet of letters was come to Ross's hands. Nor was Ross ignorant of this, who presently sent away Cuthbert his secretary, and left his cyphers and what else might do him any prejudice, among his friends: so that, when Sussex, Burleigh, Mildmay, and Sadler, made a careful search in his house, they found nothing, nor could they get any thing out of him by questions, who stifly maintained, that an ambassador was not to be accountable to any but his prince. However, the third day after, he was committed to the custody of the Bishop of Ely, and a while after conveyed to the Isle of Ely.

But since, by the confession of all, even of the Duke of Norfolk himself, the Bishop of Ross was charged as principal contriver of the business, they entered into a serious consultation what should be done with him, being an ambassador. For whilst he, after the manner of other ambassadors, thought he might lawfully promote the interest of his prince by any methods, and that, by the sacred and inviolable privilege of ambassadors, he was not to be accountable to another's jurisdiction; he had already committed many irregularities, by raising rebellion, and holding nocturnal cabals with the Earl of Southampton and others; and now lately with the English fugitives in the Netherlands, the Duke d'Alva the Spaniard, and the Pope, for invading of England. It was therefore proposed to Daniel Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones, learned civilians,

First, Whether an ambassador, that raises rebellion against the prince to whom he is sent, should enjoy the privileges of an ambassador, and not rather be liable to punishment as an enemy?

They answered:

"That such an ambassador, by the law of nations, and the civil law of the Romans, has forfeited the privileges of an ambassador, and is liable to punishment."

Secondly, Whether the minister or agent of a prince deposed from his public authority, and in whose stead another is substituted, may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador?

They answered:

"If such a prince be lawfully deposed, his agent cannot challenge the privileges of an ambassador, since none but absolute princes, and such as enjoy a royal prerogative, can constitute ambassadors."

Thirdly, Whether a prince, which comes into another prince's kingdom, and is there kept prisoner, can have his agent; and whether that agent can be reputed an ambassador?

They answered:

"If such a prince have not forfeited his principality, he may have an agent; but, whether that agent may be reputed an ambassador, depended upon the authority of his commission."

Fourthly, Whether, if a prince declare to such an agent, and his prince in custody, that he shall be no longer reputed an ambassador, that agent may, by law, challenge the privilege of an ambassador?

They answered:

"That the prince may forbid the ambassador entrance into his kingdom, and may command him to leave the kingdom, if he keep himself not within the bounds prescribed to an ambassador; yet in the mean time he may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador according to the authority deputed to him."

According to these answers of the civilians, Ross being called up from the Isle of

Ely, and receiving a sharp reprimand, it was declared by the council, that he should be no longer reputed an ambassador, but be severely punished, according to his demerits. He answered: That he was the ambassador of an absolute queen that was unjustly deposed, and had, according to his duty, carefully endeavoured the delivery of his princess, and the safety of both kingdoms; that he came into England with the full authority of an ambassador under public warrandise, which he had produced; and that the sacred privileges of ambassadors are by no means to be infringed.

Burleigh most gravely informed him, that neither the privileges of an ambassage, nor letters of public warrandise, could protect ambassadors that offended against the publick majesty of a prince, but that they are liable to to be punished for the same; else wicked ambassadors might plot against the life of princes without any punishment.

On the other hand, he stifly maintained, That the privileges of ambassadors had never been violated, (to use his own words) *via juris*, but *via facti;* and he pleasantly wished them not to shew him fouler play than the English ambassadors, Throckmorton in France, and Randolph and Tamworth in Scotland had found; who had raised rebellions and openly fomented them, and yet suffered no greater punishment than the being commanded to depart within such a time.

When they began to urge him with testimonies of Englishmen, he gently desired them not to do it, since by a common received custom, which (as he said) was grown into a law, the testimony of an Englishman against a Scotchman, or of a Scotchman against an Englishman, was not to be allowed.

After some debates whether this would hold good unless betwixt the borders of both kingdoms, and that in cases relating to the frontiers; and whether the English ambassadors had raised rebellions; Ross was committed to the Tower of London; where being kept close prisoner, within a while he answered to all questions, with this proviso, that his answer should not be prejudicial to any: "He excused the Queen of Scots, for that she being a prisoner in the flower of her age, could not but use her utmost endeavours to regain her freedom, since Queen Elizabeth denied her access to her presence, debarred her from all hope of her liberty, and openly relieved her enemies. The Duke of Norfolk he excused, in that he had done nothing as to the marriage with the Queen of Scots, but with the consent of many of the queen's council; nor could he forsake her, though he had promised to do so under his hand and seal, since there was before a mutual engagement of marriage betwixt them. Lastly he excused himself, for that, since he was an ambassador and a servant, he could not without a sin depart from his duty, and abandon his princess in her distress. But that he proposed the design of seizing on the queen, with no other intent, than to try whether the duke had courage to undertake such an attempt." The crimes of the other conspirators he cunningly extenuated, but could by no means be brought to tell the names of the gentlemen who had devoted their service to the duke, in siezing the queen. But he confessed, that, by the Queen of Scots orders, he had, by servants employed betwixt them, treated with the Duke Arundel, Lumley, and Throckmorton, and with the Lord Viscount Montacute by Lumley, about putting the castles in Scotland, the hostages, and the King of Scots, into Englishmen's hands, about renouncing the title, and giving up the English rebels. Thus far of these transactions for this year, extracted wholly out of the Duke of Norfolk's confession, and Ross's own account under his own hand to the Queen of Scots.

The Execution of Justice in England, for Maintenance of publique and Christian Peace, against certeine Stirrers of Sedition, and Adherents to the traytors and Enemies of the Realme, without any Persecution of them for Questions of Religion, as is falsely reported and published by the Fautors and Fosterers of their Treasons.—Secondly, Imprinted at London, Mense Jan. 1581-3. *An. Reg. Eliz.* 26. *With some small alterations of Thinges mistaken or omitted in the Transcript of the first Originall.*

This is a defence of the penal laws against Catholics, instituted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These were chiefly occasioned by the violence of those Papists who acknowledged the bull of Pius V. excommunicating Queen Elizabeth, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance. In January 1581-2, a severe statute was passed, declaring those guilty of high treason who should dissuade English subjects from their allegiance, and from the established religion, or who should reconcile them to the church of Rome: and the same penalty of high treason was denounced against those who should be so dissuaded or reconciled. It is probable that this pamphlet, which has the air of being written by the royal command, was intended as a commentary on so severe an act.

Great, and natural, and laudable anxiety is shewn in this curious treatise, to draw a distinction between the executions made in Queen Mary's time on account of religion alone, and those examples which Elizabeth had made among the Catholics, not on account of their abstract religious tenets, but because they had warped with them political doctrines inconsistent with the safety of the state. Elizabeth was anxious to escape the reproach of persecution and to shew that in those priests who, acting on the bull of Pius V. endeavoured to excite her subjects against her, she punished not the Catholic, but the traitor.

Al offenders cover their faults with contrary causes.

Rebels doe most dangerously cover their faults.

Rebellion in England and Ireland.

It hath bene in all ages, and in all countries, a common usage of all offenders, for the most part, both great and small, to make defence of their lewd and unlawful facts by untruthes, and by colouring and covering their deeds (were they never so vile) with pretences of some other causes of contrarie operations or effects; to the intent not only to avoid punishment or shame, but to continue, upholde, and prosecute, their wicked attemptes, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath bene the use of all offenders, yet none with more danger than of rebels and traitours to their lawfull princes kings and countries. Of which sort, of late yeeres, are specially to be noted certayne persons naturally born subjects in the realme of England and Irelande, who having for some good time professed outwardly their obedience to their soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, have nevertheless afterwards bene stirred up and seduced by wicked spirites, first in Englande sundry yeres past, and secondly and of later time in Irelande, to enter into open rebellion, taking arms and comming into the field against her majestie and her lieutenantes, with their forces under banners displayed, inducing by notable untruthes many simple people to follow and assist them in their treacherous actions. And though it is very well knowen, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent to have deposed the queene's majesty from her crowne, and to have traiterously set in her place some other whome they liked, whereby if they had not bene speedily resisted, they would have committed great bloodsheds and slaughters of her majesties faithfull subjects, and ruined their native

The rebels vanquished by the queen's power.

country; yet by God's power given unto her majestie, they were so speedily vanquished, as some few of them[1] suffered by order of lawe according to their desertes, many and the greatest part upon confession of their faults were pardoned, the rest (but they not many) of the principal, escaped into forreine countries; and there, because in none or few places rebels and traitours to their natural princes and countries dare for their treasons chalenge at their first muster open comfort or succour, these notable traitors and rebels have falsely informed many kings, princes, and states, and especially the bishop of Rome, commonly called the Pope, (from whome they all had secretely their first comfort to rebell,) that the cause of their fleeing from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and for maintenance of the said Pope's authority. Whereas divers of them before their rebellion lived so notoriously, the most part of their lives, out of all good rule, either for honest manners, or for any sense in religion, as they might have bene rather familiar with Catalyn, or favourers to Sardanapalus, than accompted good subjectes under any Christian princes. As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Nevill, Earle of Westmerland,[2] a person utterly wasted by looseness of life, and by God's punishment, even in the time of his rebellion, bereaved of his children that should have succeeded him in the earledome, and his bodie now eaten with ulcers of lewde causes, as his companions do say, that no enemie he hath can wish him a viler punishment; a pitifull losse to the realme of so noble a house never before in any age attainted for disloyaltie. And out of Ireland ran away one Thomas Stukely,[3] a defamed person almost through all Christendom, and a faithless beast rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for notable piracies, and out of Ireland for treacheries not pardonable, which two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebelles, the one for England, the other for Ireland. But notwithstanding the notorious evil and wicked lives of these and other their confederates, voide of all Christian religion, it liked the bishop of Rome, as in favour of their treasons, not to colour their offences, as themselves openly pretend to do, for avoyding of common shame of the worlde; but flatly to animate them to continue their former wicked purposes, that is, to take armes against their lawful queene, to invade her realme with forreine forces, to pursue all her good subjects and their native countries with fire and sworde; for maintenance whereof there had some yeres before, at sundrie times, proceeded in a thundering sort bulles, excommunications, and other publique writings, denouncing her majestie, being the lawfull queene, and God's anoynted servant, not to be the queene of the realme; charging, and upon paines of excommunication commanding, all her subjects, to departe from their natural allegiances, whereto by birthe and by othe they were bound; provoking also and authorising all persons of all degrees within both the realmes to rebell; and upon this antichristian warrant, being contrary to al the lawes of God and man, and nothing agreeable to a pasturall officer, not onely all the rabble of the foresaid traitors that were before fled, but also all other persons that had forsaken their native countries, being of divers conditions and qualities, some not able

Some of the rebels fled into forreine countries.

Rebels pretend religion for their defence.

Ringleaders of rebels, Charles Nevill Earle of Westmerland, and Thomas Stukely.

The effect of the Pope's bull against the queene of England.

[1] After the insurrection in the 12th of Queen Elizabeth, many hundreds were executed by martial law by Sir George Bowes, marshal of the queen's army.

[2] The last Earl of Westmoreland of that powerful family. After his ill-concerted insurrection in 1669-70, he escaped into Scotland, and thence into Flanders, where he got the command of a regiment of English fugitives in the Spanish service. In 1584 he ended his life obscurely, and in exile.

[3] He was a noted adventurer of the period, who, after spending a large fortune, settled himself in Ireland; and being disappointed of the hope of becoming steward of Wexford, attempted to excite a rebellion in 1570. Being baffled in his design, he fled to Italy, and so far insinuated himself into the favour of the Pope, that his Holiness created him Marquis of Leinster, and procured him the command of 800 Italians in Spanish pay, who were destined to invade Ireland. With these he set sail from Civita Vecchia, and reached Lisbon. But Sebastian, king of Portugal, who was then preparing for his African expedition, easily prevailed on this adventurer to join his army. Accordingly he sailed with that monarch, and was slain along with him at the memorable battle of Alcazar in 1578. The feats of Stukely are celebrated in a ballad published in the 2d vol. of Evans's Collection of Old Ballads, and in an old play entitled the Battle of Alcazar, with the death of Captain Stukely, 1594.

to live at home but in beggarie, some discontented for lacke of preferments, which they gaped for unworthily in universities and other places, some bankerupt marchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learn to obey the lawes of the land, have many yeeres running up and down, from countrey to countrey, practised some in one corner, some in another, some with seeking to gather forces and money for forces, some with instigation of princes by untruthes to make warre upon their natural countrey, some with inwarde practices to murder the Greatest, some with seditious writings, and very many of late with publique infamous libels, ful of despiteful vile termes and poysoned lyes, altogether to uphold the foresaide antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the Pope's bull. And yet also by some other meanes, to furder these intentions, because they could not readily prevayle by way of force, finding forreine princes of better consideration, and not readily inclined to their wicked purposes, it was devised to erect by certeine schooles which they called Seminaries,[1] to nourish and bring up persons disposed naturally to sedition, to continue their race and trade, and to become seedmen in their tillage of sedition, and them to sende secretly into these the queen's majesties realmes of England and Ireland under secret maskes, some of priesthood, some of other inferior orders, with titles of Seminaries for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuites for the stagers and ranker sort, and such like; but yet so warely they crept into the land, as none brought the marks of their priesthood with them; but in divers corners of her majesties dominions these Seminaries, or Seedmen and Jesuites, bringing with them certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed ware, their Agnus Dei, their graines, and many kinde of beades, and such like, have as tillage-men laboured secretly to perswade the people to allow of the Pope's foresaide bulles and warrantes, and of his absolute authoritie over all princes and countries, and striking many with prickes of conscience to obey the same; whereby in proces of small time, if this wicked and dangerous, traiterous, and craftie course, had not bene by God's goodness espied and staied, there had followed imminent danger of horrible uprores in the realmes, and a manifest blooddy destruction of great multitudes of Christians. For it cannot be denied, but that so many as should have bene induced and thoroughly persuaded to have obeyed the wicked warrant of the Pope's, and the contents thereof, should have bene forthwith in their hearts and consciences secret traitors, and for to be in deede errant and open traitors, there should have wanted nothing but opportunitie to feele their strength, and to assemble themselves in such nombers with armour and weapons, as they might have presumed to have bene the greater part, and so by open civill warre, to have come to their wicked purposes. But God's goodness, by whom kings doe rule, and by whose blast traitors are commonly wasted and confounded, hath otherwise given to her majestie as to his handmayde and deare servant, ruling under him, the spirit of wisdome and power, whereby she hath caused some of these sedicious seedemen and sowers of rebellion to be discovered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former poyntes of high treason, and being delt withall upon questions of religion, but justly by order of lawes, openly condemned as traitors. At which times, notwithstanding all maner of gentle wayes of persuasions used, to move them to desist from such manifest traiterous courses and opinions, with offer of mercie, yet was the canker of their rebellious humours so deeply entered and graven into the heartes of many of them, as they would not be remooved from their traiterous determinations. And therefore, as manifest traitours in maintayning and adhearing to the capitall enemy of her majestie and her crowne, (who hath not only bene the cause of two rebellions alreadie passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland, did manifestly wage and maintaine his own people, captaines, and

The practices of the traitors, rebels, and fugitives, to execute the bull.

Seminaries erected to nurse seditious fugitives.

The seminarie fugitives come secretly into the realm to induce the people to obey the Pope's bull.

Sowers of sedition taken, convented, and executed for treason.

[1] These seminary schools were established at Douay, at Rheims, and at Rome. The scholars were carefully instructed in three points of doctrine, obedience to the pope, hatred to the queen of England, and zeal for extirpation of the northern heresy. From these seminaries, the scholars, as soon as they had taken orders, were dismissed to England to labour in their vocation, as described in the text.

souldiours, under the banner of Rome,[1] against her majestie, so as no enemy could do more,) these I say have justly suffered death, not by force, or forme of any new laws established, either for religion or against the Pope's supremacie, as the slaunderous libellers would have it seem to be, but by the auncient temporall lawes of the realme, and namely by the lawes of parliament made in King Edward the Third's time, about the year of our Lorde 1330, which is about 200 yeres and moe past, when the bishops of Rome and popes were suffered to have their authoritie ecclesiastical in this realme, as they had in many other countries. But yet of this kind of offenders, as many of them as after their condemnations were contented to renounce their former traiterous assertions, so many were spared from execution, and do live still at this day; such was the unwillingnes in her majestie to have any blood spilt, without this verie urgent, just, and necessary cause, proceeding from themselves. And yet, neverthelesse, such of the rest of the traitors as remayne in forreyne partes, continuing stil their rebellious myndes, and craftily keeping themselves aloofe off from dangers, cease not to provoke sundry other inferiour seditious persons, newly to steale secretly into the realme, to revive the former seditious practices, to the execution of the Pope's foresaid bulles against her majestie and the realme; pretending when they are apprehended, that they came onely into the realme by the commandement of their superiours, the heads of the Jesuites, to whom they are bound, (as they say,) by othe against either king or countrie, and here to inform or reform mens consciences from errors in some poynts of religion, as they shal thinke meet: but yet in very trueth, the whole scope of their secret labours is manifestly proved, to bee secretly to winne all people, with whom they dare deale, so to allowe of the Pope's said bulles, and of his authoritie without exception, as in obeying thereof, they take themselves fully discharged of their alleageance, and obedience to their lawfull prince and countrey; yea, and to be well warranted to take armes to rebell against her majestie when they shall be thereunto called, and to bee readie secretly to joyne with any forreine force that can be procured to invade the realme, whereof also they have a long time given, and yet doe for their advantage, no small comforte of successe; and so consequently the effect of their labours is to bring the realme not onely into a daungerous warre against the forces of strangers, (from which it hath bene free above xxiii. or xxiiii. yeres, a case very memorable and hard to bee matched with an example of the like,) but into a warre domesticall and civill, wherein no blood is usually spared, nor mercie yeelded, and wherin neither the vanqueror nor the vanquished, can have just cause of triumph.

The seditious traitors condemned by the auncient laws of the realme, made 200 yeeres past.

Persons condemned, spared from execution, upon refusall of their treasonable opinions. The seditious fugitives labour to bring the realme into a warre external and domesticall.

And forasmuch as these are the most evident perils that necessarily should follow, if these kind of vermin were suffered to creepe by stealth into the realme, and to spread their poyson within the same, howsoever, when they are taken, like hypocrites, they colour and counterfeit the same with profession of devotion in religion; it is of all persons to be yeelded in reason, that her majestie, and all her governours and magistrats of justice, having care to maintaine the peace of the realme, (which God hath given in her time to continue longer than ever in any time of her progenitors,) ought of duetie to Almighty God, the author of peace, and according to the natural love and charge due to their countrie, and for avoiding of the floods of blood, which in civill warres are seen to runne and flowe, by all lawful meanes possible, aswell by the sword as by lawe, in their severall seasons to impeach and repell, these so manifest and dangerous colourable practises, and workes of sedition and rebellion. And though there are many subjects knowen in the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England, and that do also not forbeare to professe the same, yet in that they do also professe loyaltie and obedience to her majestie, and offer readily in her majesties defence to impugne and

The duetie of the queene and all her governers to God and their countrie, is to repell practices of rebellion.

[1] Pope Pius V. had resolved to make his bastard son James Boncampagni Marquis of Vincola, king of Ireland. And in the rebellion of James Fitz-Morrice, and John of Desmond, they were succoured with a few bands of Spaniards, who fought under the papal banner.

resist any forreine force, though it should come or be procured from the Pope himselfe, none of these sort are for their contrary opinions in religion prosecuted or charged with any crimes or paines of treason, nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for their contrarie opinions, that savour not of treason. And of these sortes, there have bene and are a number of persons, not of such base and vulgare note as those were which of late have bene executed, as in particular, some by name are well knowen, and not unfit to bee remembred. The first and chiefest by office was D. Heth, that was archbishop of Yorke, and lord chaunceler of England, in Queene Marie's time, who at the first comming of her majestie to the crowne, shewing himselfe a faithfull and quiet subject, continued in both the sayd offices, though in religion then manifestly differing, and yet was he not restrained of his libertie, nor deprived of his proper lands and goods, but leaving willingly both his offices, lived in his own house very discreetly, and injoyed al his purchased lands during all his natural life, untill by very age he departed this worlde, and then left his house and living to his friendes; an example of gentlenesse never matched in Queene Marie's time.[1] The like did one D. Poole, that had bene bishop of Peterborough, an ancient grave person, and a verie quiet subject. There were also others that had bene bishops, and in great estimation; as D. Tunstall bishop of Duresme, a person of great reputation, and also whilest he lived of very quiet behaviour. There were also other, D. White, and D. Oglethorpe, one of Winchester, the other of Carlile, bishops, persons of curteous natures; and he of Carlile so inclined to duetifulnesse to the queen's majestie, as he did the office at the consecration and coronation of her majestie in the church of Westminster; and D. Thurleby, and D. Watson yet living, one of Ely, the other of Lincolne, bishoppes; the one of nature affable, the other altogether sowre, and yet living. Whereto may be added the bishop then of Exceter, Turberuile, an honest gentleman, but a simple bishop, who lived at his owne libertie to the ende of his life; and none of all these pressed with any capital payne, though they maintained the Pope's authoritie against the laws of the realme; and some abbots, as M. Fecknam yet living, a person also of quiet and courteous behaviour for a great time.[2] Some also were deanes, as D. Boxall deane of Windsor, a person of great modestie, learning, and knowlege; D. Cole deane of Paule's, a person more earnest then discreete; D. Reinolds deane of Exceter, not unlearned, and many such others having borne office and dignities in the church, and that had made profession against the Pope, which they only beganne in Queen Marie's time to change, yet were these never to this day burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet deprived of any of their goods or proper livelihoods, but onely removed from their ecclesiastical offices, which they would not exercise according to the laws. And most of them, and many other of their sorte for a great time were retained in bishops houses in very civil and courteous manner, without charge to themselves or their friends, until the time that the Pope began by his bulles and messages to offer trouble to the realme by stirring of rebellion; about which time onely, some of these aforenamed being found busier in matters of state tending to stirre troubles, then was meete for the common quiet of the realme, were removed to other more private places, where such other wanderers as were men knowen to move sedition, might be restrained from common resorting to them to increase trouble, as the Pope's bull gave manifest occasion to doubte; and yet without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by any inquisition to bring them into danger of any capital law, so as no one was called to any capitall or bloody question upon matters of religion, but have all injoyed their life as the course of nature would; and such of them as yet remaine, may, if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition, injoye the time that God and nature shall yeelde them

None charged with capital crimes, being of a contrarie religion, and professing to withstand forreyne forces.

Names of divers ecclesiastical persons professing contrarie religion, never charged with capital crimes.

[1] See his speech to dissuade the queen from an alteration of religion, p. 75.

[2] See his speech in the House of Lords, against the new modelling of the church, among the ecclesiastical tracts of this reign.

The late favourers of the Pope's authoritie, were the chief adversaries of the same, by their doctrines and writings.

without danger of life or member. And yet it is worthy to be well marked, that the chiefest of all these and the most of them, had in the time of King Henrie the Eight, and King Edward the Sixt, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea to abhorre the authoritie of the Pope; for which purpose they had many times given their othes publickly, against the Pope's authoritie, and had also yelded to both the said kings the title of supreame head of the church of England next under Christ, which title the adversaries do most falsely write and affirme, that the queene's majestie doth now use; a manifest lie and untrueth, to be seen by the very actes of parliament, and at the beginning of her raigne omitted in her stile. And for proofe that these foresaide bishoppes and learned men had so long time disavowed the Pope's authoritie, many of their bookes and sermons against the Pope's authoritie remaine printed both in English and Latin, to be seene in these times, to their great shame and reproofe to change so often, but especially in persecuting such as themselves had taught and stablished to hold the contrary; a sinne, neere to the sinne against the Holy Ghost.

A great nomber of lay persons of livehood being of a contrary religion, never charged with capitall crime.

There were also, and yet be a great nomber of others, being lay men of good possessions and lands, men of good credit in their countries, manifestly of late time seduced to hold contrary opinions in religion for the Pope's authority, and yet none of them have been sought hitherto to be impeached in any point or quarrel of treason, or of losse of life, member, or inheritance, so as it may plainly appeare, that it is not, nor hath been for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the Pope's authority alone, as the adversaries doe boldely and falsly publish, that any persons have suffered death since her majesties reigne, and yet some of these sort are wel knowen to holde opinion, that the Pope ought by authoritie of God's worde to be supreame and onely head of the Catholique church through the whole worlde, and onely to rule in all causes ecclesiasticall, and that the queene's majestie ought not to be the governour over any her subjects in her realme being persons ecclesiasticall; which opinions are neverlesse in some part by the laws of the realme punishable in other degrees, and yet for none of these pointes have any persons bene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life. And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others have of late suffred death, it is truely to be answered as afore is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for treason to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinately maintaine the contents of the Pope's bull afore mentioned, which doe import, that her majestie is not the lawful queene of England, the first and highest poynt of treason; and that all her subjects are discharged of their othes and obedience, a second high poynt of treason; and all warranted to disobey her and her laws, a third and a very large poynt of treason.[1] And thereto is to be added a fourth poynt most manifest, in that they would not disalowe the Pope's hostile proceedings in open warres against her majestie in her realme of Irelande, where one of their companie, D. Sanders,[2] a lewde scholler and subject of England, a fugitive and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels at Rome, was by the Pope's

No person charged with capitall crime for the onely maintenance of the Pope's supremacie.

Four Pointes of treason. Such condemned only for treason, as maintaine the effectes of the Pope's bull against her majestie and realme.

[1] The distinction here drawn seems to be very just. Camden tells us, that the more moderate Catholics disliked and neglected the bull of Pius V. against Queen Elizabeth.

[2] Nicolas Sanders, a bigotted Papist, was educated at Oxford, where he was for some time regius professor of the canon law. He left England in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and having attached himself to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, was present at the council of Trent, where he distinguished himself by his talents. In July 1579, Sanders, as papal nuntio, came to Ireland with that handful of Spaniards and Italians, who made their invasion in the name of Pope Gregory XIII. And when the foreigners were put to the sword by Lord Grey De Wilton in the fort of Smerwick, and the Irish rebels who had joined them were broken and dispersed, this unfortunate champion of the Roman church was, according to Camden, famished to death in the woods. "Thus the divine justice," adds that historian, "if a man may judge, stopped that mouth with hunger, which had been always open to encourage rebellion, and to belch forth malicious lies and slanders." Other authorities say, he died of the flux about 1581. Sanders wrote many books of controversy, of which there is a catalogue in the *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 205. But his best known tract is entitled "*De Origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani.*"

special commission a commander, as in forme of a legate, and some time a bursor or paymaster for those warres, which D. Sanders in his booke of his Church Monarchie, did afore his passing into Ireland openly by writing, gloriously avowe the foresaid bull of Pius Quintus against her majestie, to be lawfull, and affirmeth that by virtue thereof one D. Mooreton, an olde English fugitive and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the north parts of England, which was true, to stirre up the first rebellion there, whereof Charles Nevill the late Earle of Westmerlande was a head captaine.[1] And thereby it may manifestly appeare to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions both in England and Ireland, and how for maintenaunce thereof, and for sowing of sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were justly condemned of treason, and lawfully executed by the auncient laws temporall of the realme, without charging them for any other matter then for their practices and conspiracies both abroade and at home against the queene and the realme, and for maintaining of the Pope's foresaid authoritie and bull, published to deprive her majestie of her crowne, and for withdrawing and reconciling of her subjects from their naturall allegeaunce due to her majestie and to their countrie, and for moving them to sedition; and for no other causes or questions of religion were these persons condemned, although true it is, that when they were charged and convinced of these pointes of conspiracies and treasons, they would stil in their answers colourably pretende their actions to have bene for religion but indeede and trueth they were manifested to be for the procurement and maintenaunce of the rebellions and warres against her majestie and her realme.

D. Sanders maintenance of the Pope's bull.

The persons that suffered death, were condemned for treason, and not for religion.

And herein is now the manifest diversitie to be seene and well considered betwixt the trueth of her majesties actions, and the falshood of the blasphemous adversaries; that where the factious partie of the Pope, the principal author of the invasions of her majesties dominions, do falsely alleadge, that a nomber of persons, whome they terme as martyrs, have dyed for defence of the Catholique religion, the same in very trueth may manifestly appeare to have dyed (if they so will have it,) as martyrs for the Pope, but yet as traitors against their soveraigne and queene in adhering to him, being the notable and only hostile enemie in all actions of warre against her majestie, her kingdoms and people; and that this is the meaning of al these that have so obstinately maintained the authoritie and contentes of this bull, the very wordes of the bull doe declare in this sort, as D. Sanders reporteth them.

The diversitie betwixt trueth and falshoode.

A full proofe that the mainteiners of the bull are directly guilty of treason.

Pius Quintus Pontifex Maximus, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declaravit Elizabetham prætenso Regno jure, necnon omni et quocunque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam; itemque proceres, subditos et populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt, à juramento hujusmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito, perpetuò absolutos. That is to say, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, of the fulnesse of the apostolique power, declared Elizabeth to be bereaved or deprived of her pretended right of her kingdome, and also of all and whatsoever dominion, dignitie, and priviledge; and also the nobles, subjects, and people of the said kingdome, and all others which had sworne to her any maner of wayes, to be absolved for ever from such othe, and from all debt or duetie of fealtie, and so forth, with many threatning curses, to all that durst obey her or her lawes. And for execution hereof, to prove that the effect of the Pope's bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same D. Sanders the Pope's firebrande in Irelande also writeth in his Visible Church Monarchie, which is thus:

Pius Quintus Pontifex Maximus, Anno Domini 1569, *reverendum Presbyterum Nicolaum Mortonum Anglum in Angliam misit, ut certis illustribus viris authoritate apostolica denunciaret, Elizabetham quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, hæreticam esse; ob eamque causam, omni dominio et potestate excedisse, impuneque ab illis velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec eos*

D. Morton's secret ambassage from Rome to stirre the rebellion in the north.

[1] This assertion occurs in a treatise by Sanders, *De visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ*, first published in 1573, in which he affirms the virtue of the bull of Pius V. as is mentioned a little lower.

illius legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi. That is to say, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, in the yeere of our Lorde 1569, sent the reverende priest Nicolas Morton, an Englishman, into Englande, that he should denounce or declare by the apostolique authoritie to certaine noble men, Elizabeth, who then was in possession, to be an heretike; and for that cause, to have fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnike, and that they are not to be compelled to obey her lawes or commaundements, &c.

Thus you see an ambassade of rebellion from the Pope's Holinesse, the ambassadour an olde doting English priest, a fugitive and conspirator, sent as he saieth to some noble men, and those were the two Earles of Northumberlande and Westmerland, heades of the rebellion.

And after this, he followeth to declare the successe thereof, which I dare say he was sorie it was so evill, with these wordes:

Quo denuntiatione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, ut de fratribus liberandis cogitare auderent, ac sperabant illi quidem Catholicos omnes summis viribus affuturos esse; verùm etsi aliter quàm ille expectabant res evenit, quià Catholici omnes nondum probè cognoverant, Elizabetham hæreticam esse declaratam, tamen laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant. That is: by which denuntiation, many noble men were induced or ledde, that they were boldened to thinke of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped certainely that all the Catholiques would have assisted them with all their strength; but although the matter happened otherwise then they hoped for, because all the Catholiques knew not that Elizabeth was declared to be an heretike, yet the counsels and intents of those noble men were to be praysed. A rebellion and a vanquishing of rebels very smoothly described.

This noble fact here mencioned was the rebellion in the north; the noble men were the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerlande; the lack of the event or successe was, that the traitours were vanquished, and the queene's majestie and her subjects had by God's ordinance the victorie; and the cause why the rebels prevailed not, was because all the Catholiques had not bene duely informed that the queene's majestie was declared to be (as they terme it) an heretike; which want of information, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in nomber and power, was diligently and cunningly supplyed by the sending into the realme of a great multitude of the seminaries and Jesuites, whose speciall charge was to informe the people therof, as by their actions hath manifestly appeared; a supplement to amend the former errour.

Persons and Campion are offenders as D. Sanders is, for allowance of the bull.

And though D. Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be saide by such as favoured the two notable Jesuites, one named Robert Persons, (who yet hideth himselfe in corners to continue his traiterous practice,) the other named Edmond Campion, (who was found out being disguised like a roister and suffered for his treasons,) that D. Sanders treason is his proper treason in allowing of the sayde bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion.[2] Therefore to make it plaine that these two by speciall autho-

[2] Camden gives the following account of these remarkable persons:—"Robert Parsons also, and Edmund Campian, Englishmen, and of the Society of Jesus, being now ready to come over to advance the Romish affairs in England, obtained power from Gregory the Thirteenth, bishop of Rome, for moderating the said bull, and that in these words: 'Let there be humbly prayed of our most holy Lord, an explanation of the bull declaratory set forth by Pius V. against Elizabeth and her adherents. Which bull the Catholics do desire may be understood in this manner: That it may always bind her and the hereticks, but in no way the Catholicks, as matters now stand; but only hereafter, when public execution of the said bull may be had. These graces aforesaid, the chief bishop hath granted to father Robert Parsons, and Edmund Campian, who are now to take their journey into England the 14th day of April 1580, in the presence of Father Oliver Manarco, assistant.'

"This Parsons was of Somersetshire, a violent, fierce natured man, and of a rough behaviour. Campian was a Londoner, of a sweet disposition, and a well-bred man. Both of them were by education Oxfordmen, whom I myself knew, being of their standing in the university. Campian, being of St John's College, bare the office of proctor of the university in the year 1568, and being made deacon, made a shew of the Protestant religion, till he withdrew himself out of England. Parsons was of Baliol College, wherein he openly

ritie had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these actes in writing following shall make manifest, which are not fayned or imagined, but are the verie writings taken about one of their complyces, immediately after Campion's death; although Campion before his death woulde not be knowen of any such matter, whereby may appeare what truste is to be given to the words of such pseudo-martyrs.

Facultates concessæ pp. Roberto Personio et Edmundo Campiano, pro Anglia, die 14 *Aprilis*, 1580.

Petatur a summo Domino nostro, explicatio bullæ declaratoriæ per Pium Quintum contra Elizabetham et ei adhærentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget semper illam et hæreticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publica ejusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit. Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their further authorities, which are not needfull for this purpose to be recited: but in the end followeth this sentence as an answere of the Pope's, *Has prædictas gratias concessit summus Pontifex patri Roberto Personio, et Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturis, die* 14 *Aprilis* 1580. *Præsente patre Oliverio Manarco assistente.* The English of which Latten sentences is as followeth:

Faculties granted to the two Fathers Robert Persons, and Edmund Campion, for England, the 14 *Day of April*, 1580.

Faculties granted to Persons and Campion by Pope Gregory. 13. anno 1580.

"Let it be asked or required of our most holy Lorde, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratory made by Pius the Fifth against Elizabeth, and such as do adheare or obey her, which bull the Catholiques desire to be understand in this manner, that the same bull shall alwayes bind her and the heritikes, but the Catholiques it shall by no meanes binde, as matters or things doe now stande or be, but hereafter, when the publique execution of that bull may be had or made."

Then in the end the conclusion was thus added:

By what authoritie Campion came into England.

"The highest pontiffe, or bishoppe, graunted these foresaide graces to father Robert Persons and Edmonde Campion, who are now to take their journeys into Englande, the fourteenth day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde 1580. Being present, the Father Oliverius Manarke assistant."

Hereby it is manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contentes of the bull against the queenes majestie, howsoever he himselfe denyed the same; for this was his errand.

And though it be manifest that these two Jesuites, Persons and Campion, not only required to have the Pope's minde declared for the bull, but also in their own petitions,

professed the Protestant religion, until he was, for his loose carriage, expelled with disgrace, and went over to the Papists. These two coming privately into England, travelled up and down through the country, and to Popish gentlemen's houses, covertly and in the disguised habits sometimes of soldiers, sometimes of gentlemen, sometimes of ministers of the word, and sometimes of apparitors, diligently performing what they had in charge both by word and writing. Parsons, who was constituted superior, being a man of a seditious and turbulent spirit, and armed with a confident boldness, tampered so far with the Papists about deposing the queen, that some of them (I speak upon their own credit) thought to have delivered him unto the magistrates hands. Campian, though more modest, yet by a written paper challenged the ministers of the English church to a disputation, and published a neat well-penned book in Latin, called, Ten Reasons in defence of the Doctrine of the Church of Rome; and Parsons put out another virulent book in English against Clark, who had soberly written against Campian's challenge. But to Campian's Reasons, Whitaker gave a solid answer. Campian himself was taken a year after and put to the rack; and afterwards being brought forth to dispute, he scarcely answered the expectation raised of him."—CAMDEN'S *Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ad annum* 1580.

shewed howe they and other Catholiques did desire to have the saide bull to be understood against the Queene of Englande; yet to make the matter more plaine howe all other Jesuites and seminaries, yea howe all Papistes naming them selves Catholiques, doe or are warranted to interpret the saide bull against her majestie and her good subjectes, howe so ever they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion and yet liveth, did amongst many other thinges declare his knowledge thereof the last day of December in the same yeere, 1580, in these wordes following:

Hart's confession of the interpretation of the bull of Pius Quintus.

"The bull of Pius Quintus (for so much as it is against the queene) is holden among the English Catholiques for a lawfull sentence, and a sufficient discharge of her subjectes fidelitie, and so remaineth in force, but in some poyntes touching the subjectes, it is altered by the present Pope. For where in that bull all her subjecte sare commaunded not to obey her, and she being excommunicate and deposed, all that doe obey her are likewise innodate and accursed, which point is perillous to the Catholiques; for if they obey her, they be in the Pope's curse, and they disobey her, they are in the queene's danger; therefore the present Pope to relieve them hath altered that part of the bull, and dispenced with them to obey and serve her, without perill of excommunication; which dispensation is to endure but till it please the Pope otherwise to determine."

A conclusion that all the infamous bookes against the queene and the realme are false.

Wherefore to make some conclusion of the matters before mencioned, all persons both within the realme and abroade, may playnly perceive that all the infamous libels lately published abroade in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reportes made in other princes courtes of a multitude of persons, to have bene of late put to torments and death, onely for proffession of the Catholique religion, and not for matters of state against the queenes majestie, are false and shamelesse, and published to the maintenance of traitours and rebelles. And to make the matter seeme more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which by their owne catalogue exceede not for these twentie five yeeres space above the number of iii. score, forgetting, or rather with their stonie and senselesse heartes not regarding, in what cruel sort in the time of Queene Maria, which litle exceeded the space of five yeeres, the queene's majesties raigne being five times as many, there were by imprisonment, torments, famyne, and fire, of men, women, maidens and children, almost the number of foure hundred, beside such as were secretly murthered in prisons; and of that number, above twentie that hath bene archbishopes, and principall prelates, or officers in the church, lamentably destroyed, and of women above three score, and of children above fortie, and amongst the women, some great with childe, and one, out of whose bodie the childe by fire was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burned; examples beyonde all heathen cruelty. And most of the youth that then suffered cruell death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had never by the sacrament of baptisme, or by confirmation, professed, or was ever taught or instructed, or ever had hearde of any other kinde of religion, but onely of that which by their blood and death in the fire they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of another sorte to be lamented in a Christian charitie with simplicitie of wordes, and not with puffed eloquence, then the execution in this time of a very fewe traytours, who also in their time, if they exceeded thirtie yeeres of age, had in their baptisme professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they nowe so bitterly oppugned. And beside that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of Queene Marie's time; for though they which suffered in Queene Maria's time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetually taught, yet they never at their death denyed their lawfull queene, nor maintained any of her open or forreigne enemies, nor procured any rebellion or civil warre, nor did sowe any sedition in secret corners, nor withdrewe any subjectes from their obedience, as these sworne servants of the Pope have continually done.

Difference of the small numbers that have bene executed in the space of xxv. yeeres from the great numbers in v. yeeres of Queene Marie's raigne.

And therefore, all these things well considered, there is no doubt, but all good subjectes within the realme doe manifestly see, and all wavering persons (not being ledde cleane out of the way by the seditious) will hereafter perceive, howe they have bene abused to goe astray. And all strangers, but especially all Christian potentates, as emperours, kings, princes, and such like, having their soveraigne estates, either in succession, hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the very trueth of these her majesties late just and necessarie actions, onely for defence of her selfe, her crowne and people, against open invaders, and for eschewing of civil warres, stirred up by rebellion, will allowe in their owne like cases, for a trueth and rule (as it is not to bee doubted but they will) that it belongeth not to a bishope of Rome as successour of Saint Peter, and therein a pastour spirituall, or if hee were the bishoppe of all Christendome, as by the name of Pope he claymeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sorte at his will in favour of traytours and rebels, to depose any soveraigne princesse, being lawfully invested in their crownes by succession in blood, or by lawfull election, and then to arme subjectes against their naturall lordes, to make warres, and to dispense with them for their othes in so doing, or to excommunicate faithfull subjects, for obeying of their naturall princes, and lastly himselfe to make open warre, with his owne souldiers, against princes moving no force against him.

An advertisement to all princes of countries abroad.

For if these high tragicall powers shoulde be permitted to him to exercise, then shoulde no empire, no kingdome, no countrey, no citie or towne, be possessed by any lawfull title, longer then one such onely and earthly man, sitting (as he sayeth) in Saint Peter's chaire at Rome, shoulde for his will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) thinke meete and determine: an authoritie never chalenged by the Lorde of lordes, the Son of God, Jesus Christ our onely Lorde and Saviour, and the onely head of his church, whilest he was in his humanitie upon the earth, nor yet delivered by any writing or certaine tradition from Saint Peter, from whome the Pope pretendeth to derive all his authoritie, nor yet from Saint Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles; but contrariwise by all preachings, precepts, and writings, conteined in the gospell and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expresly commanded to all earthly princes, yea, even to kinges by speciall name, and that so generally, as no person is excepted from such duetie of obedience, as by the sentence of Saint Paul even to the Romanes, appeareth, *Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus sit subdita;* that is, "Let every soule be subject to the higher powers;" within the compasse of which lawe or precept, Saint Chrisostome being bishoppe of Constantinople, writeth, that even apostles, prophets, evangelists, and monkes, are comprehended. And for proofe of Saint Peter's minde herein, from whom these Popes claime their authoritie, it can not be plainer expressed, then when he writeth thus, *Proinde subjecti estote cujus humanæ ordinationi, propter Dominum, sive regi, ut qui superemineat, sive presidibus ab eo missis;* that is, "Therefore be you subject to every humaine ordinance or creature, for the Lorde, whether it be to the king, as to him that is supereminent, or above the rest, or to his presidents sent by him." By which two principall apostles of Christ, these Popes the pretended successours, but chiefely by that which Christ the Sonne of God the onely Master of trueth sayde to Peter and his fellowe apostles, *Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic,* that is, "The kings of the Gentiles have rule over them, but you not so," may learne to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthly and temporall causes over kinges and princes, and exercise their pastorall office, as Saint Peter was charged thrise at one time by his Lorde and Master, *Pasce oves meas,* "Feede my sheepe," and peremptorily forbidden to use a sworde, in saying to him, *Converte gladium tuum in locum suum,* or, *mitte gladium tuum in vaginam;* that is, "Turne thy sworde into his place;" or, "Put thy sworde into the scabbard." All which precepts of Christ and his apostles, were duely followed and observed many hundred yeares after their death, by the faithful and godly bishoppes of Rome, that duely followed the doctrine and humilitie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and were holy martyrs, and thereby dilated the limits of Christ's church and the fayth, more in the compasse of

The authoritie proclaimed by the Pope not warranted by Christ or by the two apostles Peter and Paul.

an hundred yeares, then the latter Popes have done with their swords and curses these 500 yeeres, and so continued until the time of one Pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory the Seventh, about the yeere of our Lord 1074, who first began to usurpe that kinde of tyrannie, which of late the late Pope called Pius Quintus, and since that time, Gregory nowe the Thirteenth, hath followed, for some example as it seemeth: that is, where Gregory the Seventh, in the yeere of our Lord 1074, or there about, presumed to depose Henry the Fourth, a noble emperor then being, Gregory the Thirteenth nowe at this time woulde attempt the like against king Henry the Eighte's daughter and heire, Queene Elisabeth, a sovereigne and a maiden queene, holding her crowne immediately of God. And to the end it may appeare to princes. or to their good counsellours in one example, what was the fortunate successe that God gave to this good christian Emperour Henry, against the proude Pope Hildebrande, it is to be noted, that when the Pope Gregory attempted to depose this noble emperour Henry, there was one Rodulphe a noble man, by some named the count of Reenfielde, that by the Pope's procurement usurped the name of the emperour, who was overcome by the sayde Henry the lawfull emperour, and in fight having lost his right hand, he the said Rodulphe, lamented his case to certayne bishoppes, who in the Pope's name had erected him up; and to them he said, that the selfe same right hande which he had lost, was the same hande wherewith he had before sworne obedience to his lorde and master the emperour Henry; that in following their ungodly counselles, he had brought upon him God's heavy and just judgementes. And so Henry the emperour prevailing by God's power, caused Gregory the Pope by a synode in Italy to be deposed, as in like times before him his predecessour Otho the emperour had deposed one Pope John for many heynous crimes: and so were also within a short time, three other popes, namely, Silvester, Bennet, and Gregory the Sixth, used by the emperour Henry the Thirde, about the yere of our Lorde 1047, for their like presumptuous attemptes in temporall actions against the saide emperours. Many other examples might be shewed to the emperour's majestie, and the princes of the holy empire nowe being, after the time of Henry the Fourth; as of Henry the Fifth, and after him, of Fredericke the First, and Fredericke the Seconde, and then of Lewis of Bavar, all emperours, cruelly and tyrannously persecuted by the Popes and by their bulles, curses, and by open warres, and likewise to many other the great kinges and monarches of Christendome, of their noble progenitors, kinges of their several dominions; whereby they may see howe this kinde of tyrannous authoritie in Popes to make warres upon emperours and kinges, and to command them to be deprived, tooke holde at the first by Pope Hildebrande, though the same never had any lawfull example or warrant from the lawes of God, of the Old or New Testament; but yet the successes of their tyrannies were by God's goodnesse for the most parte made frustrate, as by God's goodnesse there is no doubt, but the like will followe to their confusions at all times to come.

Pope Hildebrand the first that made warre against the emperour.

An. Do. 1074. The judgement of God against the Pope's false erected emperour.

Pope Gregory the vii. deposed by Henry the Fourth.

Henry 5. Frederick 1. Frederick 2. Lewes of Bavar, emperours.

And therefore, as there is no doubt, but the like violent tyrannous proceedings by any Pope in maintenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstoode by every soveraigne prince in Christendome in defence of there persons and crownes, and maintenance of their subjects in peace; so is there at this present a like just cause that the emperour's majestie, with the princes of the holy empire, and all other soveraigne kings and princes in Christendome, shoulde judge the same to be lawfull for her majestie, being a queene, and holding the very place of a king and prince soveraigne over divers kingdomes and nations, she being also most lawfully invested in her crowne, and as for good governing of her people, with such applause and generall allowance, loved, and obeyed of them, saving a fewe ragged traitours or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other realme is free, as continually for these xxv years past hath bene notably seene, and so publiquely marked, even by strangers repairing into this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to any monarchie and king in Christendome, to have her majesties felicitie compared with any of theirs whatsoever; and it may bee, there are many kings and princes

Whatsoever is lawful for other princes soveraignes is lawefull for the queene and crowne of England.

coulde be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of her felicitie. And though the Popes be nowe suffered by the emperour, in the landes of his own peculiar patrimonie, and by the two great monarches the French king and the king of Spain, in their dominions and territories (although by many other kings not so allowed) to continue his authority in sundrie cases, and his glorious title to be the universal bishop of the worlde, which title Gregorie the Great, above nine hundred yeeres past, called a prophane title, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of Antichrist; yet in all their dominions and kingdomes, as also in the realme of Englande, most notably by many ancient lawes it is well knowen, howe many wayes the tyrannous power of this his excessive authoritie hath bene and still is restrained, checked and limited by laws and pragmatiques, both ancient and new, both in France and Spayne and other dominions; a very large fielde for the lawyers of those countreyes to walke in and discourse. And howsoever the Pope's cannonistes being as his bombarders, doe make his excommunications and curses appear fearful to the multitude and simple people; yet all great emperours and kings aforetime, in their own cases, of their rights and royall preeminences, though the same concerned but a citie or a poore towne, and sometime but the not allowance of some unworthie person to a bishopricke or to an abbey, never refrayned to despise all Popes curses or forces, but attempted alwayes, eyther by their swordes to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without any feare of themselves, in body, soul or conscience, stoutly to withstande their curses, and that sometyme by force, sometyme by ordinances and lawes; the auncient hystories whereof are too many to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectual than of the kings of Fraunce. And in the recordes of Englande doth appear, how stoutly the kings and the baronady of England from age to age, by extreme penall laws have so repelled the Pope's usurpations, as with the very name of premunires, his proctors have bene terrified, and his clergy have quaked, as of late Cardinall Woolsey did prove.[1] But leaving those that are auncient, we may remember howe in this our owne present or late age, it hath bene manifestly seene, how the army of the late noble emperour Charles the First, father to King Philippe that nowe reigneth, was not afrayde of his curses, when in the yeere of our Lord 1527, Rome it selfe was besieged and sacked, and the Pope, then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the nomber of about 33, in his Mount Adrian, or Castell S. Angelo, taken prisoners and deteined seven moneths or more, and after ransomed by Don Vigo di Moncada a Spaniarde, and the Marquis of Guasto, at above foure hundred M. duckates, besides the ransomes of his cardinals which was much greater, having not long before time bene also (notwithstanding his curses) besieged in the same castel by the familie of the Colonies and their fautors, his next neighbours being then imperialistes, and forced to yeelde to all their demands. Neither did King Henry the Seconde of Fraunce, father to Henry nowe king of Fraunce, about the yeere 1550, fear or regard the Pope or his court of Rome, when he made several straight edictes against many parts of the Pope's claims in prejudice of the crowne and clergie of Fraunce, retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome, greatly to the hinderance of the Pope's former profites. Neither was the army of King Philip nowe of Spaine, whereof the Duke of Alva was generall, stricken with any fear of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the Pope, in the yeere of our Lord 1555, where great destruction was made by the saide army, and al the delicate buildings, gardens and orchards next to Rome walls overthrown, wherewith his holinesse was more terrified then he was able to remove with any his curses. Neither was Queene Mary the queene's majestie's noble late sister, a person not a little devoted to the Romane religion, so affraid of the Pope's cursings, but that both she and her whole counsel, and that with the assent of all the judges of the realme, according to the auncient laws, in favour of Cardinall Poole her kinsman, did most streightly forbid the

The title of universall bishop is a preamble of Antichrist.

1527. Rome sacked, and the Pope Clement taken prisoner by the emperour's army.

1550. King Henry the Second of Fraunce his edictes against the Pope and his courts of Rome. The besieging of Rome and the Pope by the D. of Alva with King Philip's

Queene Marie and Cardinall Poole resisted the Pope.

[1] A writ of præmunire was sued out against Wolsey, for sundry usurpations on royal authority, made both in his legatine, arch-episcopal, and ministerial capacity.

entrie of his bulles, and of a cardinall hatte at Callis, that was sent from the Pope for one Frier Peyto, an observant pleasant frier, whome the Pope had assigned to bee a cardinall in disgrace of Cardinall Poole; neither did Cardinall Poole himselfe at the same time obey the Pope's commandements, nor shewed himselfe afraid, beeing assisted by the queene, when the Pope did threaten him with pain of curses and excommunications, but did stil oppose himselfe against the Pope's commandement for the saide pretended Cardinall Peyto, who notwithstanding all the threatninges of the Pope, was forced to go up and downe in the streetes of London like a begging frier, without his red hatte; a stout resistance in a queene for a poor cardinall's hatte, wherein she folowed the example of her grandfather King Henrie the VII. for a matter of allum, wherein the king used very great severity against the Pope.[1] So as howsoever the christian kings for some respects in pollicie can indure the Pope to commande where no harme nor disadvantage groweth to themselves, yet sure it is, and the Popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in any sort attempt to take from Christian princes any part of their dominions, or shall give ayde to their enemies, or to any other their rebels, in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences and most solemne anathematicals, no nor their crosse keys, or double-edged sword, wil serve their turns to compasse their intentions.

D. Peyto a begging fryer.

The kings of Christendome never suffer the Popes to abridge their titles or rights, though they suffer them to have rule over their people.

And nowe, where the Pope hath manifestly by his bulles and excommunications attempted asmuch as he coulde, to deprive her majestie of her kingdoms, to withdrawe from her the obedience of her subjectes, to procure rebellions in her realmes, yea, to make both rebellions and open warres, with his own captains, soldiers, banners, ensignes, and all other things belonging to warre; shall this Pope Gregory, or any other Pope after him, think that a soveraigne queene possessed of the two realmes of England and Ireland, established so many yeeres in her kingdomes, as three or four Popes have sit in their chayre at Rome, fortyfied with so much duetie, love, and strength of her subjectes, acknowledging no superior over her realmes, but the mightie hand of God; shall she forbeare, or fear to withstande and make frustrate his unlawful attemptes, eyther by her sword or by her laws, or to put his soldiers invadours of her realme to the sword martially, or to execute her lawes upon her owne rebellious subjectes civilly, that are prooved to be his chief instruments for rebellion, and for his open warre? This is sure, that howsoever either by sitting in his chaire with a triple crowne at Rome, or any other his proctors in any part of Christendome shall renewe these unlawfull attemptes, Almightie God the King of kings, whome her majestie onely honoureth and acknowledgeth to be her onely Soveraigne Lord and Protectour, and whose lawes and gospel of his Sonne Jesus Christ she seeketh to defend, wil no doubt but deliver sufficient power into his mayden's hand, his servant Queene Elizabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

The queene of England may not suffer the Pope by any meanes to make rebellions in her realme.

Additaments to the Pope's martyrologe.

The strange ends of James Erle of Desmond,

And where the seditious trumpetters of infamies and lies, have sounded forth and entituled certaine that have suffred for treason, to bee martyrs for religion; so may they also at this time if they list, adde to their forged catalogue, the headles bodie of the late miserable Earle of Desmond,[2] the heade of the Irish rebellion, who of late, secretly wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irishry in his

[1] When war broke out between France and Spain in 1657, the Pope was so unreasonably angry with Queen Mary of England, for adopting the cause of her husband Philip, that, to mortify her, he superseded her favourite Cardinal Poole in his legatine authority, and conferred it on one Peter Peyto a Franciscan friar, whom he created legate cardinal, and bishop of Salisbury. But Mary, who even towards the holy father evinced some of the humour of Henry VIII. prohibited Peyto to enter her kingdom. The author of the tract does injustice, however, to Poole; for the circumstance having come to his ear, notwithstanding the queen's endeavours to suppress it, he laid aside the silver cross, and declined to exercise his legatine authority until the Pope had formally restored it to him.

[2] Gerald Fitz-Gerald, eleventh Earl of Desmond, and head of the powerful family of Geraldine. He engaged in the rebellion of 1578, when Sanders landed with the Spanish and Italian forces in the South of Ireland. Being totally defeated, he lurked in the woods about two years, and was at length discovered and slain in a cottage

caben, and in an Irish sort after his owne accustomed savage manner, his head cut off from his bodie; an end due to such an archrebell. And herewith to remember the end of his chiefe confederates, may be noted for example to others, the strange maner of the death of D. Sanders the Pope's Irish legat, who also wandering in the mountaines in Ireland without succour, died raving in a phrensey. And before him, one James Fits-Morice the first traitour of Ireland, next to Stukely the rakehell, a man not unknown in the Pope's palace for a wicked craftie traytor, was slaine at one blow by an Irish noble yong gentleman, in defence of his father's country, which the traytor sought to burne.[1] A fourth man of singular note was John of Desmonde,[2] brother to the earle, a very bloody faithles traitor, and a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandring to seeke some prey like a wolfe in the woods, was taken and beheaded after his own usage, being as he thought sufficiently armed with the Pope's bulls and certaine Agnus Dei, and one notable ring with a precious stone about his necke sent from the Pope's finger, as it was said; but these hee sawe saved not his life. And such were the fatal ends of al these, being the principal heads of the Irish warre and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this day in Ireland a knowen traitor; a worke of God, and not of man. To this nomber they may, if they seek nomber, also adde a furious young man of Warwickeshire, by name Somervile, to increase their kalender of the Pope's martyrs, who of late was discovered and taken in his way, coming with a ful intent to have killed her majestie, whose life God always have in his custodie.[3] The attempt not denied by the traitor himselfe, but confessed, and that hee was moved thereto in his wicked spirit, by intices-ments of certaine seditious and traiterous persons, his kinsemen and allyes, and also by often reading of sundry seditious vile books lately published against her majestie, and his end was in desperation to strangle himselfe to death; an example of God's severitie against such as presume to offer violence to his anoynted. But as God of his goodness hath of long time hitherto preserved her majestie from these and the like trecheries; so hath she no cause to fear being under his protection, she saying with King David in the Psalme, "My God is my helper, and I will trust in him; he is my protection, and the

D. Saunders,

James Fitz-morice,

John of Des-mond,

John Somer-vile.

by a common soldier. It is said that he was betrayed by some of his followers, though they had sworn rather to renounce God than forsake their chief; and this was often a matter of reproach to the southern Irish by the Ulster men, who endured every extremity rather than betray their beloved O'Neale. The earldom of Desmond, with all the immense possessions of its late owner, were united to the crown.

[1] James Fitz-Morris, of the house of Desmond, a turbulent chief, rebelled in 1569; but, being overpowered, made submission on his knees to sir John Perrot, then lord-deputy of Ireland. Yet ten years afterwards, in 1579, he fled into France, and from thence to Rome, where he had a considerable share in exciting the Pope to send the Spaniards, so often mentioned, to invade Ireland. As he rode with a small party to procure recruits for the rebels, he chanced to seize upon some horses belonging to William O'Burgh, one of his own kinsmen. Theobald Burgh, son of William, pursued to recover the spoil, and attacked Fitz-Morice. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which Fitz-Morice fell on the one side, and on the other O'Burgh and one of his brothers. The queen, to console William O'Burgh, created him baron of Castle Connell: but the old man, under the conflicting emotions of grief and joy, died soon after.

[2] This John of Desmond was a cruel and blood-thirsty man. He basely murdered Davill, an English officer, with whom he had lived in such familiarity, that they called each other father and son; and, stained with his blood, he joined the Spanish invaders. After gaining some advantages over the English, and being at length defeated, he was seized while lurking in the woods, and beheaded without ceremony. His brother James of Desmond was taken in the same rebellion; and, though mortally wounded, was instantly hanged.

[3] "On the other side, the writings of certain Papists against the queen and other excommunicated princes, drew some men, who had the Pope's power in great esteem, from their obedience; and amongst others, they so distracted one Sommervill, that in all haste he took a journey privately to the queen's court, and, breathing nothing but blood against the Protestants, furiously set upon one or two by the way with his sword. Being apprehended, he confessed that he would have killed the queen with his own hands. Whereupon he, and upon his impeachment Edward Ardern, his wife's father, a man of a very ancient family in the county of Warwick, Ardern's wife, their daughter, and Hall a priest, as accessaries, were arraigned and condemned. Three days after, Somervill was found strangled in prison. Ardern was condemned, and the next day after hanged and quartered. The women and the priest were spared. This woeful end of this gentleman, who was drawn in by the cunning of the priest, and cast by his evidence, was generally imputed to Leicester's malice. Certain it is, that he had incurred Leicester's displeasure; and not without cause, for he had rashly opposed him in all he could, reproaching him as an adulterer, and defaming him as a new upstart."—CAMDEN'S *Annals of Queen Elizabeth, ad ann.* 1583.

strength or the power of my salvation." And for the more comfort of al good subjects against the shadowes of the Pope's bulles, it is manifest to the world, that from the beginning of her majestie's reign, by God's singular goodness, her kingdome hath enjoyed more universall peace, her people increased in more nombers, in more strength, and with greater riches, and with lesse sickenesse, the earth of her kingdomes hath yeelded more fruits, and generally all kind of worldly felicitie hath more abounded since and during the time of the Pope's thunders, bulles, curses, and maledictions, then in any other long times before, when the Pope's pardons and blessings came yeerely into the realme; so as his curses and maledictions have turned back to himself and his fautors, that it may be saide to the blessed Queene Elizabeth of England and her people, as was said in Deuteronomy of Balaam, "The Lord thy God woulde not heare Balaam, but did turne his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings;" the reason is, "For because thy God loved thee."

The prosperitie of England, during the Pope's curses.

Although these former reasons are sufficient to perswade all kind of reasonable persons to allow of her majestie's actions to be good, reasonable, lawfull, and necessary; yet because it may bee, that such as have by frequent reading of false artificial libels, and by giving credite to them upon a prejudice, or forejudgement afore grounded, by their rooted opinions in favoure of the Pope will rest unsatisfied; therefore as much as may be, to satisfie al persons as farre foorth as common reason may warrant, that her majestie's late action in executing of certain seditious traitors, hath not proceeded from the holding of opinions, either for the Pope's supremacie, or against her majestie's regality, but for the very crymes of sedition and treason, it shall suffice briefly, in a manner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remember these things following:—

Reasons to persuade by reason the favourers of the Pope, that none hath bene executed for religion, but for treason. The first reason.

First, It cannot be denied, but that her majestie did for many yeeres suffer quietly the Pope's bulles and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accompting of them but as of words or of wind, or of writings in parchment wayed downe with leade, or as of water-bubbles, commonly called in Latin *bullæ*, and such like: But yet after some proofe that courage was taken thereof by some bolde and bad subjectes, she coulde not but then esteem them to be very preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger: And therefore, with what reason could any mislike, that her majestie did for a bare defence against them, without other action or force, use the help of reviving of former lawes, to prohibit the publication or execution of such kinde of bulles within her realme?

The Second Reason. The bull of Pius Quintus set up at Paul's.

Secondly, When, notwithstanding the prohibition by her lawes, the same bulles were plentifully, but in secret sort, brought into the realme, and at length arrogantly set upon the gates of the bishop of London's pallace, neere to the cathedral church of Paul's, the principal citie of the realme, by a lewd person, using the same like a herald sent from the Pope; who can in any common reason mislike, that her majestie, finding this kinde of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in her principall citie by one of her subjects, avowing and obstinately maintaining the same, shoulde, according to justice, cause the offender to have the reward due to such a fact? And this was the first action of any capitall punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to move rebellion, which was after her majestie had reigned about the space of xii yeres or more; a time sufficient to prove her majestie's patience.[1]

The first punishment for the bull.

The Third Reason.

Thirdly, When the Pope had risen up out of his chaire in his wrath, from wordes and writings to actions, and had, contrary to the advise given by S. Barnard to one of his predecessors, that is, when by his messages he left *Verbum* and took *Ferrum*, that is, left to feede by the word, which was his office, and began to strike with the sword, which was forbidden him, and stirred her noblemen and people directly to disobedience and to open rebellion, which was the office of Dathan and Abiram, and that her lewde subjects

Rebellion in the north.

[1] John Felton, a hot enthusiast, was the person who adventured on this insolence. He scorned either to fly or ask mercy; but was taken, arraigned, and executed for high treason, glorying in the fact, and accounting his punishment martyrdom.

by his commandement had executed the same with all the forces which they could make or bring into the field; who with common reason can disallow that her majestie used her royal lawful authority, and by her forces lawfull subdued rebels forces unlawful, and punished the authors thereof no otherwise than the Pope himself useth to do with his own rebellious subiects in the patrimonie of his church, as not many moneths passed he had bene forced to intende: And if any prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and suffer his rebels to have their wils, none ought to pitie him, if, for want of resistance and courage, he lost both his crowne, his head, his life, and his kingdome.

The Fourth Reason.

Fourthly, When her majestie beheld a further increase of the Pope's malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in her north partes vanquished, in that he enterteined abroade, out of this realme, the traytours and rebelles that fledde for the rebellion, and all the rable of other the fugitives of the realme, and that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised into both the realmes of Englande and Irelande, who there secretly allured her people to newe rebellions, and at the same time spared not his charges to sende also out of Italy by sea certain shippes with captaines of his own, with their bandes of soldiers, furnished with treasure, munition, victuals, ensignes, banners, and all other things requisite to the warre, into her realme of Ireland, where the same forces, with other auxilliar companies out of Spaine, landed, and fortified themselves very strongly on the sea-side, and proclaymed open warre, erecting the pope's banner against her majestie. May it bee now asked of these persons, favourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should have been done by her majestie otherwise, than first to apprehend all such fugitives so stolne into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habites to sowe sedition, as some priestes in their secrete profession, but all in their apparell, as roisters, or ruffins, some scholars like to the basest common people, and them to committe to prisons, and upon their examinations of their trades and haunts, to convince them of their conspiracies abroad, by testimonie of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretly at home in the realm? What may be reasonablie thought was meete to be done with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to try, condemne, and execute them? And specially having regard to the dangerous time, when the pope's forces were in the realme of Ireland, and more in preparation to followe as well into Englande as into Irelande, to the resistance whereof her majestie and her realme were forced to be at greater charges than ever she had bene, since she was queene thereof; and so by God's power, which he gave her on the one part, she did by her lawes suppress the seditious stirrers of rebellion in her realme of Englande, and by her sword vanquished all the pope's forces in her realme of Irelande, excepting certaine captaines of mark that were saved from the sword, as persons that did renounce their quarrel, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so unfortunate and desperate a voyage. [1]

The invasion of Ireland by the Pope.

The Pope's forces vanquished in Ireland.

The politique adversaries satisfied.

But though these reasons, grounded upon rules of natural reason, shall satisfy a great number of the adversaries, (who will yeelde that by good order of civil and christian policie and government, her majestie could nor can doe no less than she hath done, first to subdue with her forces her rebelles and traytours, and nexte by order of her lawes to correct the ayders and abettors, and lastly, to put also to the sword such forces as the

[1] The bands of Spaniards and Italians, sent to Ireland with Sanders, built a fort at Smerwick, which they held out against Lord Grey de Wilton, the deputy. Being compelled to surrender, Lord Grey refused to admit them to quarter, under pretence that they were to be considered as banditti, who had no authority from any lawful prince. Accordingly, the whole garrison, excepting a few leaders of note, was executed in cold blood after surrender. We are sorry to find that Spenser does his best to excuse this abominable cruelty, which he admits gave cause "to evil tongues to backbite and slander the sacred ashes of that most just and honourable person, Lord Grey." See *Spenser's Works*, Todd's edition, vol. vi. p. 484.

Objection of the Papists, that the persons executed are but schollers, and unarmed.

Pope sent into her dominions,) yet there are certaine other persons, more nisely addicted to the Pope, that will yet seeme to be unsatisfied; for that, as they will terme the matter, a nomber of sillie poore wretches were put to death as traytours, being but in profession schollers or priestes, by the names of seminaries, jesuites, or simple scholemasters, that came not into the realme with any armour or weapon, by force to aide the rebelles and traitours, either in Englande or in Ireland in their rebellions or warres; of which sort of wretches the comiseration is made, as though for their contrary opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobey the lawes of the realme, they might have bene otherwise punished and corrected, but yet not with capital peane. These kinds of defences tend only to find fault rather with the severity of their punishments, than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subjects. But for answere to the better satisfaction of these nyse and scrupulous favorers of traitors, it must be with reason demaunded of them (if at least they will open their eares to reason), whether they thinke that when a king being stablished in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretly practised, and afterward openly raysed, in his realme, by his own seditious subjects; and when, by a forreine potentate or enemie, the same rebellion is mainteyned, and the rebelles, by messages and promises, comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince avowed; and consequently when the same potentate and enemie, being authour of the said rebellion, shall with his own proper forces invade the realme and subjectes of the prince that is so lawefully and peaceably possessed; in these cases shal no subject, favouring these rebelles, and yeelding obedience to the enemie the invador, be committed or punished as a traitour, but onely such of them as shall be found openly to carrie armour and weapon? Shal no subject, that is a spial and an explorer for the rebell or enemie against his natural prince, bee taken and punished as a traitour, because he is not found with armour or weapon, but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scroules and writings, or other manifest tokens to prove him a spie for traitors, after he hath wandered secretly in his soveraign's camp, region, court, or citie? Shall no subject be counted a traitour, that will secretly give earnest and prest money to persons to be rebelles or enemies, or that will attempt to poison the victual or the fountaines, or secretly set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretly search and sound the havens and creekes for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulwarkes and walles, because these offenders are not found with armour or weapon? The answer, I think, must needes be yeelded (if reason and experience shall have rule with these adversaries), that all these and such like are to bee punished as traitours; and the principal reason is, because it cannot bee denied, but that the actions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and adherents proper to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they will denie, that none are traitours that are not armed, they will make Judas no traitour, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

Many are traytours though they have no armour or weapon.

The application of the scholastical traitors, to others that are traitors without armour.

Now, therefore, it resteth to applie the facts of these late malefactors that are pretended to have offended but as scholers, or bookemen, or at the most but as persons that onely in words and doctrine, and not with armour, did favour and helpe the rebels and the enemies. For which purpose let these persons bee termed as they liste, scholers, schoolemasters, bookemen, seminaries, priestes, Jesuites, fryers, heademen, Romanistes, pardonners, or what else you wil, neither their tytles nor their apparel hath made them traitours, but their traiterous secret motions and practices; their persons have not made the warre, but their directions and counsels have set up the rebellions. It is truely to be pondered, that the very causes final of these rebellions and warres, have bene to depose her majestie from her crowne; the Pope's bull hath roared it so to be. The causes instrumentall, are these kinde of seminaries and seedemen of sedition; their secret teachings and reconciliations have confirmed it. The fruits and effectes thereof are, by rebellion, to shedde the blood of all her faithful subjectes; the rewards of the invadours (if they could prevaile) should be the disinheriting of al the nobilitie, the clergie, and the

whole commonaltie, that would (as they are bound by the lawes of God, by their birth and othes) defend their natural gracious queene, their native country, their wives, their children, their family, and their houses. And nowe examine these which you call your unarmed schollers and priestes, wherefore they first fledd out of the realme, why they lived and were conversant in companie of the principal rebels and traitours at Rome, and in other places, where it is proved that they were partakers of their conspiracies? Let it bee answered, why they came thus by stealth into the realme? Why they have wandered up and downe in corners in disguised sort, changing their tytles, names, and manner of apparel? Why they have intised and sought to perswade, by their secrete false reasons, the people to allowe and believe all the actions and attempts whatsoever the Pope hath done or shal do, to be lawful? Why they have reconciled and withdrawen so many people in corners from the lawes of the realme to the obedience of the Pope, a forreyne potentate and open enemy, whome they knowe to have already declared the queene to be no lawful queene, to have mayntayned the knowne rebels and traitours, to have invaded her majestie's dominions with open warre? Examine further, how these vagrant, disguised, unarmed spies, have answered, when they were taken and demanded what they thought of the bull of Pope Pius Quintus, which was published to deprive the queene's majestie, and to warrant her subjectes to disobey her; whether they thought that all subjectes ought to obey the same bull, and so to rebell? Secondly, Whether they thought her majestie to be the lawful queene of the realm, notwithstanding the said bull or any other bull of the Pope? Thirdly, Whether the Pope might give such licence as he did to the Earles of Northumberlande and Westmerland, and other her majestie's subjectes, to rebell as they did? Or give power to D. Sanders, a natural borne subject, but an unnatural worne priest, to take armes and move warres as he did in Irelande? Fourthly, Whether the Pope may discharge the subjectes of her majestie, or of any other princes christened, of their othes of obedience? Fiftly, Whether the sayde traiterous priest, D. Sanders, or one Bristowe, a rebellious fugitive, did, in their bookes, write truely or falsely, in approving the said bull of Pius Quintus, and the contents thereof? Lastly, What were to be done, if the Pope, or any other assigned by him, would invade the realm of Englande, and what part they would take, or what part any faithful subject of her majestie's ought to take? To these few questions, very apt to trie the trueth or falshoode of any such seditious persons, being justly before condemned for their disloyaltie, these lewde unarmed traytours, I say, would nowise answere directly hereto, as all other faithful subjectes to any prince christian ought to doe. And as they, upon refusal to answere directly to these questions onely, might have bene justly convinced as guiltie of treason, so yet were they not thereupon condemned, but upon all their other former actions committed, both abroade and in the realme, which were no lesse traiterous than the actions of all other the spies and traitours, and of Judas himselfe afore remembred, which had no armour nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adjudged traitours. For these disguised persons (called schollers or priests) having bene first conversant of long time with the traitours beyonde the sea, in all their conspiracies, came hither by stealth, in time of warre and rebellion, by commandement of the capital enemie the Pope or his legates, to be secrete espialles and explorers in the realm for the Pope, to deliver, by secrete Romish tokens as it were, an earnest or prest to them that should be in readiness to joyne with rebels or open enemies, and in like sort with their hallowed baggages from Rome, to poyson the sences of the subjectes, powring into their heartes malicious and pestilent opinions against her majestie and the lawes of the realme; and also to kindle and set on fire the heartes of discontented subjectes with the flames of rebellion; and to search and sound the depthes and secretes of all mens inwarde intentions, either against her majestie, or for her. And finally, To bring into a bead-roll, or, as it were, into a muster roll, the nanies and powers, with the dwellings, of all them that should be readie to rebell, and to ayde the forreigne invasion.

Six questions to try traitors from schollers.

The offendours executed for treason, not for religion.

These kinds of seditious actions for the service of the Pope, and the traitours and rebelles abroade, have made them traitours; not their books, nor their beades, no, nor their cakes of waxe, which they call *Agnus Dei;* nor other their reliques; no, nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome; and therefore it is to be certainly concluded, that these did justly deserve their capitall punishments as traitors, though they were not apprehended with open armour or weapon

Nowe if this latter repetition, as it were, of all the former causes and reasons afore recited, may not serve to stoppe the boisterous mouthes, and the pestiferous tongues, and venimous breathes of these that are infected with so grosse errors, as to defende seditious subjectes, stirrers of rebellion against their natural prince and country; then are they to be left without any further argument, to the judgement of the Almightie God, as persons that have covered their eyes against the sunne's light, stopped their eares against the sounde of justice, and oppressed their heartes against the force of reason; and, as the Psalmist sayeth, " They speake lyes, they are as venemous as the poison of " a serpent, even like the deafe adder that stoppeth his eares "

Unreasonable and obstinate persons are left to God's judgement.

Wherefore, with Christian charitie to conclude, if these rebelles and traitours, and their fautors, woulde yet take some remorse and compassion of their naturall countrey, and would consider how vaine their attempts have bene so many yeeres, and howe many of their confederates are wasted by miseries and calamities, and howe none of all their attemptes or plottes have prospered, and therefore woulde desist from their unnatural practises abroade: And if these seminaries, secrete wanderers, and explorators in the darke, woulde imploy their traveiles in the workes of light and doctrine, according to the usage of their schooles, and content themselves with their profession and devotion: and that the remnant of the wicked flocke of the seedemen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false, and infamous railings and libellings, altogether contrary to Christian charitie; there is no doubt, by God's grace, (her majestie being so much given to mercie and devoted to peace) but all colour and occasion of shedding the bloode of any more of her naturall subjectes of this lande, yea all further bodily punishments, shoulde utterly cease. Against whose malices, if they shall not desist, Almightie God continue her majestie, with his spirite and power, long to reigne and live in his feare, and to be able to vanquish them all, being God's enemies, and especially her rebels and traitors, both at home and abroad, and to maintaine and preserve all her naturall good loving subjectes, to the true service of the same Almightie God, according to his holy worde and will.

Many other thinges might be remembred for defence of other her majestie's princely, honourable, and godly actions in sundry other things, wherein also these and the like seditious railors have of late time, without all shame, by fained and false libels, sought to discredit her majestie and her government; but at this time, these former causes and reasons alleadged by way of advertisements onely for maintenance of trueth, are sufficient to justifie her majestie's actions to the whole worlde, in the cases remembred.

2 Esdras 4.

Magna est veritas, & prævalet.

Great is Trueth, and she overcommeth.

A Declaration of the favourable Dealing of her Majesties Commissioners, appointed for the Examination of certaine Traytours, and of Tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for Matter of Religion, 1583.—*By Lord Burghley.*

Queen Elizabeth, who wisely judged that the surest foundation of her throne was in the hearts of her subjects, here places herself before the tribunal of the public, concerning alleged cruelties exercised on Campion, Briant, and other priests who had been committed to the Tower for contravention of the public statutes. The apology was probably deemed ample in that age, though we, who detest any use whatever of the engines of torture, can only admit as a palliation the causes of administering them. The rack was not totally disused even after the Revolution, being employed to extort confession from a state delinquent, in the reign of William III.

Camden informs us, that Queen Elizabeth, not entirely satisfied with the following vindication, enjoined the use of torture to be forborne, and soon after commanded seventy priests, many of whom were in danger of the law, and some actually condemned, to be sent forth of the kingdom.

TO THE READER.

Good reader, although her majesties most milde and gracious government bee sufficient to defende it selfe against those most slaunderous reportes of heathenish and unnatural tyrannie, and cruell tortures, pretended to have bene executed upon certaine traitors, who lately suffered for their treason, and others, aswell spread abroad by runnagate Jesuites, and seminary men, in their seditious bookes, letters, and libels, in forreine countries, and princes courtes; as also insinuated into the hearts of some of our own countriemen and her majesties subjectes: yet for thy better satisfaction, I have conferred with a very honest gentleman, whom I knew to have good and sufficient meanes to deliver the trueth against such forgers of lyes and shameles slaunders in that behalfe, which he and other that do know and have affirmed the same, will at all times justifie. And for thy further assurance and satisfaction herein, he hath set downe to the vewe of all men these notes following.

Touching the racke and torments used to such traitors as pretended themselves to bee Catholiques, upon whom the same have bene exercised, it is affirmed for trueth, and is offered upon due examination so to be proved, to be as followeth:—First, That the formes of torture in their severitie or rigour of execution, have not bene such and in such maner perfourmed, as the sclaunderers and seditious libellers have sclaunderously and maliciously published. And that even the principall offender Campion himselfe, who was sent and came from Rome, and continued here in sundrie corners of the realme, having secretly wandered in the greatest part of the shieres of Englande in a disguised sort, to the intent to make speciall preparation of treasons, and to that end and for furtherance of those his labors, sent over for more helpe and assistance, and cunningly and traiterously at Rome, before he came from thence, procured tolleration for such prepared rebels, to keepe themselves covert under pretence of temporarie and permissive obedience to her majestie, the state standing as it doth, but so soone as there were sufficient force, whereby the bull of her majesties deprivation might bee publikely executed, they shoulde

then joine altogether with that force upon peine of curse and damnation. That very Campion, I say, before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherin he was charitably used, was never so racked, but that he was presently able to walk, and to write, and did presently write and subscribe al his confessions, as by the originales thereof may appear.[1] A horrible matter is also made of starving one Alexander Briant, how he shoulde eate clay out of the walles, gathered water to drinke from the droppings of houses, with such other false ostentations of immanitie; where the truth is this, that whatsoever Briant suffered in want of foode, he suffered the same wilfully, and of extreme impudent obstinacie against the minde and liking of those that dealt with him.[2] For, certaine traiterous writings being founde about him, it was thought convenient by conference of hands, to understand whose writing they were; and thereupon he being in her majesties name commaunded to write, which he coulde very well doe, and being permitted to him to write, what he woulde himselfe, in these termes, that if he liked not to write one thing, he might write an other, or what he lysted, (which to doe being charged in her majesties name was his duetie, and to refuse was disloyall and undutifull;) yet the man woulde by no meanes be induced to write any thing at all. Then was it commanded to his keeper to give unto him such meate, drinke, and other convenient necessaries as he would write for, and to forbeare to give him any thinge which he would not write. But Briant being thereof advertised and oft moved to write, persisting so in his curst heart by almost two dayes and two nightes, made choise rather to lack foode, then to write for the sustenance which he might readely have had for writing, and which he had indede redely and plentifully, so soone as he wrote. And as it is sayde of these two, so is it to be truely sayde of other, with this, that there was a perpetuall care had, and the queene's servantes the warders, whose office and act it is to handle the racke, were ever by those that attended the examinations specially charged, to use it in as charitable maner as such a thing might be.[3]

Secondly, it is said, and likewise offered to be justified, that never any of these seminaries, or such other pretended Catholiques which at any time in her majesties raigne have

[1] Edmund Campion, educated at Oxford, was an elegant scholar, and bred a Protestant. But in 1571 he went abroad, renounced his heresy, and reconciled himself to Rome; when, being found a man fitted in every respect to answer the purposes of a missionary, he was sent back to England about 1580, to labour in the vineyard. Here he was concealed under various disguises, and occasionally sent forth books in favour of the Catholic cause, some of which were very ably written. At length, after long and vain search, he was taken in Berkshire, disguised in the habit of a "royster," or debauchee, by one Elliot, a priest-catcher. He was publicly transported to the Tower, having on his cap a label with the words "Edmund Campion, a most pernicious priest." Several doctors disputed with him; but, notwithstanding his being put to the rack, (which Camden seems to think ought to have quickened his faculties) his answers scarcely came up to expectation. He was at length executed, having the pity of many as a man of excellent parts, and gentle disposition.

[2] "Alexander Briant," says Anthony a Wood, "received his first breath in Somersetshire, was admitted a student of Hart-Hall, about Lent term, in 1573-4, aged 17 or more, where being trained up under a tutor sufficiently addicted to Popery, left the university, and went to Rheimes, and afterwards to Doway; at the last of which places taking the priesthood on him, he returned into his own country an. 1579, and settling for a time in Somersetshire, converted the father of Robert Parsons the Jesuit, to the Roman Catholic religion. On the 28th April 1581, he was taken in the night-time in his lodging by one Norton, who took away 3l. in money from him, besides clothes; and conducting him to a magistrate, was, after examination, committed close prisoner to the Compter, in London, and there, (as 'tis reported) he was tormented with needles thrust under his nails, racked also otherwise in cruel sort, and specially punished by two whole days and nights with famine, which they did attribute to obstinacy, but indeed (sustained in Christ's quarrel) it was most honourable constancy." While he was in prison he wrote:—*Literæ ad reverendos patres societatis Jesu in Anglia degentes.* The beginning of which is, *Quoties mecum cogito, reverendi patres*, &c. They were written purposely that they would be pleased to receive him into the order of Jesu, which accordingly they did to his great comfort."

"Several Letters to his friends and afflicted Catholics.—Whether extant I know not. At length being found guilty of high treason at a Sessions in London, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, on the first day of December in 1581; whereupon his quarters were hanged up for a time in public places."—Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Vol. I. p. 210.

[3] This tender mercy sounds very cruel.

been put to the racke, were upon the racke, or in other torture, demanded any question of their supposed conscience, as what they beleeved in any point of doctrine or faith, as the masse, transubstantiation, or such like; but onely with what persons at home or abroad, and touching what plots, practises, and conferences, they had dealt about attempts against her majesties estate or person, or to alter the lawes of the realme for matters of religion, by treason or by force, and howe they were perswaded themselves, and did perswade other touching the Pope's bull and pretense of authority, to depose kings and princes, and namely, for deprivation of her majestie, and to discharge subjectes from their allegiance, expressing herein alway the kingly powers and estates, and the subjectes allegiance civily, without mentioning or meaning therein any right that the queene as in right of the crowne, hath over persons ecclesiasticall being her subjectes. In all which cases, Campion and the rest never answered plainely, but sophistically, deceitfully and traiterously, restraining their confession of allegiance onely to the permissive forme of the Pope's toleration. As for example, if they were asked, Whether they did acknowledge themselves the queene's subjectes, and woulde obey her? they woulde say, yea; for so they had leave for a time to doe. But adding more to the question, and they being asked, If they woulde so acknowledge and obey her any longer than the Pope woulde so permit them? or not withstanding such commandment as the Pope woulde or might give to the contrary, then they eyther refused so to obey, or denyed to answere, or said, that they coulde not answere to those questions without daunger; which very answere without more saying, was a plaine answere to all reasonable understanding, that they woulde no longer be subjectes, nor perswade other to be subjectes, then the Pope gave licence. And at their very arraignement, when they laboured to leave in the minds of the people and standers by, an opinion that they were to dye, not for treason, but for matter of faith and conscience in doctrine, touching the service of God, without any attempt or purpose against her majestie, they cryed out, that they were true subjectes, and did and would obey and serve her majestie. Immediately, to prove whether that hypocriticall and sophistical speech extended to a perpetuitie of their obedience, or to so long time as the Pope so permitted, or no, they were openly in place of judgement asked by the queene's learned counsell, Whether they would so obey, and be true subjectes, if the Pope commanded the contrary? they plainly disclosed themselves in answere, saying by the mouth of Campion, this place (meaning the court of her majesties bench) hath no power to enquire or judge of the holy father's authoritie; and other answere they woulde not make.

Thirdly, that none of them have bene put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason, or such like, but where it was first knowen and evidently probable by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was guylty, and did knowe, and coulde deliver trueth of the things wherewith he was charged; so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at any time tormented, and the racke was never used to wring out confessions at adventure upon uncertainties, in which doing, it might bee possible that an innocent in that case might have bene racked.

Fourthly, that none of them hath bene racked or tortured, unlesse hee had first said expresly, or amounting to asmuch, that he wil not tell the trueth though the queene commaund him. And if any of them being examined did say he could not tell, or did not remember, if he woulde so affirme in such maner as Christians among Christians are beleeved, such his answere was accepted, if there were not apparent evidence to prove that he wilfully said untruely. But if he said that his answere in delivering trueth, shoulde hurt a Catholike, and so be an offence against charitie, which they said to be sinne, and that the queene coulde not commande them to sinne, and therefore, howsoever the queene commanded, they would not tell the trueth, which they were knowen to know, or to such effect; they were then put to the torture, or els not.

Fiftly, that the proceeding to torture was alway so slowly, so unwillingly, and with so many preparations of perswasions to spare themselves, and so many meanes to let them know that the trueth was by them to be uttered, both in dutie to her majestie, and in wisdome for themselves, as whosoever was present at those actions, must needes acknowledge in her majesties ministers, a ful purpose to follow the example of her owne most gracious disposition; whome God long preserve.

Thus it appeareth, that albeit by the more general lawes of nations, torture hath bene and is lawfully judged to be used in lesser cases, and in sharper maner for inquisition of trueth in crimes not so neere extending to publike danger, as these ungratious persons have committed whose conspiracies and the particularities thereof it did so much import and behove to have disclosed, yet even in that necessarie use of such proceeding, enforced by the offenders notorious obstinacie, is neverthelesse to be acknowledged the sweete temperature of her majesties milde and gracious clemencie, and their slaunderous lewdenes to be the more condemned, that have in favour of haynous malefactors, and stubborne traytors, spread untrue rumors and slaunders to make her mercifull government disliked under false pretence, and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie, to those against whome nothing can be cruel, and yet upon whome nothing hath bene done, but gentle and mercifull.

A true and summary Report of the Declaration of some part of the Earl of Northumberland's Treasons, delivered publickly in the Court at the Star-Chamber by the Lord Chancellor, and others of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and Council learned, by her Majesty's special Commandment, together with the Examinations and Depositions of sundry Persons, touching the Manner of his most wicked and violent Murder, committed upon himself with his own Hand, in the Tower of London, the 20th Day of June, 1585. In ædibus C. Barker, Printer to the Queen of England, her most excellent Majesty.

This Tract contains the particulars of the melancholy death of Henry Percy, the eighth Earl of Northumberland. He had formerly stood high in Elizabeth's favour; for he not only distinguished himself in the Scottish wars, but when his elder brother Thomas, the seventh Earl of Northumberland, engaged with Westmoreland in the insurrection of 1569-70, he not only refused to join in the rebellion, but mustered all the forces he could, and acted vigorously in suppressing it. Yet he was ultimately one of those "stars who shot madly from their spheres," in the cause of the Queen of Scots, and was supposed to have entered, with Lord Paget and Throgmorton, into a plot for setting her at freedom. Being suspected, he was committed to the Tower, where he shot himself, in the manner here minutely detailed. Camden observes, "Certainly many good men were much affected, that so great a person, who was of a lively and active spirit, died so miserable and lamentable a death; as well because men naturally favour nobility, as that he had acquired singular commendation for his valour. What suspicions the fugitives muttered, concerning one Baliffe, one of Hatton's servants, and a little before appointed to be the Earl's keeper, I omit, as thinking not meet to insert any thing upon mere hearsays and reports." The truth is, that there seems to be no room whatever for supposing that the Earl died otherwise than by suicide. It is said by tradition, that his reason for this desperate action was a resolution to save his estate from forfeiture. "The b— (said he, meaning Elizabeth,) shall never have my lands."

TO THE READER.

MALICE, among other essential properties appertaining to her ugly nature, hath this one not inferior to the rest and the worst, Incredulity, wherewith she commonly pos-

sesseth the minds and affections of all those that are infected with her; so blinding the eyes and judgment of the best and clearest sighted, that they cannot see or perceive the bright beams of the truth, although the same be delivered with never so great purity, proof, circumstance, and probability. It is said, that no truth passeth abroad unaccompanied with her contrary; and as they go, truth is ever constrained to yield the precedence and preheminence to her yoke-fellow falshood, whose lodging is always first made and prepared without a harbinger, in the corrupt nature of mankind, by whom she is first received, entertained, and harboured at all times: whereof in our daily experience there happen many and dangerous demonstrations, especially in matters of the highest moment, tending to excuse or accuse the actions of the greatest personages.

There was of late delivered in publick, by persons of honour, credit, and reputation, a large declaration of certain treasons practised by the late Earl of Northumberland, of the manner of his untimely death, being with his own hand murdered in the Tower, and of the causes that wrought him thereunto: the particularities whereof are such and so many, as for the help of my memory (coming then to the Star-chamber by occasion, and not looking for any such presence of the nobility and privy council as I found there at that time, and not looking for any such cause of that nature to have been handled there that day), I took notes of the several matters declared by the Lord Chancellor, Mr Attorney, and Solicitor-general, the Lord Chief Baron, and Mr Vice-chamberlain: for, as I remember, they spoke in order as they are here marshalled, and therefore I place them in this sort, and not according to their precedence in dignity.

Upon the hearing of the treasons, with their proofs and circumstances, and the desperate manner of the earl's destruction, delivered in that place, and by persons of that quality, I supposed no man to have been so void of judgment, or the use of common reason, that would have doubted of any one point or particle thereof, until it was my chance (falling in company with divers persons at sundry times, as well about the city of London as abroad), to hear many men report variably and corruptly of the manner and matter of this publick declaration, possessing the minds and opinions of the people with manifest untruths; as, that the earl had been unjustly detained in prison, without proof or just cause of suspicion of treason; and, that he had been murdered by device and practice of some great enemies, and not destroyed by himself. These slanderous reports have ministered unto me this occasion to set forth unto thy view and consideration (gentle reader), this short collection of the said treasons and murder, as near unto the truth as my notes taken may lead and permit me, with the view of some of the examinations themselves concerning this cause, for my better satisfaction since obtained: which I have undertaken for two respects; the one, to convince the false and malicious impressions and constructions received, and made of these actions, by such as are in heart enemies to the happy estate of her majesty's present government; the other, because it may be thought necessary for the preventing of a further contagion, like to grow (by this creeping infection) in the minds of such as are apt (though otherwise indifferent) in these and the like rumours, to receive the bad as the good, and they the most in number. Wherein, if I have seemed more bold than wise, or intermeddled myself in matters above my reach, and appertaining unto me, I crave pardon where it is to be asked, and commit myself to thy friendly interpretation to be made of my simple travel, and dutiful meaning herein.

Upon the three and twentieth day of June last, assembled in the court of Star-chamber, Sir Thomas Bromley, Knt. Lord Chancellor of England; William Lord Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer of England; George Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Marshal of England; Henry Earl of Derby, Robert Earl of Leicester, Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlain; Henry Lord Hunsdon, Lord Governor of Berwick; Sir Francis Knollis, Knt. Treasurer; Sir James Crofte, Knt. Comptroller of her Majesty's Household; Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt. Vice chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty; the Lord Chief Justice of her Majesty's Bench; the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and others; the audience very great of knights, esquires, and

men of other quality, the Lord Chancellor began briefly and summarily to declare, That whereas Henry late Earl of Northumberland, for divers notable treasons and practices by him taken in hand, to the danger, not only of her majesty's royal person, but to the peril of the whole realm, had been long detained in prison, and looking into the guilt of his own conscience, and perceiving by such means of intelligence, as he, by corrupting of his keepers, and other like devices, had obtained, that his treasons were by sundry examinations and confessions discovered, grew thereby into such a desperate estate, as that thereupon he most wickedly destroyed and murdered himself; which being made known to the lords of her majesty's privy council, order was thereupon taken, and direction given to the Lord Chief Justice of England, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Baron of the Exchequer, to examine the manner and circumstances of his death, which they with all good endeavour and diligence had accordingly performed. And lest, through the sinister means of such persons as be evil affected to the present estate of her majesty's government, some bad and untrue conceits might be had, as well of the cause of the earl's detainment, as of the manner of his death, it was therefore thought necessary to have the truth thereof made known in that presence: and then he required her majesty's learned council there present, to deliver at large the particularities, both of the treasons, and in what sort the earl had murdered himself. Then began John Popham, Esq. her Majesty's attorney-general, as followeth:

THE Earl of Northumberland, about the time of the last rebellion in the north, in the 11th year of her majesty's reign (then called by the title of Henry Percy, Knt.), had undertaken the conveying away of the Scottish queen; for the which, as appeareth by a record of the 14th year of her majesty's reign, in the court of her majesty's bench he was indicted, he confessed the offence, and put himself to her majesty's mercy. At which time, upon his said confession, submission, and faithful promise of his duty and allegiance to her highness from thenceforth, the queen's majesty, of her merciful nature, was pleased not to look into his offence with the extremity of her laws, but dealt therein, as by way of contempt only, as may appear by the record; the effect whereof was then shewed in court, under the hand of one of the clerks of her majesty's said Bench, *in hæc verba.*

Middlesex.—MEMORANDUM, that Henry Peircy, late of Tinmouth, in the county of Northumberland, Knt. was indicted in the term of Easter, in the 14th year of her majesty's reign, for that he, with divers others, did conspire for the delivering of the queen of Scots out of the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury: Upon which indictment the same Henry Peircy did confess the offence, and did put himself to the queen's mercy, and thereupon judgment was after given by the court, that the said Henry should pay to the queen, for a fine for his said offence, five thousand marks, as appeareth by the record thereof in court.

Per Micha. 14 & 15 *Elizabethæ Reginæ, Rotulo quinto inter placista Reginæ.*
Concordat cum Recordo.

Per Jo. Ive.

BY this record it may appear, that the earl had his hand in that rebellion: But for a further proof thereof, it is most manifestly discovered in a certain tract, written by the bishop of Ross, wherein he sheweth how faithfully he behaved himself in the managing of those treasons, at and about the time of that rebellion, that the said earl was, in effect, as far plunged into the same, as the late earl his brother, howsoever he wound himself out of the danger at that time.

Notwithstanding these traiterous practices, the queen's majesty was contented to re-

mit all within a short time, and then accepted most graciously of him both in honour and favour, though unworthily bestowed upon him; for that he utterly forgetting those graces and favours received at her majesty's merciful hands, with a graceless resolution was contented to enter into a new plot, now lately contrived, not only for delivering the Scottish queen, but for the invading of the whole realm, the overthrow of the government, as well concerning the state of religion, as otherwise, the danger of her majesty's sacred person, and advancing of the said Scottish queen to the regal crown and scepter of this realm, whereunto her majesty is lineally and lawfully born and descended, and wherein God of his mercy continue her long, in happy state of government, to the increase of her own glory, and the comfort of her loving and obedient subjects.

Then did Master Attorney enter into the particularities of the treasons, leaving many parts thereof untouched, because the case stood so as it was not then convenient to reveal them, as he said, in respect that they touched some other persons undealt withal at that time, shewing that Throckmorton's treasons were not old, but fresh in every man's memory; and how far forth they reached unto the earl, he declared. And for that the treasons of Throckmorton tended especially to the invading of the realm with foreign forces, the purpose of that invasion long before intended, is proved by sundry examinations and confessions taken here within the realm, as well of her majesty's own subjects as others, by letters intercepted, written from and to the conspirators abroad and at home, and by other good advertisements and intelligences had from foreign parts, discovering the same. He declared, that in a letter, written from Dr Sanders to Dr Allen, out of Spain, in the year 1577, it is set down, among other things, that the state of Christendom stood upon the stout assailing of England.

That in a letter sent to the same Allen from Rome, touching audience given by the Pope to the ambassadors of certain foreign princes, between the Pope and whom a league was agreed on against the queen's majesty, there were inclosed certain articles, containing in effect, that the realm should be invaded with 20,000 men, at the charge of the said Pope and princes; that her majesty should be deposed, and some English Catholic elected king.

That it was confessed, that the coming over of so many priests into the realm, was to win great numbers to the Catholick party, to join (if opportunity served), either with foreign invasion, or with tumult at home.

That at Narbonne in Provence, there was met an Englishman, being the head preacher there, who gave intelligence to one of her majesty's subjects, that the realm should shortly be invaded by a foreign king, and the popish religion restored: And said further, that priests came into England, and dispersed themselves in countries, to make their party strong.

A message was sent in November 1581 to Dr Allen, from a subject of this realm, by a seminary priest then returning beyond the seas, that whereas he had received word from Allen at Allhallow-tide before, that men and all things were in a readiness, if the place of landing might be known; that Allen should forthwith send word whether things were in such readiness or not; and if they were, he would then send him such perfect instructions as he could.

One Payne, executed for treason, confessed, that this realm could not continue in the state wherein it was; for that the Pope had a special care thereof, and would in a short time, either by foreign princes, or by some other means, work a change of things here.

From hence, Mr Attorney fell into the treasons confessed by Francis Throckmorton, [1]

[1] Eldest son of John Throgmorton, a justice of peace in Cheshire, and a chief instrument in the conspiracy which Lord Paget, Arundel, and other Papists, had concerted with Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, for dethroning Elizabeth, and setting Queen Mary at liberty. He confessed, and retracted his confession more than once, and at length suffered at Tyburn, 1584.

shewing, that the state of this realm had been often presented to the consideration of a foreign prince, who, after long hearkening to the motion, had resolved to yield what furtherance he might, and to give all aids necessary for the reforming of religion, so they might be backed by such as were well affected within this country.

That the Duke of Guise had solicited, for two years together, the Pope and other princes, to supply him with forces; but being crossed by the death of a great personage, it was now grown to this pass, if there could be a party found in England to join in that action, and convenient places and means for landing, and other things necessary, there should be a supply for Guise of foreign strength.

Francis Throckmorton was recommended from beyond the seas to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, ambassador resident for the Spanish king here in England, who acquainted Throckmorton what plot was laid for the enterprize of the Duke of Guise, and that he was willed to confer with Throckmorton in the matter; who thereupon acquainted the said ambassador with the plot of the Havens, and with the noblemen and gentlemen that he had set down as fit to be dealt withal in that cause.

Throckmorton said, that the bottom of this enterprize (which was not to be known to many) was, that if a toleration of religion might not be obtained without alteration of the government, that then the government should be altered, and the queen removed.

That the Scottish queen was made acquainted from the Duke of Guise with the intention to relieve her by these forces.

It was in debate between Throckmorton and the Spanish ambassador, how the Scottish queen might be delivered, as by an enterprize to be made with a certain number of horse: and it was told Francis Throckmorton, by his brother Thomas Throckmorton, that it was a principal matter in debate beyond the seas, how she might be delivered with safety; the lack of resolution wherein was the principal stay of the execution of the attempt of invasion.

Mendoza told Francis Throckmorton, about Bartholomew-tide 1583, that one Moape was come into England to sound the Earl of Northumberland, and other principal men in Sussex; and about the end of September following, the same Mendoza told him, that Moape was Charles Paget, and that he came not only to sound the men, but to view the places, the havens, the provisions and means, and nearness and commodity of men's abidings that should join with the foreign forces.

It was devised, that such noblemen and others as would be contented to assist the foreign forces (being justices of peace and of credit in their countries), might, by colour of their authority, levy men as for her majesty's defence, and yet employ them to assist the foreign forces. The Lord Paget was made acquainted with this devise, and answered, that it was a good course, and that he had thought upon it before.

Mendoza told Throckmorton, that Charles Paget had been in Sussex, and had spoken with those that were there, and that he came to move the Earl of Northumberland and others.

The night before Throckmorton was apprehended, he came to the Lord Paget, and desired him that he would not acquaint the Earl of Northumberland and certain others (whom he named) with such matters as had passed between them two, touching the practice of this invasion: And the Lord Paget willed him to deal as wisely for his part as he would for himself, and all should be well: but (quoth the Lord Paget), the Earl of Northumberland knoweth you well enough.

It was once agreed among the confederates, that the Duke of Guise should land in Sussex, being over against Diepe and Normandy; which after was misliked, because those parts lay too near to her majesty's greatest force and store, and that the people thereabouts for the most part were Protestants.

Master Attorney shewed further, that in summer last, there was taken upon the seas, sailing towards Scotland, a Scottish Jesuit, about whom there was found a discourse,

written in Italian, of a like enterprize to be attempted against England, which should have been executed in September or October then last past; wherein assurance is made, that the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Dacres that is dead,[a] whom they termed Lord Dacres, and of all the Catholick lords and gentlemen in the north parts, (where the invasion should have been attempted,) setting it down, that it is not said by conjecture that these men are assured; but that it is certainly known that they will join with the foreign forces. In the said discourse it is also affirmed, that the priests dispersed in the realm can dispose of the other Catholicks of the realm as they shall be ordered; and that the pope's excommunication should be renewed, and pronounced against her majesty, and all those that shall take her part; and that all such should be holden traitors that did not join with that army by a day.

When Master Attorney had thus proved the purpose of invasion, he proceeded to the proof of Charles Paget's coming over about the practice and prosecution of that enterprize. And first, That Paget came to Petworth, in September 1583, was secretly received, and brought in the night late to the Earl of Northumberland, into his gallery at Petworth, by one of the earl's servants, where the earl and he had secret conference together by the space of a large hour: From thence Paget was likewise conveyed back into the town by the same servant, and there lodg'd all that night; and the next night following was conveyed secretly to a lodge in the earl's park at Petworth, called Conigar Lodge, where he was kept with the like secrecy by the space of eight days, or thereabouts; and the servant by whom Paget was thus convey'd, was by the earl enjoin'd and commanded in no wise to discover Paget's being there.

The Earl of Northumberland, upon the arrival of Charles Paget, sent for the Lord Paget, with the privity of this servant, who was made believe, that Charles came over to set things in order, and to pass certain deeds and conveyances between the Lord Paget and him. The Lord Paget came to Petworth, stayed there two nights, lodg'd in the earl's house, conferr'd with Charles Paget and with the earl together sundry times.

The earl, after his apprehension, being at several times examined what causes or affairs had passed between the Lord Paget and Charles, his brother, when they were together at Petworth; answered one while, that they passed certain deeds and conveyances; and another while, that there was only a will or testament signed and sealed between them: He confess'd that he set his hand to the will, but knew not what the same contained: All which appeared to be false; for that it hath fallen out by occasion of seizure of the lands and goods of the Lord Paget (after his departure out of the realm), that he had disposed of his lands and goods by another course of assurance executed at London; and therefore, their pretence of the passing of deeds and will at Petworth, was but a devise to shadow their traiterous conspiracies. And for better proof thereof, it was alledg'd by Master Attorney, that Charles Paget returning from Petworth to the house of one William Davis, near to the place where Paget had landed in Sussex, and took shipping again at his departure beyond the seas, sent to William Shelley, Esq., residing then at his house at Michelgrove, distant about a mile from the house of William Davis, to come unto him (who within few days before had been at the lodge at Petworth, with the said Paget): And now at their meeting in a coppice near to Davis's house, Paget entered into speech and discourse with him of divers matters; and at the last, among other things, he began to be inquisitive of the strength and fortification of Portsmouth, and what forces and strength her majesty had in the other parts westward.

Paget broke out, and declared to him, that foreign princes would seek revenge against her majesty of the wrongs by her done unto them, and would take such time and opportunity as might best serve them for that purpose; and said, that those princes disdain'd

[a] Leonard Dacre, who claimed the title on the death of his nephew George, the last Lord Dacre of the North. He rebelled, was routed, and obliged to fly abroad in the year 1570.

to see the Scottish queen so kept and used here as she was, and would use all their forces for her delivery. That the Duke of Guise would be a dealer therein; and that the Earl of Northumberland would be an assistant unto them; willing Shelley, whatsoever should happen, to follow the Earl of Northumberland; affirming, that there was not a nobleman in England, of conduct and government like to the said earl: saying further, that the Earl of Northumberland was affected to the Scottish queen, and would do what he could for her advancement.

That the Duke of Guise had forces in a readiness to be employed for the altering of the state of religion here in England, and to set the Scottish queen at liberty.

Shelley gathered by these, and other speeches which passed between him and Paget, that Paget had dealt with the earl as a chief party, and a man forward in these actions; and Paget confessed that he came over to break, and deal in these matters.

Paget delivered further, that the Catholicks would all join for so good a purpose; for that it would be a means to reform religion.

He said, the stir should be in the north parts, because Sussex was not convenient, as well for that there were no safe landing-places, as for that it was so near London, where the queen's majesty would be ready to resist them; and that whensoever any stir should be, the Earl of Northumberland would not stay in Sussex, but would go into the north parts.

When Master Attorney-General had in this sort laid down the particularities of the treasons and traiterous practices of the confederates for this purposed invasion, then Thomas Edgerton, Esq. her majesty's Solicitor, to prove the earl guilty of these treasons by the circumstances of his own proceedings, shewed, that the earl, knowing how far himself was touch'd with the said treasons, and in what degree of danger he stood if they should have been reveal'd, found his only hope of safety to consist in the cunning concealing of them; and therefore he endeavoured to cover them by all the possible means he could devise.

And first, by conveying away of the Lord Paget,[1] a man not only privy to the practices and treasons handled by Francis Throckmorton, but also to the treasons of his brother Charles; wherein the earl and the Lord Paget were doubtless both confederates with Charles, made acquainted by him with the causes of his coming over, as principal men with whom he dealt in those matters at Petworth.

The occasion that provoked the earl to convey away the Lord Paget, grew upon the apprehension of Throckmorton, who being committed to the Tower, and charged with high matters, was in case to be dealt withal by way of extremity, to be made to confess the treasons charged upon him; in revealing whereof, Charles Paget's coming to Petworth, and the cause of his repair thither, could not be concealed.

No man at this time within the realm could accuse the earl of these confederacies, but the Lord Paget only, who stood in danger to be discover'd by Francis Throckmorton: The safety therefore of the earl rested altogether upon the Lord Paget's departing out of the realm, which was procur'd by the earl with so great expedition, as that Throckmorton being committed to the Tower about the seventh day of November 1583, the earl made means the twelfth day to have the Lord Paget provided of shipping in all haste by William Shelley; wherein the earl used such importunate intreaty, and sent so often to hasten the preparation of the ship, that the same was provided, and the Lord Paget embark'd by the twenty-third day of the same month following, or thereabouts.

The departure of the Lord Paget was soon after discover'd, and how, and by whom he was conveyed away: Her majesty, upon good cause taking offence thereat, the earl, be-

[1] Lord Paget fled on discovery of the plot, and embarked on the coast of Sussex, in a ship provided for him by Northumberland. He died at Brussels in 1589; "a sad and universal loss," says Camden, "to the commonwealth of learning."

ing then at London, had notice thereof, and of the confessions of Throckmorton (who began to discover the treasons), came presently down to Petworth, sent immediately for William Shelley, who coming to him to Petworth the next day about dinner-time, met the earl in a dining parlour, ready to go to his dinner. The earl took Shelley aside into a chamber, and as a man greatly distracted and troubled in mind, entered into these speeches: "Alas! I am a man cast away;" and Shelley demanding what he meant by those speeches, the earl answered, "The actions I have entered into, I fear, will be my utter undoing;" and thereupon desired Shelley to keep his counsel, and to discover no more of him than he must needs.

The earl, moreover, at this meeting, intreated William Shelley to convey away all such as he knew to have been employed, and were privy to the Lord Paget's going away, and of Charles Paget's coming over, which was accordingly performed by Shelley: And the earl, for his part, conveyed away a principal man of his own, whom he had often used in messages into France, and had been of trust appointed by the earl, to attend on Charles Paget, all the time of his stay at Connigar Lodge.

Master Solicitor, pursuing the matters that made the earl's practices and devises for the concealing of his treasons manifest, declared further, that after the earl and Shelley had obtained some liberty in the Tower after their first restraint, the earl found means to have intelligence with Shelley, and was advertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first examinations, taken before they were last restrain'd: Sithens which time, the earl, by corrupting of his keeper, hath practised to have continual advertisements as before, as well of things done within the Tower as abroad; insomuch as by his said keeper, he had sent and conveyed twelve several letters out of the Tower, within the space of nine or ten weeks, and one of those on Sunday the twentieth day of June in the morning, when he murdered himself the night following.

By the same corruption of his keepers, he sent also a message to William Shelley, by a maid-servant in the Tower, by the which he required him to stand to his first confessions, and to go no further; for so it would be best for him, and he should keep himself out of danger. Whereunto Shelley returned answer, by the same messenger, that he could hold out no longer, that he had concealed the matters as long as he could, and willed the earl to consider, that there was a great difference between the earl's estate and his; for that the earl, in respect of his nobility, was not in danger to be dealt withal in such sort as he the said Shelley was like to be, being but a private gentleman, and therefore to be used with all extremity to be made to confess the truth: wherefore he advised the earl to deal plainly, and to remember what speeches had passed at his house at Petworth, when Charles Paget came last thither.

James Price, by the same corruption of the earl's keeper, came to William Shelley on the Friday or Saturday before Trinity-Sunday last, and told him, that the earl was very desirous to understand how far he had gone in his confessions: and at Price's instance, Shelley did set down in writing the effect of the said confessions, and sent the same to the said earl, who, upon the sight thereof, perceiving the treasons revealed and discovered, and knowing thereby how heinous his offences were, fearing the justice and severity of the laws, and also the ruin and overthrow of his house, fell into desperation, and so to the destruction of himself; for confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one Jaques Pantins, a groom of the earl's chamber, who had attended on the earl in the Tower, by the space of ten weeks before his death, that he had heard the earl often say, that Master Shelley was no faithful friend unto him, and that he had confessed such things as were sufficient to overthrow them both: that he was undone by Shelley's accusations, affirming, that the earl began to despair of himself, often with tears lamenting his cause, which the earl said to proceed only of the remembrance of his wife and children; saying further, that such matters were laid to his charge, that he expected no favour; but to

be brought to his trial, and then he was but a lost man; repeating often that Shelly had undone him, and still mistrusting his cause, wished for death.

Herewith Master Solicitor concluded; and then Sir Roger Manwood, knight, Lord Chief Baron of her majesty's exchequer, entered into the description of the earl's death, and in what sort he had murder'd himself; shewing first, how the same had been found by a very substantial jury, chosen among the best commoners of the city, empannell'd by the coroner, upon the view of the body, and diligent enquiry by all due means had according to the law, and declared, that, upon the discovery of the intelligence conveyed between the earl and Shelley, it was thought necessary, for the benefit of her majesty's service, by such of her highness's most honourable privy council, as were appointed commissioners, to examine the course of these treasons; that Jaques Pantins, attending upon the earl, and the earl's corrupt keepers, should be removed: whereupon Thomas Bailiff, gentleman, sent to attend on the Earl of Northumberland, upon the removing of Palmer and Jaques Pantins from about the said earl, (who from the beginning of his last restraint attended on him,) for the reasons lastly before-mentioned, was by the lieutenant of the Tower, on the Sunday, about two of the clock in the afternoon, (being the twentieth of June,) shut up with the earl, as appointed to remain with him, and serve him in the prison for a time, until Palmer, Pantins, and Price, then committed close prisoners, might be examined how the earl came by such intelligences as were discovered to have passed between the earl and Shelley, and between the earl and others. Bailiff served the earl at his supper, brought him to his bed about nine of the clock; and after some services done by the earl's commandment, departed from the earl to an outer chamber, where he lay part of that night; and being come into his chamber, the earl rose out of his bed, and came to the chamber-door, and bolted the same unto him in the inner side, saying to Bailiff, he could not sleep unlesse his door were fast. About twelve of the clock at midnight, Bailiff being in a slumber, heard a great noise, seeming unto him to be the falling of some door, or rather a piece of the house: the noise was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his bed, and crying unto the earl with a loud voice, said, My lord, know you what this is? the earl not answering, Bailiff cried, and knocked still at the earl's door, saying, My lord, how do you? but finding that the earl made no answer, continued his crying and calling, untill an old man that lay without spake to him, saying, gentlemen, shall I call the watch, seeing he will not speak? yea, quoth Bailiff, for God's sake. Then did the old man rise, and called one of the watch, whom Bailiff intreated, with all possible speed, to call Master Lieutenant unto him. In the mean time, Bailiff heard the earl give a long and most grievous groan, and after that, gave a second groan; and then the lieutenant being come, called to the earl, who not answering, Bailiff cried to the lieutenant to break open the earl's chamber-door, bolted unto him on the inner side, which was done, and then they found the earl dead in his bed, and by his bed-side a dagge,[1] wherewith he had killed himself.

Sir Owen Hopton, knight,[2] examined upon his oath, affirmed, that on Sunday last at night, less than a quarter of an hour before one of the clock after midnight, he was called up by the watch to come to the Earl of Northumberland, who had been called unto by Master Bailiff his keeper, and would not speak, (as the watch told him,) whereupon the said Sir Owen went presently to the earl's lodging, opened the outer-doors till he came to the chamber where Master Bailiff lay, which was next to the earl's bed-chamber.

[1] Not a poniard, but a *dagge* or pistol. The word is of uncertain derivation; the term *dagger* seems to have sprung out of it, because poniards were often attached to dagges or pistols, as bayonets to muskets. The words were used distinct from each other; for in the account of the assassination of the Prince of Orange, the word *dagger* is used for a poniard, in opposition to *dagge*, a pistol. In Scotland that part of the cock of a gun which holds the flint is still called the *dag-head*. In the former edition of these Tracts, the word is printed *dagger*; but we are directed in an *erratum* to read *dagge*.

[2] Lieutenant of the Tower, 1585.

Bailiff said to this examinate as he came in, that he was wakened with a noise as it were of a door, or some great thing falling, and that he had called on the earl, and could have no answer; and this examinate going to the earl's chamber-door, finding the same bolted fast on the other side, within the earl's lodging, so as he could not go into the earl; this examinate called on the earl, telling him the lieutenant was there, and prayed his lordship to open the door; but this examinate having no answer made unto him, and finding the door fast bolted on the inner side of the earl's chamber with a strong iron bolt, so as they could not enter into the same out of the lodging where the said Bailiff lay, without breaking up the chamber-door, caused the warders who were with this examinate, to thrust in their halberds, and to wrest the door thereby, as much as they could, and withal to run at the door with their feet, and with violence to thrust it open, which they did accordingly. And when this examinate came into the chamber, in turning up the sheets he perceived them to be blooded; and then searching further, found the wound, which was very near the pap, not thinking at the first sight but that it had been done with a knife. This examinate went thereupon presently to write to the court, and took the warders into the outer chamber, and left them there until he returned, bolting the door of the earl's bed-chamber on the outside; and as soon as this examinate returned from writing of his letter to the court, he searched about the chamber, and found a dagge on the floor, about three feet from the bed, near unto a table, that had a green cloth on it, which did somewhat shadow the dagge; and after, turning down the bed-cloaths, found the box, in the which the powder and pellets were, on the bed under the coverlet; and saith, that the chamber, where the earl lay, hath no other door but that one door which was broken open as aforesaid, save one door, that went into a privy, which hath no manner of passage out of it; and that the earl's lodging chamber, and the entering to the privy, are both walled round about with a stone wall, and a brick wall; and that there is no door or passage out of, or from the said earl's bed-chamber or privy, but that only door which was broken open by the appointment of this examinate. The warders that were with this examinate at the entry into the prison, and the breaking up of the earl's chamber-door, and the doing of the other things aforesaid, were Michael Sibley, Anthony Davis, William Ryland, and John Potter; and one John Pinner, this examinate's servant, was there also.

For the proof and confirmation of the several parts and points of this deposition, Sibley, Davis, Ryland, Potter, and Pinner, were deposed, and they *viva voce* affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the examination of the lieutenant, concerning the coming of the lieutenant, the earl's chamber, the breaking up of the door, being bolted with a strong bolt on the inner side, the finding of the earl dead upon his bed, the dagge lying on the ground, the powder and pellets in a box on the bed under the coverlet, with the rest of the circumstances thereunto appertaining. They affirmed also, that there was but one door in the earl's chamber, saving the door of the privy, which, together with the chamber, was strongly walled about with stone and brick; and further, as I remember, the Lord Chief Baron confirmed the same, having viewed the chamber himself where the earl lodg'd, and was found dead. [1]

Jaques Pantins, in his examination of the twenty-first of June, confesseth, that James Price delivered the dagge to the earl his master in this examinate's presence; whereupon he presently suspected, that the earl meant mischief to himself, and therefore did his endeavour to persuade the earl to send away the dagge, and told the earl that he knew not how the devil might tempt his lordship, and that the devil was great; but

[1] In this very chamber the unfortunate Earl of Essex, confined on account of the Rye-house plot, committed suicide. He was married to a grand-child of this very Earl of Northumberland, and had been heard to commend his firmness in killing himself to avoid forfeiture; yet his death occasioned much more suspicion than that of Northumberland.

could by no means prevail with the earl in that behalf; and saith moreover, that the earl required him to hide the dagge, and he thereupon hanged the same on a nail within the chimney in the earl's bed-chamber, where the earl, thinking the same not to be sufficiently safe in that place, it was by the earl's appointment taken from thence, and put into a slit in the side of a matress that lay under the earl's bed, near to the bed's head; and that the same Sunday morning that the earl murdered himself at night, he saw the dagge lying under the earl's bed's head. The dagge was bought not many days before of one Adrian Mulan, a dagger-maker, dwelling in East-Smithfield, as by the said Mulan was testified *viva voce* upon his oath, in the open court, at the time of the publick declaration made of these matters in the star-chamber.

All these particularities considered, with the depositions and proofs of the witness concerning the earl's death, first, how he came by the dagge; secondly, how long he had kept the same, and in what secret manner; thirdly, the earl's bolting of his chamber-door on the inside; fourthly, the blow of the dagge; fifthly, the breaking up of the earl's chamber-door by the lieutenant of the Tower; and lastly, the finding of the earl dead as aforesaid: who is he so simple, that will think, or imagine, or so impudent and malicious, that will avouch and report, that the Earl of Northumberland should have been murdered of purpose, by practice or devise of any person, effecting his destruction in that manner? If men consider the inconvenience happened thereby, as well in matter of state, as commodity to the queen's majesty, lost by the prevention of his trial, who can in reason conjecture the earl to have been murdered of policy, or set purpose, as the evil-affected seem to conceive? If the earl had lived to have received the censure of the law for his offences, all lewd and frivolous objections had then been answered, and all his goods, chattles, and lands, by his attainder, had come unto her majesty, and the honour and state of his house and posterity been utterly overthrown; the consideration and fear whereof appeareth without all doubt to have been the principal and only cause that made him lay violent hands upon himself. If objections be made, that to murder him in that sort might be a satisfaction to his enemies, who could be pacified by no means but with his blood, that seemeth to be as improbable; for that it is commonly discerned in the corrupt nature of man, that when we are possessed with so profound a hatred, as to seek the death of our enemy, we imagine and wish his destruction to be had with the greatest shame and infamy that can be devised. Think you not then, that, if the Earl of Northumberland had any such enemy, who knew the danger wherein he stood, and that his trial and conviction by law would draw upon him the loss of his life, lands, and goods, fame, honour, and the utter subversion of his house, and would be so kind-hearted unto him, as to help to take away his life only, and save him all the rest; I suppose there is no man of judgment will believe it.

But to return to the manner of the earl's death: It was declared by the Lord Hunsdon, and the Lord Chief Baron, that the dagge wherewith the earl murdered himself was charged with three bullets, and so of necessity with more than an ordinary charge of powder, to force that weight of bullets to work their effect. The earl lying upon his back on the left side of his bed, took the dagge charged in his left-hand, (by all likelihood,) laid the mouth of the dagge upon his left pap, (having first put aside his waistcoat,) and his shirt being only between the dagge and his body, which was burned away the breadth of a large hand, discharged the same, wherewith was made a large wound in his said pap, his heart pierced and torn in divers lobes or pieces, three of his ribs broken, the chine-bone of his back cut almost in sunder, and under the point of the shoulder-blade, on the right side within the skin, the three bullets were found by the Lord Hunsdon, which he caused the surgeon in his presence to cut, out lying all three close together, within the breadth and compass of an inch, or thereabout. The bullets were shewed by his lordship at the time of the publication made in the court of the star-chamber.

And whereas it hath been slanderously given out to the advantage of the earl, as the reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned, and kept in so streight, narrow, and close a room, with such penury of air and breath, that thereby he grew sickly, and weary of his life; and that to have been the cause chiefly why he murdered himself, (if it were so that he died by the violence of his own hand, which they hardly believe): To answer that peevish and senseless slander, there was much spoken by the Lord Chief Baron, who had viewed, and caused very exactly to be measured the chambers and rooms within the prison where the earl lay, being part of her majesty's own lodging in the Tower: The particular length and breadth of the said chambers and rooms, and the quality of the lights and windows, expressed by the said Lord Chief Baron, I cannot repeat; but well I do remember, it was declared, that all the day-time the earl had the liberty of five large chambers, and two long entries, within the outer door of his prison; three of which chambers, and one of the entries, lay upon two fair gardens within the Tower-wall, and upon the Tower-wharf, with a pleasant prospect of the Thames, and to the country, more than five miles beyond. The windows were of a large proportion, yielding so much air and light, as more cannot be desired in any house. Note therefore, how maliciously those that favour traitors and treasons can deliver out these and the like slanderous speeches, to the dishonour of her majesty, noting her counsellers and ministers with inhumanity and uncharitable severity, contrary to all truth and honesty.

When the Lord Chief Baron had finished this discourse of the manner of the earl's death, with the circumstances, and had satisfied the court and auditory concerning the quality of the prison where the earl remained, Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, her majestie's vice-chamberlain, who, as it seemed, had been specially employed by her majesty, among others of her privy council, in the looking into and examining of the treasons aforesaid, as well in the person of the earl as of others, and at the time of the earl's commitment from his house in St Martin's to the Tower of London, sent unto him from her majesty, to put the earl in mind of her majesty's manifold graces and favours, in former times conferr'd upon him, proceeding from the spring of her majesty's princely and bountiful nature, and not of his deservings; and to advise him to deliver the truth of the matters so clearly appearing against him, either by his letters privately to her majesty, or by speech to Master Vice-chamberlain, who signified also unto him, that if he would determine to take that course, he should not only not be committed to the Tower, but should find grace and favour at her majesty's hands, in the mitigation of such punishment as the law might lay upon him. And here Master Vice-chamberlain repeated at length the effect of her majesty's message at that time sent to the earl, beginning first with the remembrance of his practice undertaken for the conveying away of the Scottish queen about the time of the last rebellion (as hath been declared in the beginning of this tract), and that he confessing the offence being capital, her majesty nevertheless was pleased to alter the course of his trial by the justice of her laws, and suffered the same to receive a slight and easy punishment, by way of mulcte or fine, of five thousand marks, whereof before this his imprisonment (as it is credibly reported) there was not one penny paid, or his land touched with any extent for the payment thereof; which offence was by her majesty not only most graciously forgiven, but also most christianly forgotten; receiving him not long after to the place of honour that his ancestors had enjoyed, for many years before him, and gave him such entrance into her princely favour and good opinion, that no man of his quality received greater countenance and comfort at her majesty's hands than he; insomuch that in all exercises of recreation used by her majesty, the earl was always called to be one; and whensoever her majesty shewed herself abroad in public, she gave to him the honour of the best and highest services about her person, more often than to all the noblemen of her court.

But the remembrance of these most gracious and more than extraordinary favours and benefits received, nor the hope given unto him by Master Vice-chamberlain, of her ma-

jesty's disposition of mercy towards him, nor the consideration of the depth and weight of his treasons against her majesty, her estate, her crown and dignity, with the danger thereby like to fall upon him by the course of her highness's laws, to the utter ruin and subversion of him and his house, (standing now at her majesty's mercy,) could once move his heart to that natural and dutiful care of her majesty's safety that he ought to have borne towards her, and she most worthily had merited at his hands, or any remorse or compassion of himself and his posterity; but resting upon terms of his innocency, having, as you may perceive, conveyed away all those that he thought could or would any way accuse him, he made choice rather to go to the Tower, abide the hazard of her majesty's high indignation, and the extremity of the law for his offences: a notable augure of his fall, and that God, by his just judgment, had, for his sins and ingratitude, taken from him his Spirit of Grace, and delivered him over to the enemy of his soul, who brought him to that most dreadful and horrible end, whereunto he is come; from the which, God of his mercy defend all Christian people, and preserve the queen's majesty from the treasons of her subjects, that she may live in all happiness, to see the ruin of her enemies abroad and at home; and that she, and we, her true and loving subjects, may be always thankful to God for all his blessings bestowed upon us by her, the only maintainer of his Holy Gospel among us.

The Copie of a Letter to the Right Honourable the Earle of Leycester, Lieutenant-Generall of all her Majesty's Forces in the United Provinces of the Lowe Countries, written before, but delivered at his Returne from thence; with a Report of certeine Petitions and Declarations made to the Queene's Majestie at two severall Times, from all the Lordes and Commons lately assembled in Parliament; and her Majesty's Answeres thereunto, by her selfe delivered, though not expressed by the Reporter with such Grace and Life, as the same were uttered by her Majestie. 1586.

This letter contains what Elizabeth chose should be made public to her subjects respecting the condemnation of Mary Queen of Scots; and, notwithstanding her majesty's hypocritical answer to the petitions of her Houses of Parliament, must have prepared them for execution of that unjust and atrocious sentence. The reader is requested to contrast the sentiments there expressed, with the following account of her private instructions, contained in the apology of her unfortunate secretary, Davison, whom she disgraced, as guilty of premature haste in having the warrant of execution drawn. What justice she would have done on any loving subject, whose zeal might have anticipated her commission, which she points at in her conference with Davison, might be pretty easily guessed, without the powers of prophecy.

"The queen (says he), after the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, of her own motion, commanded me to deliver her the warrant for executing the Queen of Scots. When I had delivered it, she signed it readily with her own hand: when she had so done, she commanded it to be sealed with the great seal of England, and, in a jesting manner, said, Go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick, although I fear he will die for sorrow when he hears it. She adding also the reasons of deferring it so long, namely, lest she might seem to have been violently or maliciously drawn thereto; whereas, in the mean time, she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover she blamed Powlet and Drury, that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feel their pulses touching this matter. The next day, after it was under the great seal, she commanded me, by Killigrew, that it should not be done; and when I informed her that it was done already, she found fault with such great haste, telling me, that in the judgment of some wise men, another course might be taken. I answered, that that course was

always best and safest which was most just. But fearing lest she would lay the fault upon me, (as she had laid the putting of the Duke of Norfolk to death upon the Lord Burleigh,) I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, protesting that I would not plunge myself any deeper in so great a business. He presently imparted it to Lord Burleigh, and the Lord Burleigh to the rest of the Council, who all consented to have the execution hastened; and every one of them vowed to bear an equal share in the blame, and sent Beale away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when, by a dream which she told of the Queen of Scots death, I perceived that she wavered in her resolution, I asked her, whether she had changed her mind? she answered, No, but another course (said she) might have been devised; and withal asked me, Whether I had received any answer from Powlet? whose letter, when I had shewed her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with honour and justice, she waxing angry, accused him and others (who had bound themselves by the association) of perjury, and breach of their vow, as those that had promised great matters for their prince's safety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are (said she) who will do it for my sake. But I shewed her how dishonourable and unjust a thing this would be; and withal, into how great danger she would bring Powlet and Drury by it. For if she approved the fact, she would draw upon herself both danger and dishonour, nor without censure of injustice; and if she disallowed it, she would utterly undo men of great desert, and their whole posterity. And afterwards she gave me a light check, the same day that the Queen of Scots was executed, because she was not yet put to death."

After this decided evidence, all the affectation of reluctance exhibited to her council, and the tragic musings in which she is said to have muttered to herself repeatedly, *aut fer, aut feri,* and *ne feriare: feri,* must pass for mere trick of the scene.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, &c.

Albeit the earnest desire of my hart (right honourable my very good lord) hath alwayes endeavoured to do your lordship some acceptable service, for the honour you first vouchsafed me from beyond my cradel, and after confirmed with the favourable opinion wherewith you have alwayes countenanced me ever since, even thus farre onward on my daies, which also together with my yeres hath increased faster than mine abilitie to performe, being crossed in nothing more deepely, then when I was letted by the overmuch tendring of me by my parents, to attend your lordship in your late voyage and honourable expedition into the Lowe Countries: yet have I bene ever since most studious to observe and apprehende some good occasion, or fitte opportunitie, to testifie the duetifull reverence I beare to your lordship: wherein, if hitherto I have beene slacke in performance during your absence, it hath proceeded of the care I had not to entertaine your lordship with matter either frivolous or vulgar; though thinges of that nature might best become my condition, and well agree with my understanding.

In which cogitation it came to my minde, that the report of the speaches delivered by the queene's most excellent majestie in a late and weightie cause dealt in this parliament, in answere to the petitions presented to hir majestie the 12. and 24. of November, at Richmond, by the Lord Chauncellor and Speaker, respectively, in the name and behalfe of both estates, accompanied with divers of either sort, would doubtlesse bee a thing to your lordship most gratefull, as one ever pleased justly to admire the rare perfections of her mind, and approoved judgement, wherewith, according to your estate and place, deservedly, your lordship hath beene usually acquainted; as also worthie of eternal monument and everlasting memorie, for as much as on the sodaine they were delivered by her selfe, for answere of a matter propounded, debated, resolved, and digested, with great labour and premeditation, of the greatest, gravest, wisest, and most choise persons of the whole realme. Whereof, although I have but slenderly purtraied the lineaments, without expressing to life the external ornaments of her royall speach, accompanied with all princely and gracefull accomplementes; yet doubt I not but your lordship will

easily finde her inward vertues, whereof it is impossible for mee to make the least adumbration.

And because in the dayly expectation of your lordship's returne, I rested uncertaine how these might come safely to your lordship's hands; I did therefore advise to have this my letter with the included copies to be ready to attend your first arrivall, in gratulation of the safetie thereof, which hath bene long desired. Wherein, as I strive to performe a particular duetie to your lordship, so trust I you will have that honourable consideration, that in the communication thereof with others, there growe not any prejudice to me for my presumption, in adventuring to be a reporter of that, which in the deliverie wrought so great astonishment to all the hearers, as it exceeded the fulnes of every man's expectation; and therefore, without some favourable construction of mine attempt, I might incurre great blame by my slender maner of report, so to have blemished the excellencie of her majesties speaches, whereof I humbly beseech your lordship to have favourable regard. Thus referring them to your lordship's disposition, and my selfe to your favourable protection, I humbly take my leave. 25. Novemb. 1586.

Your Lordship's most humbly
In all duetie to command.
R. C.

The Briefe of the Lord Chancellor's first Speach, at the Time when he delivered her Most Excellent Majestie a Petition in Writing, for and in the name of the Lordes and Commons. Which Speaches were of more length than here are by me collected; but sure I am, the Substaunce thereof is here truely expressed.

THAT the Lordes and Commons having of long time, to their intollerable griefe, found by howe many practises the Scottish Queene had compassed the destruction of her highnes' most royall person, (in whose safetie next under God they acknowledged their chiefe felicity to consist,) thereby not onely to bereave them of the sincere and true religion in this realme professed and established, but to bring backe againe this noble realme into the thraldome of Romish tyrannie, and to overthrowe the happie estate thereof; wherein, although her highnesse, of her abundant gratious naturall clemencie and princely magnanimitie, hath either lightly passed them over, or with no small indulgence tolerated, notwithstanding the often and earnest instances of her nobilitie and commons in sundry parliaments heretofore, and further hath protected her from the violent pursuite of her owne people; she yet, as a person obdurate in malice, (as it appeares,) continued her former practises, as had bene lately manifested by certaine wicked conspiracies plotted by one Anthonie Babington, and divers desperate persons, that had combined and confederated themselves by vowe and oth in a most horrible enterprise, by murther, to take away the life of her majestie; wherein the Scottish Queene did not only advise them, but also direct, comfort, and abbette them, with perswasion, counsel, promise of reward, and earnest obtestation. Whereupon her majestie, at the earnest request of such as tendered the safetie of her royall person, and the quiet of the realme, did direct commission under the great seale to sundrie lords and others of her majestie's privie counsel, and a great nomber of lordes of parliament, of the greatest and most ancient degree, assisted with some of the principal judges of the realme, to heare, examine, and determine the same, according to a statute in that behalfe made in the xxviij. yeere of her reigne; who, to the nomber of 36, having attended the execution of the said commission, and divers daies and times heard the allegations against the said Scottish Queene, in her owne presence and hearing, (she being permitted to say what shee woulde in her owne excuse,) did, with one assent, finde her culpable both in privitie and consent to the said crimes objected, and also in compassing the queene's majestie's death. Which sentence, by her

owne directions upon the hearing of the prooves and processe in parliament, was judged to have beene most honourable and just; and thereupon they all beseech her Majesty, that forasmuch as the said Queene of Scots was the very ground and onely subject, whereupon such daungerous practises and complots had bene founded, against her majestie's most royall person and the estate of this realme, for these many yeeres, to the overthrowe of sundrie of the nobilitie of the land, and danger of Christian religion, and that they could see no hope of her desisting, and her adherents, but that still her majestie's safety must be hazarded, and stand to the event of the like miraculous discoveries.

Therefore, as most humble and instant suppliants, they did upon their knees at her most gratious feete, beseech and request in most earnest maner, that aswell for the continuance of God's religion, the quiet of this kingdom, preservation of her person, and defence of them and their posterities, it woulde please hir highenesse to take order, that the saide sentence might be published, and such further direction given, as was requisite in this so weightie a cause, according to the purport and intent of the said statute. Wherin, if her majestie (pursuing her wonted clemencie) should nowe be remisse, besides the imminent danger to hir person, she might, by the stay thereof, procure the heavie displeasure of Almightie God, as by sundry severe examples of his justice in the sacred scriptures doth appeare. And so he delivered, to her majestie's owne handes, the petition in writing, which he said had bene with great deliberation assented unto, by all the whole parliament.

A short Extract of such Reasons, as were delivered in Speach by Master Sergeant Puckering, Speaker of the Lower House, before the Queene's most excellent Majestie in her Presence-Chamber at Richmond, the xii. of November 1586, *in the xxviii. Yeere of her Reigne, containing divers apparent and imminent Dangers, that may grow to her Majesties most Royal Person, and to her Realme, from the Scottish Queene and her Adherents, if Remedie be not provided.*

First, touching the Danger of her Majestie's Person.

1. Both this Scottish Queene and her favourers doe thinke her to have right, not to succeed, but to enjoy your crowne in possession; and therefore as shee is a most impatient competitor, so will shee not spare any meanes whatsoever, that may bereave us of your majestie, the onely impediment that she enjoyeth not her desire.

2. Shee is obdurate in malice against your royall person, notwithstanding you have shewed her all favour and mercie, as well in preserving her kingdome, as saving her life, and salving her honour; and therefore there is no place for mercie, since there is no hope that shee will desist from most wicked attempts; the rather for that her malice appeareth such, that shee maketh (as it were) her testament of the same, to be executed after her death, and appoynteth her executors to performe it.

3. Shee boldly and openly professed it lawfull for her to moove invasion upon you: And therefore, as of invasion victorie may ensue, and of victorie, the death of the vanquished; so did shee thereby not obscurely bewraie, that shee thought it lawfull for her to destroie your sacred person.

4. Shee thinkes it not onely lawfull, but honourable also and meritorious, to take your life from you, as being alreadie deprived of your crowne by the excommunication of the Holie Father; and therefore it is like shee will (as hitherto she hath done) continually seeke it by whatsoever meanes.

5. That shee is greedie of your majestie's death, and preferreth it before her owne life and safetie; for in her direction to one of her late complices, she advised, (under covert

termes,) that whatsoever should become of her, that tragicall execution should be performed upon you.

The Danger of the Overthrow of the True Religion.

1. It is most perillous to spare her, that continually hath sought the overthrow and suppression of true religion, infected with poperie from her tender youth, and being after that a confederate in that Holy League when she came to age, and ever since a professed enemie against the trueth.

2. She resteth wholly upon popish hopes to deliver and advance her, and is thereby so devoted to that profession, that aswel for satisfaction of others, as for feeding of her own humor, she will supplant the Gospell, where, and when so ever she may; which evil is so much the greater, and the more to be avoyded, as that it slayeth the very soule, and will spread it selfe not onely over England and Scotland, but also into those partes beyond the seas, where the Gospel of God is mainteined, the which cannot but be exceedingly weakened, by the defection of this noble ilande.

The Perill of the State of the Realme.

1. As the Lydians saide, *Unum regem agnoscunt Lydi, duos autem tolerare non possunt;* so wee say, *Unicam reginam Elizabetham agnoscunt Angli, duas autem tolerare non possunt.*

2. As she hath already by her allurements brought to destruction moe noble men and their houses, together with a greater multitude of the commons of this realme, during her being here, then she should have bin able to doe, if she had bene in possession of her owne crowne, and armed in the fielde against us; so will she still be continuall cause of the like spoyle, to the greater losse and perill of this estate; and therefore, this realme neither can, nor may endure her.

3. Againe, she is the onely hope of all discontented subjects; she is the foundation whereon all the evill disposed do builde; she is the roote from whence all rebellions and trecheries do spring; and therefore, whilest this hope lasteth, this foundation standeth, and this roote liveth, they will reteine heart, and set on foote whatsoever their devises against the realme, which otherwise will fall away, die, and come to nothing.

4. Mercie now in this case towards her, woulde in the ende prove crueltie against us all, *Nam est quædam crudelis misericordia;* and therefore to spare her, is to spill us.

5. Besides this, it will exceedingly grieve, and in a maner deadly wound the hearts of all the good subjects of your land, if they shall see a conspiracie so horrible not condingly punished.

6. Thousands of your majestie's most liege and loving subjectes, of all sorts and degrees, that in a tender zeale of your majestie's safetie, have most willingly, both by open subscription and solemne vowe, entered into a firme and loyall association, and have thereby protested to pursue unto the death, by all forcible and possible meanes, such as she is by just sentence nowe found to be; can neither discharge their love, nor well save their othes, if your majestie shall keepe her alive; of which burden your majestie's subjects are most desirous to bee relieved, as the same may be, if justice be done.

7. Lastly, your majestie's most loving and dutiful commons doubt not, but that as your majestie is duely exercised in reading the Booke of God, so it will please you to call to your princely remembrance, how fearefull the examples of God's vengeance bee, that are there to be found against King Saul, for sparing King Agag, and against King Achab for saving the life of Benadad; both which were by the just judgment of God

deprived of their kingdoms, for sparing those wicked princes, whome God had delivered into their handes, of purpose to be slaine by them, as by the ministers of his eternal and divine justice; wherein full wisely Salomon proceeded to punishment, when hee tooke the life of his owne naturall and elder brother Adonias, for the only intention of a marriage, that gave suspition of treason against him.

Herein we, your majestie's most loving and obedient subjects, earnestly depend upon your princely resolution, which we assure our selves shall be to God most acceptable, and to us no other than the state of your regall authoritie may afford us, and the approved arguments of your tender care for our safetie under your charge, dooth promise to our expectation.

A Report of her Majestie's most gratious Answere, delivered by her selfe verbally, to the first Petitions of the Lords and Commons, being the Estates of Parliament, in her Chamber of Presence at Richmond, the xij. Day of November 1586, *at the full almost of xxviij. Yeeres of her Reigne. Whereof the Reporter requireth of all that were Hearers, a favourable Interpretation of his Intent, because he findeth that he cannot expresse the same answerable to the Original, which the Learned call Prototypon.*

THE bottomlesse graces and immeasurable benefits bestowed upon me by the Almightie, are, and have bene such, as I must not onely acknowledge them, but admire them, accounting them as well miracles as benefites, not so much in respect of his Divine Majestie, with whome nothing is more common than to doe things rare and singular, as in regard of our weaknesse, who can not sufficiently set foorth his wonderfull workes and graces, which to mee have bene so many, so diversely folded and imbroydered one upon another, as in no sorte I am able to expresse them.

And although there liveth not any, that may more justly acknowledge themselves infinitely bounde unto God then I, whose life he hath miraculously preserved at sundry times, (beyonde my merite,) from a multitude of perils and dangers; yet is not that the cause for which I count my selfe the deeplyest bounde to give him my humblest thankes, or to yeelde him greatest recognition; but this which I shall tell you hereafter, which will deserve the name of wonder, if rare things and seldome seene be worthie of accompt: Even this it is, that as I came to the crowne with the willing hearts of my subjects, so doe I now, after xxviii yeres reigne, perceive in you no diminution of good willes, which if happily I should want, well might I breath, but never thinke I lived.

And now, albeit I finde my life hath bene full dangerously sought, and death contrived by such as no desert procured; yet am I therein so cleare from malice, (which hath the property to make men glad at the falles and faultes of their foes, and make them seeme to doe for other causes, when rancour is the ground,) as I protest it is and hath bene my grievous thought, that one, not different in sexe, of like estate, and my neere kin, shoulde fall into so great a crime: yea, I had so little purpose to pursue her with any colour of malice, that, as it is not unknowen to some of my lordes here, (for nowe I will play the blabbe,) I secretly wrote her a letter upon the discovery of sundry treasons, that if she woulde confesse them, and privately acknowledge them by her letters to my selfe, shee never shoulde neede be called for them into so publike question. Neither did I it of minde to circumvent her; for then I knew as much as she could confesse, and so did I write. And if even yet, nowe that the matter is made but too apparant, I thought she truely would repent, (as perhappes she would easily appeare in outwarde shewe to doe) and that for her, none other would take the matter upon them, or that we were but as two milke maides with pailes upon our armes, or that there were no more dependancie upon us, but mine owne life were onely in danger, and not the whole estate of your religion and well doings, I protest, (wherein you may beleeve me; for though I may

have many vices, I hope I have not accustomed my tongue to be an instrument of untrueth), I would most willingly pardon and remit this offence.

Or if by my death, other nations and kingdoms might truely say, that this realme had attained an everprosperous and florishing estate, I would (I assure you) not desire to live; but gladly give my life, to the ende my death might procure you a better prince.

And for your sakes it is that I desire to live, to keepe you from a worse. For, as for me, I assure you I find no great cause I should be fonde to live: I take no such pleasure in it, that I shoulde much wish it, nor conceave such terror in death, that I should greatly feare it; and yet I say not, but if the stroke were comming, perchance flesh and blood would be moved with it, and seeke to shunne it.

I have had good experience and tryall of this world; I know what it is to be a subject, what to be a soveraigne; what to have good neighbors, and sometime meete evill willers. I have founde treason in trust, seene great benefits little regarded, and in stead of gratefulnes, courses of purpose to crosse.

These former remembrances, present feeling, and future expectation of evils, I say, have made me thinke, "An evill is much the better, the lesse while it endureth;" and so, them happiest, that are soonest hence; and taught me to beare with a better minde these treasons, then is common to my sex; yea, with a better heart perhaps, then is in some men. Which I hope you wil not meerly impute to my simplicitie or want of understanding, but rather, that I thus conceived, that had their purposes taken effect, I should not have found the blow, before I had felt it; and, though my perill should have bene great, my paine shoulde have bene but smal and short; wherein, as I would be loth to dye so bloody a death, so doubt I not, but God would have given me grace to be prepared for such an event, chance when it shall, which I referre to his good pleasure.

And now, as touching their treasons and conspiracies, together with the contriver of them, I will not so prejudicate my selfe and this my realme, as to say or thinke, that I might not, without the last statute, by the ancient lawes of this land, have proceeded against her, which was not made particularly to prejudice her; though perhaps it might then be suspected, in respect of the disposition of such as depend that way.

It was so farre from being intended to intrap her, that it was rather an admonition to warne the danger thereof; but sith it is made, and in the force of a lawe, I thought good, in that which might concerne her, to proceede according thereunto, rather than by course of common law; wherein, if you the judges have not deceived me, or that the books you brought me were not false (which God forbid) I might as justly have tried her, by the ancient lawes of the land.

But you lawyers are so nice in sifting and skanning every woorde and letter, that many times you stand more upon forme than matter, upon sillables than sence of the lawe. For in the strictnes and exact folowing of common forme, shee must have bene indited in Staffordshire, have holden up her hand at the barre, and bene tried by a jurie; a proper course forsooth, to deale in that manner with one of her estate. I thought it better therfore, for avoiding of these and more absurdities, to commit the cause to the inquisition of a good nomber of the greatest and most noble personages of this realme, of the judges and others of good accompt, whose sentence I must approove; and all litle enough; for we princes, I tel you, are set on stages, in the sight and viewe of all the world duely observed; the eies of many beholde our actions; a spot is soone spied in our garments; a blemish quickly noted in our doings. It behooveth us therefore, to be carefull that our proceedings bee just and honourable.

But I must tell you one thing more, that in this last acte of parliament you have brought me to a narrowe straighte, that I must give direction for her death, which cannot be to mee but a most grievous and irksome burthen. And least you might mistake mine absence from this parliament (which I had almost forgotten) although there be no cause why I should willingly come amongst multitudes, for that amongst many some

may be evil; yet hath it not bene the doubt of any such daunger or occasion that kept me from thence, but onely the great griefe to heare this cause spoken of, especially, that such a one of state and kin should neede so open a declaration, and that this nation should be so spotted with blots of disloialtie. Wherein the lesse is my grief, for that I hope the better part is mine, and those of the worse not much to be accompted of, for that in seeking my destruction, they might have spoiled their owne soules.

And even nowe coulde I tell you that which woulde make you sorie. It is a secrete, and yet I will tell it you, although it is knowen I have the propertie to keepe counsell but too well oftentimes to mine owne perill. It is not long since mine eyes did see it written, that an othe was taken within few daies, either to kill mee, or to be hanged themselves: and that to be performed ere one moneth were ended. Hereby I see your danger in me, and neither can or will be so unthankfull or carelesse of your consciences, as not provide for your safetie.

I am not unmindeful of your oth made in the association, manifesting your great good wils and affections taken and entred into, upon good conscience, and true knowledge of the guilt, for safety of my person, and conservation of my life, done (I protest to God) before I heard it, or ever thought of such a matter, until a great nomber of handes with many obligations were shewed mee, at Hampton Court, signed and subscribed with the names and seales of the greatest of this lande; which as I doe acknowledge as a perfect argument of your true heartes, and great zeale to my safetie; so shall my bonde be stronger tied to greater care for all your good.

But for as much as this matter is rare, weightie, and of great consequence, I thinke you doe not looke for any present resolution; the rather, for that, as it is not my manner, in matters of far lesse moment, to give speedy answer without due consideration, so in this of such importance, I thinke it verie requisite with earnest prayer to beseech his Divine Majestie so to illuminate my understanding, and inspire me with his grace, as I may doe and determine that, which shall serve to the establishment of his church, preservation of your estates, and prosperitie of this commonwealth under my charge. Wherein (for that I knowe delaie is dangerous) you shal have with all conveniencie our resolution delivered by our message. And what ever any prince may merite of their subjects, for their approoved testimonie of their unfained sincerite, eyther by governing justly, voide of all partialitie, or sufferance of any injuries done (even to the poorest) that doe I assuredly promise inviolablie to performe, for requitall of your so many desertes.

The Occasions of the Second Accesse.

This answere thus made by her majestie, the lords and commons were dismissed. And then her highnesse some fewe dayes after, upon deliberation had of this petition, being (as it appeared) of her mercifull disposition of nature, and her princely magnanimitie, in some conflict with her selfe what to doe in a cause so weightie and important to her and the realme, sent by the Lorde Chauncellor (as I heard,) and by the mouth of an honorable person, and a right worthy member of the lower House, this message to both Houses; moving and earnestly charging them, to enter into a further consideration, whether there might not be some other way of remedy, than that they had already required, so farre disagreeing from her owne naturall inclination. Whereupon, the lords and commons in either Houses assembled, had sundry consultations, both in their severall Houses generally, and by private committees deputed specially, and after conference had betwixt the sayd committees, it was resolved with unanimitie of consent amongst them in the lower House, and by universall concorde in the upper House (the question there propounded to every one of the lords) that there could be found no other sound and as-

sured meane, in the depth of their understanding, for the continuance of the Christian religion, quiet of the realme, and safetie of her majestie's most royall person, than that which was conteined in their former petition. The reasons whereof were summarily these that followe; which are more shortly reported than they were uttered.

A Briefe Report of the Second Accesse the 24 of November 1586, and of the Answere made in the Name of the Lords of Parliament, to a Message sent from hir Majestie by the L. Chancelour after hir first Answere.

THE Lord Chauncelour, accompanied with above five or sixe and twentie lords of Parliament, came before her highnes, in her chamber of presence, to deliver the resolution of all the lords of parliament, concerning a message which he had not long before delivered from her majestie, for further consultation, whether any other meanes could be thought of, or found out by any of them, how the Scottish queene's life might be spared, and yet her majestie's person saved out of perill, and the state of the realme preserved in quiet; declared, that, according to that he had received in commandment from her majestie, he had imparted the same to the lordes assembled in the upper House, whome he found by their generall silence much amazed at the propounding thereof, considering the same had bene before in deliberation amongst them, and resolved upon, and as appeared by their former petition exhibited to her highnesse, wherein they had expressed the same resolution. Notwithstanding, for her majestie's further satisfaction, they had entred into a newe consultation, and for that purpose selected a great nomber of the choycest persons of that higher House of parliament, to conferre thereof, either privately or together, with the lower House; which also was done accordingly at several times. At all which conferences it was concluded by them all, and so afterwards by the whole assembly of both Houses, that there could be no other assured meanes for the preservation of her majestie's life, and continuance of God's religion, and quiet of this state, than by the full execution of the sentence according to their former petition, instantly pressing her majestie with many arguments and reasons tending thereto, all which, though by distance from his lordship I could not wel conceive, yet this I did remember precisely and especially was one, that as it were injustice to denie execution of law, at the suit of any one particular, and the meanest of her people; so much more, not to yeelde to the earnest instance and humble prayers of all her faithful and loving subjects. And so concluded with earnest petition for her majestie's resolute determination and answere, for a present and speedy direction by proclamation, and otherwise also, according to the forme of the statute.

A Summarie Report of the Second Speech, uttered by the Speaker of the Lower House, by Direction of all the Commons.

THAT if her majestie should be safe without taking away the life of the Scottish queene, the same were most likelie and probably to grow, by one of these meanes following:

1. First, that happily she might be reclaimed and become a repentant convert, agnising her majestie's great mercie and favours, in remitting her heynous offence, and by her loyaltie hereafter performe the fruites of such conversion.

2. Or els, by a more strayght guard be so kept, as there shoulde be no feare of the like attempts hereafter.

3. Or, that good assurance might be given by othe, bonds, or hostages, as cautions for her good and loyal demeanour from henceforth.

4. Or lastly, by banishment, the realme might be voyded of her person, and thereby the perils further removed, that growe to her majestie by her presence.

The moments whereof being duely pondered, did yet appeare so light in all their judgements, that they durst not advise any securitie to rest in any, no not in all of them.

For touching her conversion, it was considered, that if pietie or duetie could have restrained her from such heynous attempts, there was cause abundantly ministred to her on her majesties behalfe, when she not only protected her against the violence of her own subjects, who pursued her to death by justice, but covered her honor, when the same by publique fame was touched, and by very heynous and capitall crymes objected and proved against her before certeine commissarie delegates assigned to examine the same, more then blemished, and spared her lyfe, when for her former conspiracies and confederacies with the northern rebelles, her highnesse was with great instance pressed by both the Houses in the xiiii. yeere of her majesties reigne, to do like justice uppon her, as nowe is desired, and as her treasonable practices then had most justly deserved.

And where the penaltie of this acte sufficiently notified unto her, should have terrified her from so wicked attempts, she hath neverthelesse insisted in her former practises, as a person obdurate in malice against her majestie, and irrecoverable: so as there was no probable hope of any conversion, but rather great doubt and feare of relaps and recidivation, for asmuch as she stood obstinately in the deniall of matter most evidently prooved, and now most justly sentenced against her, and was not entered into the first part of repentance, the recognition of her offence, and so much the farther off from the true fruites that should accompany the same.

As for a surer guard, and more strait imprisonment, it was resolved, that there was no security therein, nor yet in the other two meanes propounded, of bonds and hostages: for asmuch as the same means that shoulde bee practised to take her majesties life away (which God forbid) would aptly serve both for the delivery of her person, and release of the bonds and hostages that should be given for cautions in that behalfe: which being unhappily atchieved, and to our irreparable losse, who shoulde sue the bonds, or deteine the hostages? or being detained, what proportion was there in bonds or hostages whatsoever, to countervaile the value of so precious and inestimable a jewel, as her majestie is to this realme, and to us all?

But she will solemnly vowe and take an othe, that she will not attempt any thing to the hurt of her majesties person: shee hath already sundry times falsified her worde, her writing, and her othe, and holdeth it for an article of religion, that faith is not to be holden with heretikes, of which sort shee accompteth your majestie, and all the professors of the gospel to be: and therefore have we little reason to trust her in that, wherof shee maketh so small a conscience.

As for banishment, that were a step *à malo in pejus* to set her at libertie: a thing so greatly desired and thirsted for by her adherents, and by some princes her allies, who sought her enlargement chiefly, to make her a head to be set up against her majesty in time of invasion.

To the which were added some fewe reasons, collected out of her owne letters and the confession of Babington, her instrument and chiefe conspirator: by which appeared, howe her owne conscience bewrayed what might justly fal upon her, in case any of her intended desseignements came to light: that shee might haply bee shut up in some more close and straite prison, as the Towre of London, if there befell her no worse thing: and in that she directed Babington, in case he failed in the action of her delivery, that he should neverthelesse proceede in residue, which was the death of her majestie: who also confessed, that upon assurance of her majesties death, or the arrivall of strangers, he intended to proclaime the Queene of Scots, and made no doubt of the desired successe: and therefore, her majesties death being so earnestly sought, for advancement of this com-

petitor, her highness could not remaine in quietnes or securitie, if the Scottish Queene should longer continue her life.

The Second Answere made by the Queenes Majestie, delivered by her owne Mouth to the Second Speeche, uttered in the Names of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

Ful grievous is the way, whose going on and end breede comber for the hire of a laborious journey.

I have strived more this day then ever in my life, whether I shoulde speake, or use silence. If I speake and not complaine, I shal dissemble: if I holde my peace, your labour taken were full vayne. For mee to make my mone, were strange and rare; for I suppose you shal finde fewe, that for their owne particular, will comber you with such a care. Yet such I protest hath bene my greedy desire and hungrie will, that of your consultation might have fallen out some other meanes to woorke my safetie joyned with your assurance, (then that for which you are become such earnest sutors,) as I protest, I must needes use complaint, though not of you, but unto you, and of the cause: for that I do perceive by your advises, prayers, and desires, there falleth out this accident, that onely my injurer's bane must be my life's suertie.

But if any there live so wicked of nature, to suppose, that I prolonged this time onely, *pro forma*, to the intent to make a shew of clemencie, thereby to set my prayses to the wyerdrawers to lengthen them the more; they doe me so great a wrong, as they can hardly recompence. Or if any person there be, that thinke or imagine, that the least vayneglorious thought hath drawn mee further herein, they doe me as open injurie as ever was done to any living creature, as he that is the Maker of all thoughtes, knoweth best to be true. Or if there bee any that thinke, that the lords appoynted in commission durst do no other, as fearing thereby to displease, or els to be suspected to be of a contrary opinion to my safetie, they doe but heape upon me injurious conceites. For either those put in trust by me to supplie my place, have not performed their dueties towards me: or els they have signified unto you all, that my desire was, that every one should do according to his conscience, and in the course of his proceedings should enjoy both freedome of voyce and libertie of opinion: and what they would not openly declare, they might privately to my selfe have revealed. It was of a willing minde and great desire I had, that some other means might be found out, wherein I should have taken more comfort, then in any other thing under the sunne. And since nowe it is resolved, that my suretie cannot be established without a princesse ende, I have just cause to complaine, that I, who have in my time pardoned so many rebels, winked at so many treasons, and either not produced them, or altogether slipt them over with silence, shoulde nowe be forced to this proceeding, against such a person. I have besides, during my reigne, seene and heard many opprobrious bookes and pamphlets against me, my realme and state, accusing me to be a tyrant: I thanke them for their almes: I beleeve, therein their meaning was to tell me newes, and newes it is to me in deede: I would it were as strange to heare of their impietie. What will they not now say, when it shalbe spread, that for the safety of her life, a mayden queene could be content to spill the blood, even of her owne kinswoman? I may therfore ful wel complaine, that any man should thinke mee given to crueltie, whereof I am so guiltlesse and innocent, as I shoulde slaunder God, if I should say he gave me so vile a mind: yea, I protest, I am so farre from it, that for mine owne life I would not touche her: neither hath my care bene so much bent howe to prolong mine, as how to preserve both, which I am right sory is made so hard, yea, so impossible.

I am not so voide of judgement, as not to see mine owne perill: nor yet so ignorant, as not to knowe it were in nature a foolish course, to cherish a sworde to cutte mine

owne throate: nor so carelesse, as not to weigh that my life dayly is in hazard: but this I do consider, that many a man would put his life in danger for the safegarde of a king, I doe not say that so will I: but I pray you thinke, that I have thought upon it.

But sith so many have both written and spoken against mee, I pray you give me leave to say somewhat for my selfe, and before you returne to your countries, let you know, for what a one you have passed so careful thoughts. Wherin, as I thinke my selfe infinitely beholding unto you al, that seeke to preserve my life by al the meanes you may; so I protest unto you, that there liveth no prince, that ever shall be more mindefull to requite so good desertes. And as I perceyve you have kept your olde wonts, in a general seeking of the lengthning of my dayes; so am I sure that I shall never requite it, unless I had as many lives as you all: but for ever I will acknowledge it, while there is any breath left mee. Although I may not justifie, but may justly condemne my sundry faults and sinnes to God; yet for my care in this government, let me acquaynt you with my intents.

When first I took the scepter, my title made me not forget the giver: and therefore began, as it became me, with such religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, and I trust shal die in. Although I was not so simple, as not to know what danger and perill so great an alteration might procure me; howe many great princes of the contrary opinion woulde attempt all they might against me; and generally, what enimitie I should breede unto my selfe; which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whose sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that ever since I have bene so daungerously prosecuted, as I rather marvaile that I am, then muse that I should not be; if it were not God's holy hand that continueth me, beyond all other expectation.

Then entered I further into the schoole of experience, bethinking what it fitted a king to do: and there I saw, he scant was wel furnished, if either he lacked justice, temperance, magnanimitie, or judgement. As for the two latter, I will not boaste, my sexe doeth not permit it: but for the two first, this dare I say, amongst my subjects I never knew a difference of person, where right was one; nor never to my knowledge preferred for favour, whome I thought not fit for worth; nor bent my eares to credite a tale that first was tolde me; nor was so rash, to corrupt my judgement with my censure, before I heard the cause. I will not say, but many reports might fortune be brought mee by such as might heare the case, whose partialitie might marre sometime the matter: for wee princes may not heare all our selves. But this dare I boldly affirme, my verdit went ever with the trueth of my knowledge. As ful well wished Alcibiades his friende, that hee should not give any answere, till he had recited the letters of the alphabet: so have I not used over sudden resolutions, in matters that have touched me full neere: you will say that with me, I thinke.

And therefore as touching your counsels and consultations, I conceive them to bee wise, honest, and conscionable: so provident and careful for the safetie of my life, (which I wish no longer then may be for your good,) that though I never can yeeld you of recompence your due: yet shall I endevour my selfe to give you cause, to thinke your good wil not ill bestowed, and strive to make my selfe worthy for such subjects.

And now for your petition, I shal pray you for this present, to content your selves with an answere without answere: your jugdement I condemne not, neither do I mistake your reasons, but pray you to accept my thankfulnesse, excuse my doubtfulnesse, and take in good part my answere answerelesse: wherein I attribute not so much to mine owne judgement, but that I thinke many particular persons may go before me, though by my degree I go before them. Therefore if I should say, I would not doe what you request, it might peradventure be more then I thought: and to say I would do it, might perhaps breed perill of that you labour to preserve, being more then in your owne wis-

domes and discretions would seeme convenient, circumstances of place and time being duely considered.

A true Copie of the Proclamation latelie Published by the Queene's Majestie, under the Great Seale of England, for the declaring of the Sentence latelie given against the Queene of Scots, in Form as followeth.

This is extracted from Hollinshed's Chronicle, to complete the account of the proceedings against the Scottish Queen. It was proclaimed, the author of that Chronicle assures us, "with great port and statelinesse. For upon Tuesdaie, being the sixt daie of December, the Lord Maior of London, assisted with divers earls and barons, the aldermen in their scarlet gownes, the principall officers of the citie, the greatest number of gentlemen of the best accompt in and about the citie, with the number of fourescore of the most grave and worshipfullest citizens, in cotes of velvet, and chaines of gold, all on horse backe, in most solemne and statelie maner, by the sound of foure trumpets, about ten of the clocke in the forenone, made open and publike proclamation and declaration of the sentence latelie given by the nobilitie against the Queene of Scots, under the great seale of England, bearing the date, at Richmont, the fourth daie of December, being openly read by Master Sebright, towne-clerke of London, and with lowd voice solemnlie proclaimed by the sargent-at-armes of the said citie, in foure severall places, to wit, at the Crosse in Cheape, at the end of Chancerie-lane in Fleet-street, over against the Temple, at Leaden-Hall Corner, and at Saint Magnus Corner, neere London Bridge.

During which time, the like solemne proclamations were made with great solemnities in the countie of Middlesex; namelie, in the Palace at Westminster, without Templebarre, and in Holborne, by the shireffes of London and Midlesex, assisted with sundrie noblemen, gentlemen of good account, and the justices of peace of the said countrie, to the great and woonderfull rejoising of the people of all sorts, as manifestlie appeared by their eger running after the portlie traine; their thronging to heare the same published; their ringing of bels, making of bonfires, and singing of psalmes in everie street and lane of the citie. The said proclamation followeth."

Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Whereas we were given to understand very crediblie, though to our great greefe, that divers things were, and of late time had beene compassed, imagined, and resolutelie intended, tending directlie to the hurt and destruction of our roiall person, and to the subversion of the state of our realme, by forren invasions and rebellions at home, as well by the Queene of Scots, remaining in our realme under our protection, as by manie divers other wicked persons with her priuitie, who had freelie confessed the same, and had thereupon received open triall, iudgement, and execution, according to the lawes for their deserts. And though, in verie truth, we were greatlie and deeplie greeved in our mind, to thinke or imagine that anie such unnaturall and monstrous acts should be either devised, or willinglie assented unto against us, by hir being a princesse borne, and of our sex and bloud, and one also whose life and honor we had manie times before saved and preserved; yet were we so directlie drawne to thinke all the same to be true, by the sight and understanding of such proofes as were manifestlie produced afore us, upon matters that had as well proceeded from hirselfe, as from the conspirators

themselves, who voluntarilie and freelie, without any coercion, had confessed their conspirations, both jointlie with hir, and directed by hir, against our person and our realme: and therefore also we saw great reason to thinke the same ouer dangerous to be suffered to passe onward to take their full effect.

Wherefore, we were by sundrie lords of our nobilitie, and others our loving subjects, earnestly mooved and counselled, to take undelaied order for the inquisition and examination of all these dangerous enterprises and conspiracies, by sundrie waies directlie allowed to be by the said Queen of Scots against us and our realme certeinlie intended; and also to use all present meanes, with expedition to withstand, or rather to prevent the same. And for that we were verie unwilling to proceed against hir, considering her birth and estate, by such usuall sort as by the common lawes of the realme we might have lawfullie doone, which was by indictment and arraignment by ordinarie juries; therefore, in respect both of our owne honor, and of hir person, we yeelded, by good advise given to us, to proceed in the most honorable sort that could be devised within our realme, to the examination hereof, according to a late act of parlement, made the three and twentith daie of November, in the seven and twentith yeare of our reigne.

Whereupon, by our commission under our great seale of England, bearing date at our Castell of Windsore, in the countie of Barkeshire, the sixt daie of October now last past, we did, (for that purpose,) according to that statute, assigne, name, and appoint all the lords and others of our privie councell, and so manie other earls and barons, lords of parlement, of the greatest degree and most ancient of the nobilitie of this our realme, as with the same lords and others of our privie councell, made up the number of fortie and two, adding also thereto a further number, according to the tenor of the foresaid act of parlement, of certaine of the cheefest and other principall judges of the courts of record at Westminster, amounting in the whole to the number of fortie and seven, to examine all things compassed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our roiall person, as well by the said Queene of Scots, by the name of Marie, the daughter and heir of James the Fift, late King of Scots, commonlie called the Queene of Scots and Dowager of France, as by anie other by her privitie, and all the circumstances thereof; and thereupon, according to the tenor of the said act of parlement, to give sentence or judgment, as upon good proofe the matter vnto them should appeare, as by the same commission more fullie appeareth.

And where afterwards the more part of the said counsellors, lords, and judges, in our said commission named, that is to saie, the number of six and thirtie, did in the presence and hearing of the said Queene of Scots, where she remained at our castell of Fodering-haie, at divers daies and times in publike place, verie exactlie, uprightlie, and with great deliberation, examine all the matters and offences whereof she was charged and accused, tending unto the dangers afore rehearsed and mentioned in our said commission, and all the circumstances thereof, and heard also at large, in all favourable maner, what the same queene did, or could saie for her excuse and defence in that behalfe: whereupon, afterwards, on the five and twentith daie of October now last past, all the said councell, lords, and judges, that had heard and examined the same cause in the said queene's presence, as afore is mentioned, with one assent and consent, after good deliberation, did give their sentence and judgment in this sort following:

That after the first of June, in the seven and twentith year of our reigne, and before the date of our said commission, diverse things were compassed and imagined within this realme of England, by Anthonie Babington, and others, with the privitie of the said Marie, pretending title to the crowne of this realme of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our roiall person. And likewise, that after the same first daie of June, and before the date of our said commission, the said Marie, pretending title to the same crowne, had compassed and imagined within the same realme, divers things tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our roiall person, contrarie to the forme of

the said statute; which sentence and judgment, the same lords and commissioners have with one full consent caused to be put in writing, and dulie ingrossed, with the whole processe of their proceedings thereunto belonging, and have subscribed the same with their hands, as by a record thereof shewed to us more fullie and largelie dooth appeare.

And whereas also, sithence the same sentence and judgement, so given and recorded, the lords and commons in this present parlement assembled, have also at sundrie times, in open parlement, heard and considered the principall evidences, proofes, and circumstances, whereupon the same sentence and judgment was grounded, and have, by their publick assent in parliament affirmed the same to be a just, lawfull, and true sentence, and so have allowed and approoved the same in writing presented unto us; and have also notified to us, how deepelie they did foresee the great and manie imminent dangers, which otherwise might and would grow to our person, and to the whole realme, if this sentence were not fullie executed; and consequentlie therefore, they did, by their most humble and earnest petitions in that behalfe, of one accord, having accesse unto us (upon their sundrie requests), most instantlie upon their knees, praie, beseech, and with manie reasons of greate force and importance, moove and presse us, that the said sentence and judgement so justlie and dulie given, and by them approved, as is aforesaid, might, (according to the expresse tenor of the said act of parlement,) by our proclamation under our great seale, be declared and published, and the same also finallie executed.

But after such most earnest request, so made to us from all the said lords and commons in parlement, they perceiving by our own speeches and answers, how deepelie we are greeved to heare of these horrible and unnaturall attempts and actions of that queene, whose manie former offenses, manifestlie and dangerouslie committed against us, our crowne and realme, we had over passed with our over great clemencie, contrarie to the manie advises and requests of our subjects, aswell in parlement as otherwise; and therefore, they also understanding from ourselfe, how desirous we were to have some other meanes devised by them in their severall places of parlement, to withstand these mischiefes, intended both against our selfe, and the publike quiet state of our realme, and suretie of our good subjects, than by execution of the foresaid sentence, as was required; they did, after their sundrie consultations apart, and conferences, jointlie with one accord, in the names of all the lords of parlement, even by the particular votes of them all assembled, and also of the commons with one universal assent, representing the state of our realme, at their severall times of accesse unto us, alledge, declare, and protest, that upon their long, manie, and advised consultations and conferences by our commandment, and for our satisfaction in that behalfe had, they could not by anie meanes find or devise, how the suertie of our roiall person, and the preservation of themselves and their posteritie, with the good state of the realme, might be provided for and continued, without the publication and due execution of the said sentence.

Whereupon, being not onelie mooved to our greefe, but also overcome with the earnest requests, declarations, and important reasons of all our said subjects, the nobles and commons of our realme, whose judgement, knowledge, and naturall care of us, and the whole realme, we know dooth farre surmount all others, being not so interessed therin, and so justly to be esteemed; and perceiving also the said sentence to have beene honourablie, lawfullie, and justlie given, agreeable to justice, and to the lawes of our realme, we did yeeld, and doo, according to this said statute, by this our proclamation under our great seal of England, declare, notifie, and publish to all our loving subjects, and other persons whatsoever, that the said sentence and judgement is given in maner aforesaid, to the intent, that they and everie of them, by this our proclamation, may have full understanding and knowledge thereof. We doo also will you, that you returne this our proclamation into our Court of Chancerie, as speedilie as you maie convenientlie, with the place and time of the proclaiming thereof thereupon indorsed, whereof faile you

not. In witnesse whereof, we have caused this our proclamation to be made patent, and sealed with the great seale of England. At our manor of Richmont, the fourth daie of December, the nine and twentith yeare of our reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred fourescore and six.

FROM THE COTTON LIBRARY, *(the original now destroyed by the Fire there.)*

Julius F. VI. 28. Fol. 55.

A Letter into Scotland, to disswade King James from Invading or Warring upon England, upon Account of his Mother's Death.

This letter was designed to divert King James from a purpose, which he seems never seriously to have entertained. He affected great resentment, and perhaps actually felt some sorrow, at the news of his mother's death; but although he refused to receive into his kingdom Sir Robert Cary, whom Elizabeth dispatched to apologize for Mary's execution, yet the envoy acquaints us in his Memoirs, that this prohibition was accompanied with a very favourable, though private, message from James, acquainting him, that it was issued only to secure him against the vindictive violence of his subjects. Yet the king, even for mere shame, could not but affect a more lively resentment than he really felt; and there were many of the fierce and turbulent Scottish nobility, who breathed nothing but war and revenge. The Lord Sinclair, in particular, instead of complying with the order for general mourning, appeared at the court in armour, as the fittest weeds for the occasion. To quell this gathering danger, Elizabeth employed Walsingham to write the following letter to Lord Thirlstane, the Scottish Chancellor, in which he touches on every subject that could alarm the fears, or excite the cupidity, of the Scottish sovereign. There is a more full copy of it in Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland.

SIR,

I AM sorry to find by your letters, that the execution of the king your sovereigne's mother, should be likely to bring forth any such effects, as you seeme to affirme will undoubtedly ensue uppon the knowledge thereof in Scotlande, and worke an alienation of the king your sovereigne's mynde, and of that people, from the amitye of this realme, the continuance wherof hath ever been soe carefully sought and desired. But it is hooped here, besides the king's one singler judgment, that you and others of wisdome and experience about him, that depend uppon your said sovereigne's fortune, whose advice he will use in a matter of so great ymportance, deeply weying the same, shall easely judge how unfitt that will prove every waie for his owne estate to enter into that course, which cannot cure that already doone, and in the ende but tourne to his dishonour, danger, and certaine prejudice, insteed of reputation and credite, which he maie seeme to affect thereby. For if heerupon he will needs make warre with this realme, three things would bee considered. First, how just and honest this warre will appear in the eye of the world; then what meanes he hath to go through withal; lastlie, what maye be the consequence thereof anie waie, and espetially in respect of that he pretendeth in the suc-

cession of this crown, which hereby shall come in question. And for the justnes of the quarrell (without which it is not only unlawfull to enter into warre, but nothing else can be expected but unhappy successe,) he taking armes against this realme in revenge of an action so necessarily doon by generall consent, for the safety of her majesties person, and this state, and accompanied with that justice, as all the world may be judges of the honorable and upright proceedings used in that behalfe, it cann noe way be avoided, but hee must be said to oppose himselfe to the course of justice, and soe consequently the judgment of God, whose minister this state was, in the execution thereof; and so wee standing in defence of justice, shall not lacke th' arme of assistance of th' Almightie against all the potentats of the world, that shall in so unjust and desperate a quarrell attempt any thing against this realme.

And as for the meanes of goeing through with such an enterprise, if your sovereigne shall trust but to his owne strength and forces, noe man can be soe simple as not to see that Scotland of itselfe is not in case to make head against England, augmented in power and welth, as Scotland is decreased, by reason that Fraunce (which served themselves thereof in tymes past to annoy England withall, which then had a footing in Fraunce,) havinge not now the like use of that realme as heretofore they have had, hath not the like respect.

And as for forreine meanes, when you have considered how long you shall sollicite for a little assistance, as the king's mother found by experience to her cost; and when you have it, how incertaine the successe maye bee of all your attempts against England's forces and resistance, which by the conjunction of Hollande and Zelande, hath gotten that strength by sea; and by God's grace, though all the princes of Europe weare landed against this realme, wee should have noe just cause to feare they shoulde prevaile to doe us harme, standing upon the defence.

If therfore due consideration be had of theis things, and withall the consequence of warr, if the king (things that heretofore have fallen out in experience) should happen either to be taken, or being overcome in fielde, or otherwise be inforced to retyre himselfe out of his realme, having justly incensed the state against him, soe farr as they shall think meate utterly to disable him for the succession, as by lawe they may, to what extremity he should be reduced; I doubt not but it will be seene of men of judgement, not transported with passion, to be every waie best for his majestie to forbeare such a desperate and violent course, as may render him subject to many hazards and inconveniences; where on the other side, caryeing himselfe with that moderation that becometh a prince of his perfections and education, and is necessary in this remedilesse accident, hee shall both in the mean while hapliest provide for his owne securitie, and for the time to come, through his kynde and good usage of her majestie, who hath deserved so greately at his hands, winn unto himselfe the hartie good wills and affections of the whole body of the realme.

For that cannot but fall out, that if a course of revenge should be taken upon this late accident, wherby the people of this Island shall be brought once to draw bloud one of another, the auncient enmitie betweene the two nations, which nowe in a manner remaines quite extinct and buried, should be revived in such sorte, as the English would never endure or accept him for their prince, who had beene author of soe unfortunate a breach and disturbance of the common quiet of both realmes, the same being grounded upon so unjust a quarell; but espetially the whole nobility, by whose sentence the late queen was condemned, the same being approoved by parliamente, seeing the king to take it so heinously, and carry such a bloody vindicative mynde, should have good cause to thinke that touched them neere; and you may bee sure they would rather hazard the marching over their bellyes, then to yeeld to the governmente of such a prince as they should stand in doubt would one daie call their honours and lives in question.

And what releife or remedye hee might expect to obtaine in such an extreamitie at

foreigne potentats hands, who are not very hastie at theis dayes to ymbarke themselfes in dangerous enterprises for other mens sakes. Without further discourse, Don Antonio[1] may serve for a lively example, wherein, as in a mirour, he maie behould his fortune falling into the like harde and distressed estate.

And yet to descend into a little more particular consideration of this point, there are at this present but two potentats, which you can make accompt of for to deale with in any suche enterprise, that is the French King, and the King of Spaine; either of which to depend on, as through whose assistance hee may attaine to a present possession of his crown; whosoever shall goe aboute to persuade him to take such a course of counsell, shall, in the opinion of men of best understanding, discover either great passion, or else plaine want of fidelity or judgmente.

For first, in common reason it is not safe for any prince to repose his strength and trust in them, to whose desires and designes his greatnes and good successe may prove an ympedimente and hindrance, in which respect neither of the twoe kings can simplie wish your sovereignes good. For as you know his religion is odious unto them both, and yf heretofore it bred a difficultie in his mother's proceedings with the Catholique princes, when it was some tyme hoped or suggested, that his mother's wisdome and authoritie being at libertie, should alter his humour and disposition that way, which notwithstanding moved her to proceed after that manner in the enterprise; nowe lastly, without any consideration of him, promising to make the King of Spaine hir heire, in case hir sonne became not Catholique; much more now shall the said princes thinke they have cause to be backward in the advancement of such an one to this crowne, whoe shall be likely to be everie waie prejudicial to the Roman religion, being a man, and so much more mightie by the union of the crownes.

Besydes yt is merely repugnant to the pollicie of Fraunce, were it but in respect of the auncient claime England maketh to that crowne, in anie case to suffer the uniting of this island under one prince, so as for a king of France to helpe a king of Scots to the crown of England, weare but in truth to enable and strengthen him one daie to prosecute his tytle to that crowne.

But as the state of Fraunce presently stands, I thinke you shall not fynde the king very forward to cast himselfe into anie forreigne warr; it being well knowen that full sore against his will he was forced by them of the house of Guise to allow of the civil warr (notwithstanding the glorious pretext) wherewith they of Guise have entangled and embarqued that state, for the which (as he hath good cause, whatsoever show he now makes) no doubte he hateth them, and wisheth their confusion in hart.

And if perhaps the French politiques should be content (although it lye not in us divers waies to stopp and prevent anie such malitiouse practise) for their owne ease and quiett, to serve themselves of your sovereigne's quarrell, for the present, for to transport the warr out of their countrey into this island, yet you may therby plainly discerne how your king shal be but used as an instrument for to serve a tourne, as his predecessors heretofore have beene, to the effusion of much Scottish bloud, and the spoile of that realme.

Besyds it were no good counsell to be given by those that depend upon the French King's fortune, to advance a King of Scotts, so nere alyed in bloud to the house of Guise, by whose assistance they design to possesse that crowne, and to depose the king, (a matter by him greatly doubted,) may the better take effect.

Nowe for the assistance of the Spaniard, it is thought his age and unsetled estate

[1] Who pretended to the crown of Portugal, on the death of Don Sebastian; but, after wandering through different countries as an exile, died at Paris in 1595. His only follower was a Portuguese noble, Don Diego Bothei, who attended his master to the last with unshaken fidelity, and only asked, as the reward of all his services, to be buried at his feet.

every waie would move him rather to inclyne to peace, if it were offered, then to harken to anie newe enterprises. But otherwise yf he should give eare thereto, it cannot bee but most dangerous to the king, considering his ambition, his practizes, his power, his colour of right. For it is well knowen howe he had figured himselfe in empire over all this parte of the world, what plots hee layed for the compassing herof. A foundation was laied for the subduing of this land in Queene Marie's tyme, hee being then our king, in right of his wife. The conquest was fully concluded afterwards, under collour of religion, as by the Prince of Orendge, then of the previe counsell, since revealed. He now pretends himsealfe to be the first Catholique prince of the bloud royall of England, being before reputed (though falsly) heir of the house of Lancaster, as by the pedegrees and books published by the bishop of Rosse and others, in his favour, maie appear.[1] It was preached, even during the late queene of Scot's lief, by the jesuites and divers gentlemen, to advaunce him to the crowne, by waie of election, to the prejudice of hir and hir line, as meetest to restore the Romishe auctoritie, both here and else wheare. For although your sovereigne's disposition to that religion was not desperate, they assured themselves that he would not parte with the supremacy, noe more then King Henry the 8th, wee maie easely and rightly judge howe farr he would prevaile of the donation made of this crowne by the last Queene of Scots, in hir letters promised to be confirmed by hir last will and testamente, whereof his ambassadour at Paris, Don Barnardino de Mendoza, sticks not alreadye to make open vaunt, and what hirselfe hath practized to that effect with hir servants, since hir condemnation, God knowes. Lastly, being the strongest, what should lett him to dispose of the praie as he listeth? Warrant he would want none, soe long as the Pope's maye bee, as they are of his owne and only making.

All which layed togeather, manifestly argueth how dangerous a matter it might prove for your sovereigne to depend uppon the said Spaniard, or any such kind of friend's assistance, which might be converted to his owne disherison, as well as to his adversaryes annoyance.

And that, by change of his religion, he shal be able to mend the matter, or better his condition in anie respect, is very unprobable, considering the said privat respects of their owne estats and pretentions will still remaine. And for the King of Spaine's partie, the usurpacion of the kingdome of Portugall giveth evident profe, that his ambition cannot be restrained, when he hath the advantage, by any bands of religion, honour, or justice; and the simple assistance poore Don Antonio hath received, notwithstanding he is a Catholique, dooth sufficiently shew what is to be hoped for, if ought happened to your sovereigne in the like case.

But contrariwise, the king's revolt from religion, (which God defend,) likely to be judged a want of religion, rather than a chainge, will be his utter overthrow and discredite in all Christendome; for as it shall loose him his naturall and faithfull subjects, and well-willers, both at home and abroade, soe will that wynn him but hollow-harted friends, in respecte that noe assurance can be had of his constancie in any religion, if it

[1] In 1580, Lesly, Bishop of Ross, published three treatises on the Queen of Scotland's right of succession to the crown of England. When James VI. shewed himself determinedly fixed in the Protestant faith, there seems to have been a design among the foreign Catholics to impeach his right, on account of heresy, and to set up in its place the supposed title of the King of Spain as the nearest Catholic heir. See some proofs of this, collected in MURDIN's *State Papers*, Vol. II. which conclude thus:—"To this desseing of theirs hath relation so curious a deduction of that Spanish king's line from the Duke of Lancaster, in sundry discourses, and some libells spread abroad, to the disturbance of this state, so much the more to be noted, for that this only branch of all forreign or antient houses drawen from the blood-royal of England is precisely continued in pedigree. And some other more approaching the stock, and sprung out of the selfsame branch of Lancaster, are concealed, being not once mentioned, yet having Catholikes of the same, as well as that of Spain. A thing which cannot be imputed to ignorance, but meer malice; for that the knowledge thereof needeth not to be had out of heraldes private notes, but antient chronicles common to the whole world."—MURDIN's *State Papers*, Vol II. 543.

shall appeare that upon stomak he shall fall from his God, and that religion wherein he was extraordinarily instructed and brought up. Neither can hee in reason looke upon the sodan and at an instant to be inheritour of his mother's partie and credite in that respect here, which notwithstanding was not sufficient to houlde all the Catholiques of England united. And as for any other objections that may be made, whereby he should seeme to be urged and constrained to seeke after forreigne supports, as in respect of the offence that may have beene already taken by the nobility and people of this land, that he hath, contrary to their ernest desires and joynt pursuite, being assembled in parliamente, mediated for his mother's life, it lyeth in his owne power to remove the same if he leave when it is tyme, as he persisted while there was hope.

As alsoe touching that pointe of his honour and reputation, whereupon you all seeme so muche to stande, which surely he shal be judged sufficiently to have cared for and preserved, in mediating for his said mother so long as ther was hope, shee being alive, wheareof all the world can beare him witness; but seeinge shee is now dead, and that the justnes and necessitie of hir execution stopes the course of all slanderous reports that may be made thereof, the whole proceeding being imparted to all such as he can desire, or cares to have satisfied, it shal be more for his honour assuredly, to shew how he can moderat his passion by reason.

And so it is wished by all good men, both for the common good of this island, and for his owne greatnes every waie, that he weare advised, and to thank God, who hath delivered him by this meanes of a great burden of conscience, which otherwise must have lyen upon him, as at whose hands God would have looked for a revenge of his father's blooud, soe innocently and horribly spilt by hir consent and privitie;[1] not to speake of the goodness of God herein towards him, in establishing his throane, continually undermyned by hir practices; the end whereof, if he be well counselled, will be the begining of all happines in Scotland; wher insteede of being sent for an ostage or warde to Pope or Spaniarde, as the said queene would have made him, he may now absolutely and quietly reigne.

Thus you see how the care and desire I have of the continuance of amitie betweene the two crownes, hath carried me into a longer discourse than I purposed; but having collected these, and a number more concerning the weale, as I hope, of both realmes, to be imparted unto you by[2] for that I found him unwilling to meddle therwith, I thought good to writt thus much unto yourselfe, whome I trust I shall not neede to exhorte and encourage to doe all the good offices which one your parte shal be possible, considering that our satisfaction in this behalfe shal be joyned with the service of God, youre owne sovereigne and countrey, which thereby shall reape the blessed fruits of peace.

[1] This harsh passage does not occur in the copy of the letter printed by Spottiswoode.

[2] This blank should be filled up with the name of Archibald Douglas, a man without faith and principle. He had been privy to the murder of Henry Lord Darnley; yet the influence of the master of Gray procured him favour at the court of King James, who employed him as an agent in England. Their intrigues accelerated the death of the unfortunate Mary.

The Golden Speech of Queen Elizabeth to her last Parliament, November the 30th. Anno Domini 1601.

" The Queen, upon her return from her progress, held a parliament at Westminster, wherein, among other things, several good laws were made for the relief of the poor, and of maimed and disabled soldiers and seamen; against fraudulent guardians and trustees, the cheats and impositions of clothiers, and the robberies and outrages committed upon the borders of the kingdom towards Scotland. But whereas great complaints were made in the Lower House, relating to the engrossing practice, (for it seems there were some who, under the colour of public good, but in reality to the great damage of the kingdom, had got the Queen's letters patents, for the sole privilege and liberty of vending some particular wares,) the Queen, therefore, to forstal them, published a proclamation, declaring those grants to be null and void, and also left them to be tried at common law: a method which was so acceptable to the Lower House, that eighty of that body were appointed to wait upon her majesty with their humble thanks, which the Speaker was to present in the name of all."—CAMDEN'S *Annals*, ad ann. 1601.

Her Majesty being set under state in the Council Chamber at White-Hall, the Speaker, accompanied with Privy-Councellors, besides Knights and Burgesses of the Lower House to the number of eight-score presenting themselves at her Majesty's feet, for that so graciously and speedily she had heard and yielded to her subjects desires, and proclaimed the same in their hearing as followeth.

MR SPEAKER,

WE perceive your coming is to present thanks unto us. Know I accept them with no less joy than your loves can have desire to offer such a present, and do more esteem it than any treasure, or riches; for those we know how to prize, but loyalty, love, and thanks, I account them invaluable; and though God hath raised me high, yet this I account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a queen, as to be a queen over so thankful a people, and to be the means under God to conserve you in safety, and preserve you from danger, yea to be the instrument to deliver you from dishonour, from shame, and from infamy, to keep you from out of servitude, and from slavery under our enemies, and cruel tyranny, and vile oppression intended against us; for the better withstanding whereof, we take very acceptable their intended helps, and chiefly in that it manifesteth your loves and largeness of hearts to your sovereign. Of myself I must say this, I never was any greedy scraping grasper, nor a strict fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster, my heart was never set upon any worldly goods, but only for my subjects good. What you do bestow on me I will not hoard up, but receive it to bestow on you again; yea mine own properties I account yours to be expended for your good, and your eyes shall see the bestowing of it for your welfare.

Mr Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to stand up, for I fear I shall yet trouble you with longer speech.

Mr Speaker, you give me thanks, but I am more to thank you, and I charge you thank them of the Lower House from me; for had I not received knowledge from you, I might a' fallen into the lapse of an error, only for want of true information.

Since I was queen, yet did I never put my pen to any grant but upon pretext and semblance made me, that it was for the good and avail of my subjects generally, though a private profit to some of my ancient servants, who have deserved well; but that my grants shall be made grievances to my people, and oppressions, to be priviledged under colour of our patents, our princely dignity shall not suffer it.

When I heard it, I could give no rest unto my thoughts until I had reformed it, and those varlets, lewd persons, abusers of my bounty, shall know I will not suffer it. And, Mr Speaker, tell the House from me, I take it exceeding grateful, that the knowledge of these things are come unto me from them. And tho' amongst them the principal members are such as are not touched in private, and therefore need not speak from any feeling of the grief, yet we have heard that other gentlemen also of the House, who stand as free, have spoken as freely in it; which gives us to know, that no respects or interests have moved them other than the minds they bear to suffer no diminution of our honour and our subjects love unto us. The zeal of which affection tending to ease my people, and knit their hearts unto us, I embrace with a princely care far above all earthly treasures. I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit: and God, that gave me here to sit, and placed me over you, knows, that I never respected myself, but as your good was conserved in me; yet what dangers, what practices, and what perils I have passed, some, if not all of you know; but none of these things do move me, or ever made me fear, but it's God that hath delivered me.

And in my governing this land, I have ever set the last judgment day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged and answer before a higher Judge, to whose judgment seat I do appeal: in that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good.

And if my princely bounty have been abused; and my grants turned to the hurt of my people contrary to my will and meaning, or if any in authority under me have neglected, or converted what I have committed unto them, I hope God will not lay their culps to my charge.

To be a king, and wear a crown, is a thing more glorious to them that see it than its pleasant to them that bear it: for myself, I never was so much enticed with the glorious name of a king, or the royal authority of a queen, as delighted that God hath made me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom from dishonour, dammage, tyranny, and oppression. But should I ascribe any of these things to myself or my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live, and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have received at God's hands, but to God only and wholly all is given and ascribed.

The cares and troubles of a crown I cannot more fitly resemble than to the drugs of a learned phisitian, perfumed with some aromatical savour, or to bitter pills gilded over, by which they are made more acceptable or less offensive, which indeed are bitter and unpleasant to take; and for my own part, were it not for conscience sake to discharge the duty that God hath lay'd upon me, and to maintain his glory, and keep you in safety, in mine own disposition I should be willing to resign the place I hold to any other, and glad to be freed of the glory with the labours, for it is not my desire to live nor to reign, longer than my life and reign shall be for your good. And though you have had and may have many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never had nor shall have any that will love you better.

Thus, Mr Speaker, I commend me to your loyal loves, and yours to my best care and

your further councils; and I pray you, Mr Controuler and Mr Secretary, and you of my council, that before these gentlemen depart into their countrys, you bring them all to kiss my hand.

N. B. Our historians, in abridging the foregoing piece, have render'd the sense so imperfect, that we were advis'd to insert the whole from a genuine copy in the collection of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bangor.

The Death of Queen Elizabeth, with her Declaration of her Successor. MSS.

The reader may compare this minute account of the death of Queen Elizabeth, with that given by Sir Robert Carey in his Memoirs. This tract is much more pointed as to her having nominated James her successor, than any authority we have seen on the subject. Carey leaves it depending upon the interpretation of a sign, as will appear from the following extract:—"On Wednesday, the 23d of March, she grew speechless. That afternoon, by signs, she called for her council, and by putting her hand to her head, when the king of Scots was named to succeed her, they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her.

"About six at night she made signs for the archbishop and her chaplains to come to her, at which time I went in with them, and sat upon my knees full of tears to see that heavy sight. Her Majesty lay upon her back, with one hand in the bed, and the other without. The bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her first of her faith; and she so punctually answered all his several questions, by lifting up her eyes, and holding up her hand, as it was a comfort to all the beholders. Then the good man told her plainly what she was, and what she was to come to; and though she had been long a great Queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the King of kings. After this he began to pray, and all that were by did answer him. After he had continued long in prayer, till the old man's knees were weary, he blessed her, and meant to rise and leave her. The Queen made a sign with her hand. My sister Scroop, knowing her meaning, told the bishop the Queen desired he would pray still. He did so for a long half hour after, and then thought to leave her. The second time she made sign to have him continue in prayer. He did so for half an hour more, with earnest cries to God for her soul's health, which he uttered with that fervency of spirit, as the Queen, to all our sight, much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end. By this time it grew late, and every one departed, all but her women that attended her.

"This that I heard with my ears, and did see with my eyes, I thought it my duty to set down, and to affirm it for a truth, upon the faith of a Christian; because I know there have been many false lies reported of the end and death of that good lady." "CAREYS *Memoirs.*"

ABOUT the Friday sevenight after Christmas last, being about the 14th of January, 1602, in the 45th year of her reigne, the late queen about two days before sickened of a colde, (being ever forewarned by Doctor Dee, to beware of White-hall,) and the said 14th day removed to Richmond; but a little before her going, even the same morning, the Earle of Nottingham, high admirall of England, coming to her, partly to speake with her as concerning her removall, and partly touching other matters, wherein her pleasure and direction was to be knowne, they fell into some speech of the succession; and then she told him that her seate had been ever the throne of kings, and none but her next heir of blood and descent should succeed her. After falling into other matters, they left that speech, and she departed to Richmond; where she was well amended of the cold.

But on Monday the 20th of February, she begann to sicken againe, and so continued till Monday the 7th of March, at which time notice was given to the lords of the councell, that she was sick of a cold, and so she continued sick till Tuesday the 15th of March following; after which day she began somewhat to amend. But the 18th of March following being Friday, she began to be very ill, whereupon the lords of the councell were sent for to Richmond, and there continued till Wednesday the 24th of March, about three of the clock in the morning (being our Lady even) at which time she died; but on Tuesday before her death, being the 23d of March, the lord admirall being on the right side of the bed, the lord keeper at the left, and Mr Secretary Cecill (after Earle of Salisbury) at the beds feete, all standing;

The lord admirall put her in mind of her speech, concerning the succession, had at White-hall; and that they, in the name of all the rest of her councell, came unto her to knowe her pleasure who should succeede. Whereunto she thus replyed: "I told you my seat had been the seat of kings, and I will have no rascall to succeed me, and who should succeed me, but a king?"

The lords not understanding this darke speech, and looking the one on the other, at length Mr Secretary boldly asked her, what she meant by these words, "That no rascall should succeed her?" whereunto she replyed, "That her meaning was, that a king should succeed her, and who," quoth she, "should that be, but our cozen of Scotland."

They asked her whether that were her absolute resolution? whereunto she answered, "I pray you trouble me no more, I'll have none but him;" with which answer they departed.

Notwithstanding, after again, about four a clock in the afternoon, the next day, being Wednesday, (after the archbishopp of Canterbury and other divines had been with her, and left her in a manner speechlesse,) the three lords aforesaid repaired unto her againe, asking her if she remained in her former resolution, and who should succeed her; but she not being able to speake, was asked by Mr Secretary in this sort, wee beseech your majesty if you remaine in your former resolution, and that you would have the King of Scots to succeed you in your kingdom, shewe some sign unto us; whereat suddenly heaveing herself upwards in the bed, and putting her arms out of bed, she held both her hands jointly together over her head in manner of a crown, whereby as they guessed she signified, that she did not only wish him the kingdome, but desired the continuance of his estate, after which they departed.[1]

And the next morning (as is aforesaid) she dyed. Immediately after her death, all the lords, as well of the councell as other noblemen that were at the courte, came from Richmond to White-hall by six o'clock in the morning, where other noblemen that were at London met them; but as they began to sitt in councell in the privy chamber at White-hall, the lord keeper, (Sir Thomas Egerton,) and the rest of the councell that were no barons, offered to sit at the lower end of the councell table, and not above any of the meanest nobility: but the noblemen, in respect of their former authority, called them to the higher end of the table, and wished them to keepe their places; whereunto the lord keeper answered, viz. If it be your lordshipps pleasures, wee will do so, but that is more of your courtesies then we can demand of duty; and so they sat downe, every man according to his degree in councell; touching the succession, where after some speech had

[1] That the queen did make a sign, by putting her hand to her head, is certain; although it has been doubted, whether in her state of extreme illness it could justly be interpreted in the sense here presented. But that the queen was sensible, is obvious from her making repeated signs that the archbishop should proceed in his devotions, as Carey informs us. It is therefore to be concluded, that she was aware of the import of her motions, understood the secretary's question, and gave the sign in reply. Indeed, upon whom was it possible that Queen Elizabeth should have wished her crown to descend, unless upon James? And she was by this time well aware, that she could not long retain it herself.

of divers competitors and matters of state, at length the lord admirall rehearsed all the aforesaid premisses, which the late queen had spoken to him, and to the lord keeper, and Mr Secretary, with the manner thereof; which they being asked, did affirme to be true upon their honours.

The Order and Proceedings at the Funerall of the Right High and Mightie Princesse Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, from the Pallace of Westminster, called White-hall: To the Cathedrall Church of Westminster, the 28th of April, 1603.

Henry Chettle, the publisher of this tract, was a contemporary of Shakespeare, to whose memory he has offered some lines, in a poem quoted by Mr Malone, in the Prologomena to Shakespeare. Although his fame has escaped the editors of the Biographia Dramatica, Chettle wrote several plays, in conjunction with Anthony Munday, Decker, Wilson, and Drayton, and others alone. See the list of old plays quoted by Mr Malone from his folio MS. Only one of Chettle's plays, called Hoffman's Tragedy, is now extant. Chettle, as appears from Ritson's Biographia Poetica, wrote several occasional pieces of poetry; as, "The Popes pitiful Lamentation for the death of his dear darling Don John of Austria," "The Forest of Fancy," "A doleful Ditty, or sorrowful Sonnet of the Lord Darnly, sometime King of Scots." In a word, he was an occasional writer; and having the same motive probably for publishing, that occasional writers are often pressed by, the death of Queen Elizabeth was too interesting a subject to escape him, although he put forth neither pastoral nor elegy, but the following simple account of the funeral procession.

First, the knight marshals man, to make way.
Next, the 240 poore women by four and four.
Then servants of gentlemen esquires, and knights.
Two porters.
Next, four trumpeters.
After them,
Rose, pursivant at armes.
Two serjants at arms.
The standard of the Dragon.
Two querries leading a horse.
Then the messengers of the chamber four and four.
Children of the almondry.
Children of the Woodyard.
Children of the skullery.
Children and furners of the pastry.
The skalding-house.
The Larder.
After them,
Groomes.
Wheat Porters.
Coopers.
Wine porters.
Conducts in the bakehouse.
Bell-ringer.
Maker of spice bags.
Cart-takers, chosen by the bord.
Long cartes.
Cart-takers,
Of the almery.
Of the stable.
Of the wood-yard.
Skullery.
Pastrie.
Skalding-house.
Poultrie.
Caterie.
Boyling-house.
Larder.
Kitchin.
Laundrie.

Ewry.
Confectionary.
Wafery.
Chaundry.
Pitcher-house.
Butterie.
Seller.
Pantrie.
Bake house.
Counting-house.
Then noblemens and ambassadors servants.
Grooms of the chamber.
Four trumpeters.
Blewmantle.
A serjant at armes.
The standard of the Gray-hound.
Two querries leading a horse.
Yeomen of the servitors in the hall four and four.
Cart-takers.
Porters.
Almondrie.
Herbengers.
Woodyard.
Skullery.
Pastrie.
Poultry and skalding-house.
Purveyors of the poultrie.
Purveyors of the acatrie.
Stable.
Boyling-house.
Larder.
Kitchin.
Ewrie.
Confectionarie.
Waferie.
Purveyor of the wax.
Tallow chandler.
Chaundrie.
Pitcher-house.
Brewers.
Butterie.
Purveyors.
Seller.
Pantrie.
Garneter.
Bake-house.
Counting-house.
Spicery.
Chamber.
Robes.
Wardrobe.
Earls and countesses servants.
Four trumpeters.
Portcullis.
A serjeant at armes.
The standard of the Lion.
Two querries leading a horse trapped with velvet.
Serjeant of the vestry.
Children of the chapell in surplesses.
Gent. of the chappel in copes.
Clarkes.
Deputie clarke of the market.
Clarkes extraordinarie.
Cofferer.
Diet.
M. Cooke for the houshold.
Pastrie.
Larder.
Skullerie.
Woodyard.
Poultrie.
Bake-house.
Acatrie.
Stable.
Serjeants.
Gent. Harbinger.
Woodyard.
Skullery.
Pastrie.
Caterie.
Larder.
Ewry.
Seller.
Pantrie.
Bake-house.
Master cooke of the kitchin.
Clarkes of the querrie.
Second and third clarke of the chaundrie.
Second and third clarke of the kitchin.
Supervisors of the dresser.
Surveyors of the dresser.
Surveyor of the dresser for the chamber.
Musitions.
Apothecaries and chirurgions.
Sewers of the hall.
Sewers of the chamber.
Groom porter.
Gentlemen ushers and waiters.
Clarke, marshall, and avenor.
Chiefe clarke of the wardrop.
Chiefe clarke of the kitchin.
Two clarks controllers.

Clarke of the green cloath.
Master of the household.
Cofferer.
Rouge Dragon.
A sergeant at armes.
The banner of Chester.
Clarks of the councel four and four.
Clarkes of the privie seale.
Clarks of the signet.
Clarkes of the parliament.
Doctors of physick.
The queens chaplains.
Secretaries for the Latin and French tongue.
Rouge crosse.
Two sergeants of armes.
The banner of Cornwall.
Aldermen of London.
Solicitor, attorney, and sergeant.
Master of the revels, and M. of the tents.
Knights bachelors.
Lord Chiefe-Baron, and Lord Chiefe-Justice of the common pleas.
Master of the jewell house.
Knights ambassadors, and gentlemen agents.
Sewers for the queene.
Sewers for the body.
Esquires of the body.
Lancaster and Windsor.
The banner of Wales.
The banner of Ireland.
Master of requests.
Agents for Venice, and the estates.
Lord Mayor of London.
Sir John Popham. Sir John Fortescue.
Sir Robert Cicell, principall secretary.
Controller and treasurer of the household.
Barons.
Bishopps.
Earles eldest sonnes.
Viscounts.
Dukes second sonnes.
Earles.
Marqueses.
Bishop Almoner. Preacher.
Lord-keeper.
The French ambassador.
Archbishop of Canterbury.
Four sergeants of armes.
The great embrother'd banner of England.
Somerset and Richmond.
Yorke, Helme, and Crest.
Norroy king at arms, sword.
Clarenceaux king at arms, coate.
After them the gentlemen ushers with white rods.
The lively picture of her Highnesse whole body, crowned in her parliament robes, lying on the corps balmed and leaded, covered with velvet, borne on a chariot, drawn by four horses trapt in black velvet.
About it six banner rolls on each side; gentlemen pentioners with their axes downward.
With them the footmen.
A canopy borne over the chariot by four noblemen.
The Earl of Worcester, master of the horse, leading the palfrie of honour.
Two Esquires and a groome, to attend and leade him away.
Gentlemen usher, garter king of armes.
Lady Marchionesse of Northampton, assisted by the lord-treasurer and lord-admiral; chiefe mourner, her traine supported by master vice-chamberlaine.
Two Earls assistants to her.
Fourteen countesses assistants.
Gentlewoman of the privy chamber.
Countesses.
Viscountesses.
Earles daughters.
Baronesses.
Maids of honour, of the privy chamber.
Captain of the guard, with all the guard following, five and five in a rank, their halbords downward.

Farewell.

HEN. CHETLE.

FRAGMENTA REGALIA;

OR,

Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her times, and Favourites. Written by Sir Robert Naunton, Master of the Court of Wards. 1641.

Sir Robert Naunton, author of this entertaining and most curious sketch of Queen Elizabeth's court, and favourites, was himself a courtier, and secretary to King James I. He fell into temporary disgrace, and lost his office through the influence of the celebrated Gondomar, at the British court. The cause was Naunton's having deprecated Britain giving assistance to Spain, in the wars concerning the Palatinate. He is also said to have been the first who proposed in council the match between Charles I. and Henrietta Maria of France. The Fragmenta Regalia have been always held in the highest esteem, as pictures drawn almost from the life, and by a person well experienced in the intrigues of the time in which his personages played their part.

The Queen.

To take her in the originall, she was the daughter of King Henry the Eight by Ann Bullen, the second of six wives which he had, and one of the maydes of honour to the divorced Queen Katherine of Austria, (or as the now stiled Infanta of Spain) and from thence taken to the royall bed.

That she was not of a most noble and royall extract by her father, will not fall into question; for on that side was disimboyned into her veynes by a confluence of blood, the very abstract of all the greatest houses in Christendome; and remarkeable it is, considering that violent desertion of the royall house of the Britaines, by the intrusion of the Saxons, and afterwards by the conquest of the Normans, that through vicissitude of times, and after discontinuance almost of a thousand yeares, the scepter should fall againe, and be brought back into the old regall line and true current of the British blood in the person of her renowned grandfather King Henry VII. together with whatsoever the German, Norman, Burgundian, Castilian, and French atchievements, with their intermarriages which 800 yeares had acquired, could adde of glory thereunto.

By her mother she was of no soveraigne discent, yet noble and very antient in the family of Bullen, though some erroneously branded them with a citizen's rise, or originall, which was yet but of a second brother, who, as it was divine in the greatnesse, and lustre to come to his house, was sent into the city to acquire wealth *(ad ædificandam antiquam domum)* unto whose atchievements (for he was Lord Major of London[1]) fell in as it is averred, both the blood and inheritance of the eldest brother, for want of issue males; by which accumulation the house within few discents mounted *In culmen honoris*, and was sodainly delated in the best families of England and Ireland; as Howard, Ormond, Sackevile, and others.

Having thus touched, and now leaving her stipe,[2] I come to her person, and how she came to the crowne by the decease of her brother and sister.

Under Edward VI. she was his, and one of the darlings of fortune; for besides the consideration of blood, there was betweene these two princes, a concurrencie and sympathy of their natures and affections, together with the celestiall bond (confirmative religion) which made them one; for the king never called her by any other appellation,

[1] Her great-grandfather, Sir Geoffrey Boleyn. He married a daughter of the Lord Hastings.
[2] Stirp.

but his sweetest and dearest sister, and was scarce his own man, she being absent; which was not so betweene him and the Lady Mary.[1]

Under her sister she found her condition much altered; for it was resolved, and her destinie had decreed it, for to set her apprentice in the schoole of affliction, and to draw her through that ardell fire of tryall, the better to mould and fashion her to rule and soveraignitie; which finished, and fortune calling to minde, that the time of her servitude expired, gave up her indentures, and therewith delivered into her custodie a scepter, as the reward of her patience, which was about the 26th of her age; a time in which, as for her externalls, she was full blowne, so was she for her internalls growne ripe and seasoned by adversitie, in the exercise of her vertue; for it seemes, fortune meant no more but to shew her a peece of varietie, and changeablenesse of her nature; but to conduct her to her destinie *(id est)* felicitie.

She was of person tall, of hayre and complexion faire, and therewith well favored, but high nosed, of limbs and feature neate, and, which added to the lustre of these externall graces, of a stately and majestic comportment, participating in this more of her father than of her mother, who was of an inferiour allay-plausible, or as the French hath it, more debonaire, and affable, vertues which might well suite with majesty, and which decending as hereditary to the daughter, did render her of a more sweeter temper, and endeared her more to the love and liking of the people, who gave her the name and fame of a most gracious and popular prince.[2]

The atrocitie of the fathers nature was rebated in her, by the mothers sweeter inclinations; for to take, and that no more than the character out of his owne mouth, "he never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust."

If we search further into her intellectuals and abilities, the whole course of her government deciphers them to the admiration of posteritie; for it was full of magnanimitie, tempered with justice, pietie, and pittie, and to speake truth, noted but with one act of staine, or taint, all her deprivations, either of life or libertie, being legall and necessitated. She was learned, her sex and time considered, beyond common beliefe; forletters about this time, or some-what before, did but begin to be of esteeme, and in fashion, the former ages being over-cast with the mists and fogs of the Roman ignorance, and it was the maxime that over-ruled the foregoing times, that ignorance was the mother of devotion; her wars were a long time more in the auxiliarie part, and assistance of forraigne princes and states, than by invasion of any, till common policie advised it, for a safer way, to strike first abroad, then at home to expect the war, in all which she was ever felicious and victorious.

The change and alteration of religion, upon the instant of her accession to the crowne, the smoake and fire of her sister's martyredomes scarcely quenched, was none of her least remarkeable actions; but the support and establishment thereof, with the meanes of her owne subsistance, amidst so powerfull enemies abroad, and those many domestique

[1] Queen Elizabeth, when trying a pen, usually wrote the name of her beloved brother Edward.

[2] The unfortunate Anne Boleyn was of a gentle, timid disposition, with the usual alternations of vivacity and melancholy that characterise such a temperament. The hysterical fits with which she was seized on her commitment to the Tower, were so violent as almost to disorder her judgment. Her daughter Elizabeth, when sent by Mary to the same melancholy abode, displayed a very different disposition. When brought by water to what is called the Traitor's Gate, "at landing she first staied, and denied to land at those staires where all traitors and offenders customablie used to land, neither well could she unlesse she should go over her shoo. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went backe againe to hir, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords which shall be namelesse, that she should not choose; and because it did then raine, he offered to hir his cloak, which she (putting it backe with hir hand with a dash) refused. So she comming out, having one foot upon the staire, said; "Here landeth as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these staires; and before thee, O God, I speake it, having none other friends but thee alone."—HOLLINSHED'S *Chron. ed.* 1808. Vol. IV. p. 124.

practises, were (methinks) works of inspiration, and of no humane Providence; which on her sister's departure, she most religiously acknowledged, ascribing the glory of her deliverance to God above; for she being then at Hatfield, and under a guard, and the parliament sitting at the selfe same time, the newes of the queenes death, and her owne proclamation by the generall consent of the House, and the publique sufferance of the people; whereat, falling on her knees, after a good time of respiration, she uttered this verse of the psalme, *A domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.* And this we find to this day on the stampe of her gold; with this on her silver, *Posui Deum adjutorem meum.* Her ministers and instruments of state, such as were *participes curarum*, and bore a great part of the burthen, were many, and those memorable; but they were onely favorites, and not mynions, such as acted more by her princely rules and judgements, than by their owne wills and appetites; for we saw no Gaveston, Vere, or Spencer,[3] to have swayed alone, dureing fortie foure yeares; which was a well setled and advised maxime, for it valued her the more, it awed the most secure, it tooke best with the people, and it staved off all emulations, which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious acrimonie even against the prince, where such onely are admitted into high administrations.

A Major Pallacii.

The principall note of her raigne will be, that she ruled much by faction and parties, which she herselfe both made, upheld, and weakened, as her own great judgement advised; for I do disassent from the common and received opinion, that my Lord of Leicester was absolute, and alone in her grace; and though I come somewhat short of the knowledge of these times, yet, that I may not erre nor shoot at randome, I know it from assured intelligence that it was not so; for proofe whereof (amongst many that could present) I will both relate a story, and therein a knowne truth, and 'twas thus: Bowyer the gentleman of the black-rod, being charged by her expresse command to look precisely to all admissions into the privy-chamber, one day stayed a very gay captaine (and a follower of my Lord of Leicester) from entrance, for that he was neither well knowne, nor a sworne servant to the queene: at which repulse, the gentleman (bearing high on my Lord's favour) told him, that he might perchance procure him a discharge. Leicester coming to the contestation, sayd publikely, which was none of his wonted speeches, that he was a knave, and should not long continue in his office; and so turning about to goe to the queene, Bowyer (who was a bould gentleman and well beloved) stept before him, and fell at her majesties feet, relates the story, and humbly craves her grace's pleasure, and whether my Lord of Liecester was king, or her majesty queene? whereunto she replied (with her wonted oath,) "God's death, my lord, I have wished you well, but my favour is not so locked up for you, that others shall not participate thereof; for I have many servants unto whom I have and will at my pleasure bequeathe my favor, and likewise resume the same; and if you thinke to rule here, I will take course to see you forth coming: I will have here but one mistress, and no master; and look that no ill happen to him least it be severally required at your hands:" which so quailed my Lord of Leicester, that his fained humilitie was long after one of his best vertues.

Moreover the Earle of Sussex, then Lord Chamberlaine, was his professed antagonist to his dying day; and for my Lord Hunsdowne, and Sir Thomas Sackevile, after lord-treasurer, who were all contemporaries, he was wont to say of them, that they were of the tribe of Dan, and were *Noli me tangere;* implying, that they were not to be contested with, for they were indeed of the queene's nigh kindred.

From whence, and in many more instances, I conclude, that she was absolute and so-

[3] And Naunton may be understood to say aside, "nor Somerset nor Buckingham."

veraine mistress of her graces; and that all those to whom she distributed her favors, were never more than tennents at will, and stood on no better termes than her princely pleasure, and their good behavour.

And this also I present as a knowne observation, that she was, though very capable of counsell, absolute enough in her owne resolution, which was ever apparent even to her last; and in that of her still aversion to grant Tyrone the least drop of her mercy,[1] though earnestly and frequently advised thereunto, yea wrought onely by her whole counsell of state, with very many reasons; and as the state of her kingdome then stood, I may speake it with assurance, necessitated arguments.[2]

If we look into her inclination as it was disposed to magnificence or frugalitie, we shall find in them many notable considerations; for all her dispensasions were so poysed, as though discretion and justice had both decreed to stand at the beame, and see them weighed out in due proportion, the maturitie of her peaces and judgements, meeting in a concurrance; and that in such an age as seldome lapseth to excesse.

To consider them apart, we have not many presidents of her liberalitie, nor any large donatives to particular men: my Lord of Essex his Booke of Parks excepted, which was a princely gift, and some more of a lesser size, to my Lord of Leicester, Hatton, and others.

Her rewards chiefly consisteth in grants, and leases of offices, and places of judicature, but for ready money, and in great summes, she was very sparing; which we may partly conceive, was a vertue rather drawne out of necessity, than her nature; for she had many layings out, and as her wars were lasting, so their charge increased to the last period.—And I am of opinion with Sir Walter Rawleigh, that those many brave men of her times, and of the militia, tasted little more of her bounty, than in her grace and good word with their due entertainment; for she ever payd the souldiers well, which was the honour of her times, and more than her great adversary of Spaine could performe: so that when we come to the consideration of her frugality, the observation will be little more, than that her bounty and it were so woven together, that the one was stayned by an honourable way of spareing.

The Irish action we may call a mallady, and a consumption of her times, for it accompanied her to her end; and it was of so profuse and vast expence, that it drew neare unto a distemperature of state, and of passion in herselfe; for towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please her armies, being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectation, and her wonted successe; for it was a good while an unthrifty, and inauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgment; and the more, for that it was a president taken out of her owne patterne.

For as the queene, by way of division, had, at her coming to the crowne, supported the revolted states of Holland; so did the king of Spaine turne the tricke upon herselfe towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion; where it falls into consideration, what the state of this kingdome, and the crowne revenues, were then able to indure and embrace.

If we looke into the establishments of those times with the best of the Irish army, counting the defeatures of Blackwater, with all the precedent expences, as it stood from my Lord of Essex his undertaking of the surrender of Kingsale, and the Generall Mountjoy, and somewhat after, we shall find the horse and foote troopes were for three or four years together much about 20,000, besides the navall charge which was a dependant of the same war, in that the queene was then inforced to keepe in continuall pay a strong fleete at sea, to attend the Spanish coasts and parts, both to allarum the Spaniards,

[1] The unfortunate treaty with Tyrone certainly went far to prepare for the ruin of Essex.

[2] Camden seems to think, that the finding herself under a necessity to pardon Tyrone, operated as much even as the death of Essex to throw the queen into the dejection of spirits that preceded her death.

and to intercept the forces, designed for the Irish assistance; so that the charge of that war alone did cost the queene three hundred thousand pounds per annum at least, which was not the moiety of her other disbursements, and expences, which, without the publique aydes, the state and the royall receipts could not have much longer endured; which out of her own frequent letters and complaints to the deputy Mountjoy, for casheering of that list as soone as he could, might be collected, for the queene was then driven into a straite.

We are naturally prone to applaude the times behind us, and to vilifie the present; for the concurrent of her fame carries it to this day, how royally and victoriously she lived and dyed without the grudge and grievance of her people, yet the truth may appeare without retraction from the honour of so great a princesse. It is manifest she left more debts unpayd, taken upon credit of her privy-seales, than her progenitors did or could have taken up that were an hundred years before her, which was no inferior peece of state to lay the burthen on that house which was best able to beare it at a dead lift, when neither her receipts could yield her reliefe, at the pinch, nor the urgencie of her affayres endure the delayes of parliamentary assistance; and for such aydes it is likewise apparant, that she received more, and that with the love of her people, than any two of her predecessors, that tooke most, which was a fortune strayned out of the subjects, through the plausibilitie of her comportment, and (as I would say without offence) the prodigall distribution of her grace to all sorts of subjects; for I beleeve no prince living, that was so tender of honour, and so exactly stood for the preservation of soveraigntie, was so great a courtier of the people, yea of the commons, and that stooped and declined lowe in presenting her person to the publique view, as she passed in her progresse and perambulations, and in her ejaculations of her prayers on the people.

And truely though much may be written in praise of her providence, and good husbandry, in that she could upon all good occasions abate her magnanimitie, and therewith comply with the parliament, and so alwaies come off both with honour and profit, yet must we ascribe some part of the commendation to the wisdome of the times, and the choyce of parliament-men; for I sayd not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious dispute, the elections being made of grave and discreet persons, not factious and ambitious of fame, such as came not to the House with a malevolent spirit of contention, but with a preparation to consult on the publique good, and rather to comply than to contest with majesty; neither dare I finde that the House was weakned and pestered through the admission of too many young heades, as it hath beene of latter times; which remembers me of the recorder Martin's speech, about the truth of our late soveraigne Lord King James, when there were accompts taken of forty gentlemen, not above twenty, and some not exceeding sixteen years of age, which made him to say, that it was the ancient custome for old men to make lawes for young ones; but there he saw the case altered, and that there were children in the great councell of the kingdome, which came to invade and invert nature, and to enact lawes to governe their fathers, such were in the House alwaies, and tooke the common cause into consideration; and they say the queene had many times just cause, and need enough, to use their assistance; neither do I remember that the House did ever capitulate, or preferre their private interest to the publique, and the queene's necessities, but waited their times; and in the first place gave their supply, and according to the exigence of her affaires, yet failed not at the last to attaine what they desired; so that the queene and her parliaments had ever the good fortunes to depart in love, and on reciprocall termes, which are considerations that have not beene so exactly observed in our last assemblies. And I would to God they had beene for considering the great debts left on the king, and into what incombrances the House itselfe had then drawn him, his majesty was not well used, though I lay not the blame on the whole sufferage of the House, where he had many good friends; for I dare avouch it, had the House beene freed of halfe a dozen popular and discontent-

ed persons, such as with the fellow that burnt the temple of Ephesus, would be talked of, though for doing of mischiefe, I am confident the king had obtained that which in reason, and at his first occasion he ought to have received freely and without condition. But pardon this digression, which is here remembered not in way of aggravation, but in true zeale of the publique good, and presented in caveat of future times; for I am not ignorant how the genius and spirit of the kingdome now moves to make his majesty amends, on any occasion, and how desirous the subject is to expiate that offence at any rate; may it please his majesty to make triall of his subjects affections, and at what prise they value now his goodnesse and magnanimitie.

But to our purpose: the queene was not to learn that, as the strength of the kingdome consisted in the multitude of the subjects; so the securitie of her person consisted and rested in the love and fidelitie of her people, which she pollitiquely affects (as it hath been thought) somewhat beneath the height of her naturall spirit and magnanimitie.

Moreover it will be a true note of her providence, that she would alwaies listen to her profit; for she would not refuse the information of the meanest personages, which proposed improvement, and had learnt the philosophie of (*Hoc agere*) to looke unto her owne worke: of which there is a notable example of one Carmarden an under-officer of the custome-house, who observing his time, presented her with a paper, shewing how she was abused in the under-renting of the customs, and therewith humbly desired her majesty to conceale him, for that it did concerne two or three of her great counsellors whom customer Smith had bribed with 2000l. a man, so to lose the queene 20,000l. per annum; which being made knowne to the Lords, they gave strict order that Carmarthen should not have accesse to the backe stairs; but at last her majesty smelling the craft, and missing Carmarthen, she sent for him back, and incouraged him to stand to his information, which the poore man did so hansomly, that within the space of ten years he was brought to double his rent, or leave the custome to new farmers: so that we may take this also in consideration, that there were of the queene's councel which were not in the catalogue of saints.

Now as we have taken a view of some particular motives of her times, her nature, and necessities: it is not without the text to give a short touch of the helps and advantages of her raigne, which were not without parolles; for she had neither husband, brother, sister, nor children to provide for, who as they are dependants on the crowne, so do they necessarily draw livelyhood from thence, and oftentimes exhaust and drawe deepe, especially when there is an ample fraternity royall, and of the princes of the blood, as it was in the time of Ed. III. and Hen. IV.; for when the crowne cannot, the publique ought to give them honourable allowance, for they are the honour and hopes of the kingdome, and the publique which enjoyes them hath the like interest with the father which begat them; and our common law, which is the inheritance of the kingdome, did ever of old provide aydes for the *primo-genitus*, and the eldest daughter; for that the multiplicitie of courts, and the great charges which necessarily followes, a king, a queene, a prince, and royall issue, was a thing which was not *in rerum natura*, during the space of forty-four yeares; but worne out of memory, and without the consideration of the present times; insomuch as the aydes given to the late and right noble Prince Henry, and to his sister, the Lady Elizabeth, which were at first generally received as impositions for knight-hood, though an ancient law, fell also into the imputation of a tax of nobilitie, for that it lay long covered in the embers of division, betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, and forgotten or connived at by the succeeding princes; so that the strangenesse of the observation, and the difference of those latter raignes, is that the queene tooke up much beyond the power of law, which fell not into the murmur of people, and her successors nothing but by warrant of the law, which neverthelesse was received through disuse to be injurious to the libertie of the kingdom.

Now, before I come to any mention of her favourites, for hitherto I have delivered but some oblivious passages, thereby to prepare and smooth a way for the rest that followes, it is necessary that I touch on the religiousnesse of the others raigne, I meane the body of her sister's counsell of state, which she retained intirely, neither removing, nor discontenting any, although she knew them averse to her religion, and in her sister's time, perverse to her person, and privie to all her troubles and imprisonments: A prudence which was incompatible to her sister's nature; for she both dissipated and presented the major part of her brother's counsell; but this will be of certaine, that how complyable and obsequious soever she found them, yet for a good space she made little use of their counsells, more than in the ordinary course of the board; for she had a dormant table in her owne privy brest; yet she kept them together, and in their places, without any suddaine change; so that we may say of them, that they were then of the court, not of the counsell; for whilest she amazed them by a kind of promissive disputation concerning the points controverted by both churches, she did set downe her owne ghests without their privity, and made all their progressions, gradations, but for that the tenets of her secrets, with the intents of establishments, were pitched before it was knowne where the court would sit downe.

Neither do I finde that any of her sister's counsell of state were either repugnant to her religion, or opposed her doings; Englefeild, Master of the Wardes, excepted,[1] who withdrew himselfe from the board, and shortly after out of her dominions; so pliable and obedient they were to change with the times, and their prince; and of them will fall a relation of recreation. Pawlet, Marquesse of Winchester, and Lord Treasurer, had served then four princes, in as various and changeable times and seasons, that I may well say, no time nor age hath yeelded the like president: this man being noted to grow high in her favor, (as his place and experience required,) was questioned by an intimate friend of his, how hee had stood up for 30 yeares together, amidst the change and ruines of so many chancellors, and great personages; why, quoth the marquesse, *Ortus sum e salice, non ex quercu,* I am made of pliable willow, not of the stubborne oake. And truely it seemes the old man had taught them all, especially William Earle of Pembrooke, for they two were alwaies of the *king religion,* and alwaies zealous professors. Of these it is sayd, that being both younger brothers, yet of noble houses, they spent what was left them, and came on trust to the court, where, upon the bare stocke of their wits, they began to traffique for themselves, and prospered so well, that they got, spent, and left more than any subjects, from Normans conquest to their owne times; whereupon it hath beene pretily spoken, that they lived in a time of dissolution.

To conclude then, of all the former raigne, it is sayd, that those two lived and died, chiefly, in her grace and favor. By the letter written uppon his sonn's marriage with the Lady Catharine Gray, he had like utterly to have lost himselfe; but at the instant of consummation, as apprehending the unsafety, and danger of intermarriage with the blood royall, he fell at the queen's feet, where he both acknowledged his presumption, and projected the cause and the divorce together. So quick he was at his worke, that

[1] "Sir Francis Englefield of Englefield purchased Erdington, in Com. Warw. 21 H. VIII.; and having received knighthood, 22d Feb. *anno* 1 Ed. VI. was that year high sheriff of Berkshire and Oxfordshire. He was afterwards master of the Court of Wards, and of the Privy Council to Queen Mary; but being a great enemy to the Lady Elizabeth, upon the account of religion, when she ascended the throne, he, in very zeal, with the Lord Morley, Sir Thomas Shelley, Sir Thomas Gage, and others, retired beyond sea; and though he had a most large inheritance here in England, lived for the most part in Spain, where he was a most industrious agent to solicit the cause of the Queen of Scots, both to his Holiness and to the Catholic King. He was also a great promoter of and benefactor to the English College of Valladolid in Spain, where he was interred, 1571." *Baronetage,* Vol. II. Englefield is supposed to have had a principal hand in the discourse upon the succession to the crown of England, composed by Cardinal Allen.

in the time of repudiation of the sayd Lady Gray, he clapt up a marriage for his son, the Lord Herbert, with Mary Sidney, daughter to Sir Henry Sidney, then lord deputy of Ireland;[1] the blow falling on Edward the late Earle of Hartford, who to his costs tooke up the divorced lady, of whom the Lord Beauchampe was borne, and William now Earle of Hartford is descended.[2]

I come now to present them to her owne election, which were either admitted to her secrets of state, or tooke into her grace and favour; of whom in order I crave leave to give unto posteritie a cautious description, with a short character or draught of the persons themselves; for without offence to others, I would be true to my selfe, their memories, and merits, distinguishing those of *Militiæ* from the *Togati*; and of both these she had as many, and those as able ministers, as had any of her progenitors.

Leicester.

It will be out of doubt, that my Lord of Leicester was one of the first, whom she made master of the horse; hee was the youngest sonne then living of the Duke of Northumberland, beheaded *primo Mariæ*, and his father was that Dudley which our histories couple with Empson; and both be much infamed for the caterpillars of the commonwealth, dureing the raigne of Henry the Seventh, who being of a noble extract, was executed the first yeare of Henry the Eighth, but not thereby so extinct, but that he left a plentifull estate, and such a sonne, who, as the vulgar speakes it, would live without a teate; for out of the ashes of his father's infamy he rose to be a duke, and as high as subjection could permit, or soveraigntie indure; and though he could not find out any appellation to assume the crowne in his owne person, yet he projected, and very nearely effected it for his sonne Guilbert, by entermariage with the Lady Jane Gray, and so by that way to bring it into his loynes.

Observations which, though they lie beyond us, and seeme impertinent to the text, yet are they not much extravagant, for they must leade us, and shew us how the after passage were brought about, with the dependances on the lyne of a collaterall workmanship; and surely it may amaze a well setled judgment to look back into these times, and to consider how the duke could attaine to such a pitch of greatnesse, his father dying in ignominie, and at the gallowes, his estate confiscate for pilling and polling the people.

But when we better thinke upon it, we find that he was given up but as a sacrifice to please the people, not for any offence committed against the person of the king; so that upon the matter he was a martire of the prerogative, and the king in honour could do no lesse than give backe to his sonne the priviledge of his blood, with the acquireing of his father's profession; for he was a lawyer, and of the king's counsell at law, before he

[1] This incident did not happen in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but in that of Queen Mary. The unfortunate Lady Jane Gray, and her sisters, Lady Catherine and Lady Mary, were married in the month of May 1553. Lady Jane's fate is well known. Lady Catherine was united to Henry Lord Herbert, son and heir of William Earl of Pembroke, then one of Lady Jane's firm friends. But when Pembroke turned with the tide to Queen Mary, he caused the union to be dissolved by divorce. Mary Sidney was not, however, as alleged by Naunton, the immediate successor of Lady Catherine Grey; for the Lord Herbert was married after the divorce to Anne, daughter of George Earl of Shrewsbury, and on her death to Mary Sidney, as mentioned in the text.

[2] The unfortunate Lady Catherine Grey, when divorced from Lord Herbert, was married privately to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. For this offence they were both committed to the Tower, and their marriage was annulled by the obsequious Archbishop of Canterbury. But as the unfortunate pair found means to have intercourse, even in their captivity, Hertford was accused in the star-chamber, 1. of debauching a virgin of the blood-royal; 2. of breaking prison; 3. of having intercourse with her a second time. And he was fined 5000l. on each charge, besides being condemned to nine years imprisonment. The poor Lady Catherine died in prison, after a long captivity. So jealous was Queen Elizabeth of all who could pretend the least title to her succession.

came to be *ex interioribus consiliis*, where, besides the licking of his owne fingers, he got the king a masse of riches, and that not with hazard, but with the losse of his life and fame, for the king's father's sake.

Certainely it is, that his sonne was left rich in purse and braine, which are good foundations, and fewell to ambition; and it may be supposed, he was on all occasions well heard of the king, as a person of marke and compassion in his eye; but I finde not that he did put up for advancement during Henry VIII's. time, although a vast aspirer, and a provident stayer.

It seemes he thought the king's raigne was much given to the falling-sicknesse; but espying his time fitting, and the soveraigntie in the hands of a pupill prince, he then thought he might as well put up, for it was the best; for having the possession of blood and of purse, with a head-peece of a vast extent, he soone got to honour, and no sooner there, but he began to side it with the best, even with the protector; and in conclusion, got his and his brother's heades, still aspiring till he expired in the losse of his owne; so that posteritie may, by reading of the father and grandfather, make judgment of the sonne; for we shall find that this Robert, whose originall we have now traced, the better to present him, was inheritor to the genius and craft of his father, and Ambrose of the estate, of whom hereafter we shall make some short mention.

We tooke him now as he was admitted into the court and the queene's favour; and here he was not to seeke to play his part well, and dexteriously, but his play was chiefly at the foregame; not that he was a learner at latter, but he loved not the after-wit, for the report is, (and I think not unjustly,) that he was seldome behind hand with his gamesters, and that they alwayes went with the losse.

He was a very goodly person, tall, and singularly well featured, and all his youth well favored, of a sweet aspect, but high foreheaded, which (as I should take it) was of no discommendation; but towards his latter, and which with old men was but a middle age, he grew high coloured, so that the queene had much of her father; for excepting some of her kindred, and some few that had handsome wits in crooked bodies, she alwaies tooke personages in the way of election; for the people hath it to this day, *King Henry loved a man.*

Being thus in her grace, she called to minde the sufferings of her ancestors, both in her father's and sister's raignes, and restored his and his brother's blood, creating Ambrose, the elder, Earle of Warwick, and himselfe Earle of Leicester; and as he was *ex premiciis*, or of her first choyce, so he rested not there, but long enjoyed her favor, and therewith what he listed, till time and emulation, the companions of greatnesse, resolved of his period; and to collour himself at his sitting in a clowde (at Conebury), not by so violent a death, or by the fatall sentence of judicature, as that of his father and grandfather's was, but as it is supposed by that poyson which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artist.[1]

I am not bound to give credit to all vulgar relations, or to the libells of his time, which are commonly forced and falsified, sutable to the wordes and honours of men in passion and discontent; but which bindes me to thinke him no good man, amongst other things of knowne truth, is that of my lord of Essex his death in Ireland, and the marriage of his lady, which I forbeare to presse, in regard he is long since dead, and others living whom it may concerne.

To take him in the observation of his letters and writings, which should best set him off, for such as have fallen into my hands, I never yet saw a stile or phrase more seemingly religious, and fuller of the straines of devotion;[2] and were they not sincere, I doubt

[1] He died of a fever at Cornebury Park, in Oxfordshire, on a journey to his magnificent castle of Kenelworth, 4th September, 1588. The suspicion of poison, insinuated by Naunton, seems only to have arisen from the suddenness of his death.

[2] He ordinarily affected an extravagant zeal for the Protestant religion, received the eucharist frequently, and

much of his well being; and I feare he was too well seene in the aphorismes and principles of Nicolas the Florentine, and in the reaches of Cæsar Borgias.

And hitherto I have onely touched him in his courtships. I conclude him in his launce. He was sent governor by the queene to the revolted states of Holland, where we reade not of his wonders; for they say, he had more of Mercury than he had of Mars, and that his devise might have beene, without prejudice to the great Cæsar, *Veni, vidi, redivi.*[1]

Radcliff, *Earl of* Sussex.

His corivall was Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, who in his constellation was his direct opposite; for indeed he was one of the queene's martialists, and did her very good service in Ireland, at her first accession, till she recalled him to the court, whom she made Lord Chamberlane; but he play'd not his game with that cunning and dexteritie as the Earle of Leicester did, which was much the more the fairer courtier, though Sussex was thought much the honester man, and far the better souldier; but he lay too open on his guard. He was a goodly gentleman, and of a brave and noble nature, true and constant to his friends and servants; he was also of a very ancient and noble lyneage, honoured through many discents, through the tytle of Fitzwalters. Moreover, there was such an antipathy in his nature to that of Leicester, that being together in court, and both in high imployments, they grew to a direct frowardnesse, and were in continuall opposition, the one setting the watch, the other the guard, each on the others actions and motions; for my Lord of Sussex was of a great spirit, which backt with the queene's speciall favor and support, by a great and ancient inheritance, could not brooke the others empire, in so much as the queene upon sundry occasions had somewhat to do to appease and attone them, untill death parted the competition, and left the place to Leicester, who was not long alone without his rivall in grace and command. To conclude, this favorite, it is confidently affirmed, that lying in his last sicknesse, he gave this caveat to his friends:—

"I am now passing into another world, and I must leave you to your fortunes, and the queene's grace and goodnesse; but beware of the gipsey, (meaning Leicester,) for he will be too hard for you all; you know not the beast so well as I do."[2]

Secretary William Cecill.

I come now to the next, which was secretary William Cecill; for on the death of the old Marquesse of Winchester, he came up in his roome, a person of a most subtile and active spirit.

He stood not by the way of constellation, but was wholly intentive to the service of his mistress; and his dexterity, experience, and merit therein, challenged a roome in the queene's favor, which eclipsed the others overseeming greatnesse, and made it appeare that there were others steered and stood at the helme besides himselfe, and more stars in the firmament of grace than *Ursa Major.*[3]

pretended great respect for the more strict clergy, who, in turn, attached themselves to his party. See *Memoirs of the Sidneys*, Vol. I. p. 54. *Grotius de Rebus Belgicis*, Lib. 5.

[1] Carey, Earl of Monmouth, who spent a campaign in the Low Countries under Leicester, takes leave of them with this remark, "that a brave war, and a poor spirit in a commander, never agree well together."

[2] In the libels called "Leicester's Commonwealth," and "Leicester's Ghost," he is accused of having caused Sussex to be poisoned; and that he endeavoured to poison his favour with the Queen, is evident from many passages in the correspondence of Sir Ralph Sadler, during the great Northern Insurrection in 12th Elizabeth.

[3] The cognisance of Leicester, assumed by his father when created Earl of Warwick. It is well known as the badge of the renowned king-making Earl of Warwick.

He was borne, as they say, in Lincolne shire, but as some aver upon knowledge, of a younger brother, of the Cecills of Hartford-shire,[1] a family, of my owne knowledge, though now private, yet of no meane antiquitie; who being exposed, and sent to the citie, as poore gentlemen use to do their sons, who became to be a rich man on London-bridge, and purchased in Lincoln-shire, where this man was borne.[2]

He was sent to Cambridge, and then to the Innes of Court, and so came to serve the Duke of Summerset, in the time of his protectorship, as secretary; and having a pregnancie to high inclinations, he came by degrees to a higher conversation with the chiefest affaires of state and councells; but on the fall of the duke, he stood some yeares in umbradge, and without imployment, till the state found they needed his abilities; and although we finde not that he was taken into any place, during Marie's raigne, unlesse (as some say) towards the last, yet the councell severall times made use of him, and at the queene's entrance he was admitted Secretary of State; afterwards he was made Master of the Court of Wards, then Lord Treasurer; a person of most excellent abilities: and indeed the queene began to need and seeke out men of both guards, and so I conclude to ranke this great man, this great instrument amongst *togati*, for he had not to doe with the sword, any more than as the great pay-master, and contriver of the war, which shortly followed, wherein he accomplished much, through his theoricall knowledge at home, and his intelligence abroad, by unlocking of the councells of the queene's enemies.

We must now take it, and that of truth, into observation, that until the tenth of her raigne, the times were calme and serene, though sometimes over-cast, as the most glorious sunne-rising is subject to shadowings and dropings; for the clowdes of Spaine, and the vapers of the holy League, began to disperse and threaten her felicitie. Moreover, she was then to provide for some intestine strangers, which began to gather in the heart of her kingdome, all which had relation, and correspondency, each one to the other, to disthrone her, and to disturb the publique tranquilitie, and therewithall, as a principall marke, the established religion; for the name of *Recusant* then began first to be knowne to the world; until then the Catholiques were not more than church papists, but now commanded by the Pope's expresse Catholique Church, their mother; so it seemes the Pope had then his aymes to take a true number of his children; but the queene had the greater advantage, for she likewise tooke tale of her opposite subjects, their strength, and how many they were, that had given up their names to Baal, who then by the hands of some of his prosolites, fixed his bulls on the gates of Paul's, which discharged her subjects of all fidelitie, and received faith; and so under the vaile of the next successor, to replant the Catholique religion;[3] so that the queene had then a new taske and worke in hand, that might well awake her best providence, and required a muster of new armes, as well as courtships and counsells; for the time then began to grow quick and active, fitter for stronger motions than them of the carpet and measure; and it will be a true note of her magnanimitie, that she lov'd a souldier, and had a propension in her nature to regard, and alwaies to grace them, which the courtiers taking into their consideration, tooke it as an inviteing to winne honour, together with their majestie's favour, by

[1] According to genealogists, Philip Sitselt, or Cyssell, was descended of James Sitselt, Baron of Beauport, slain at the siege of Wallingford Castle, in the 4th of King Stephen. The said Philip had two sons. David, the younger son, purchased (it would seem by success in trade) a fair estate in Lincolnshire, and was the grand-father of the great minister.

[2] "His father was Richard Cecil, Esq. Master of the Robes to King Henry VIII., and his mother Jane, daughter and heiress of William Hickington of Bourne, in the county of Lincoln, Esq.; both persons of very great character and worth, and for whose memories their son testified the highest respect, even in his most exalted fortune. He was born in the house of his grandfather, David Cecil, Esq., at Bourn in Lincolnshire, September 13, 1520." *Biogr. Brit.* iii. 380.

[3] See several of the preceding Tracts.

exposeing themselves to the wars, especially when the queene and the affaires of the kingdome stoode in some necessity of the souldiers; for we have many instances of the sallies of the nobilitie and gentry, yea and of the court, and of her privy favorites, that had any touch or tincture of Mars in their inclinations, and to steale away without licence, and the queen's privitie, which had like to cost some of them deare; so predominate were their thoughts and hopes of honour growne in them, as we may truely observe in the exposition of Sir Philip Sidney, my Lord of Essex, Mountjoy, and diverse others, whose absence, and the manner of their irruptions, was very distastful unto her; whereof I can hereunto add a true, and no impertinent story, and that of the last, Mountjoy, who having twice or thrice stolen away into Brittany, where, under Sir John Norris, he had then a company without the queene's leave and privitie, she sent a messenger unto him, with a strict charge to the generall to see him sent home.

When he came into the queene's presence, she fell into a kind of rayling, demanding of him how he durst goe over without her leave? Serve me so (quoth she) once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running; you will never leave till you are knock't over the head, as that inconsiderate fellow Sidney was; you shall goe when I send you; in the meane time, see that you lodge in the court, (which was then at Whitehall,) where you may follow your booke, read, and discourse of the warres. But to our purpose: It fell out happily to those, and as I may say, to these times, that the queene, during the calme time of her raigne, was not idle, nor rock't asleepe with security; for she had beene very provident in the reparation and augmentation of her shipping and ammunition; and I know not whether by a foresight of policy, or any instinct it came about, or whether it was an act of her compassion; but it is most certaine she sent no small troopes to the revolted states of Holland, before she had received any affront from the king of Spaine, that might deserve to tend to a breach of hostilitie, which the Papists maintaine to this day, was the provocation to the after wars.[1] But omitting what might be sayd to this point, these Netherland wars were the queene's seminaries and nurseries of very many brave souldiers, and so likewise were the civill wars of France, whither she sent five severall armies.

They were the French scollers that inured the youth and gentry of the kingdome, and it was a militia wherein they were daily in acquaintance with the discipline of the Spaniards, who were then turned the queene's inveterate enemies.

And thus have I taken in observation her *dies halcionii*, these yeares of hers, which were more serene and quiet than those that followed, which though they were not lesse propitious, as being touched more with the points of honour and victory, yet were they troubled and loaded ever both with domestique and forraigne machinations; and as it is already quoted, they were such as awakened her spirits, and made her cast about her to defend, rather by offending, and by way of provision, to prevent all invasions, than to expect them, which was a peece of the cunning of the times; and with this I have noted the causes, and *principium* of the wars following, and likewise points to the seed-plots, from whence she took up these brave men, and plants of honour, which acted on the theatre of Mars, and on whom she dispersed the rayes of her graces, which were persons in their kindes of care, vertues, and such as might out of merit pretend interest to her favors, of which ranke the number will equall, if not exceed that of the gowne-men, in recompt of whom, I will proceed with Sir Philip Sidney.

[1] Yet her own declaration averred, that she only supported the states in rebellion to Philip, to prevent their chusing any other master.

Sir Philip Sidney.

He was the sonne of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and President of Wales, a person of great parts, and of no meane grace with the queene; his mother was sister to my Lord of Leicester, from whence we may conjecture, how the father stood up in the sphere of honour and imployments, so that his descent was apparantly noble on both sides; and for his education, it was such as travaile and the universitie could afford none better, and his tutors infuse; for after an incredible proficiencie in all the spheres of learning, hee left the academicall, for that of the court, whither he came by his uncle's invitation, famed after by noble reports of his accomplishments, which, together with the state of his person, framed by a naturall propension to armes, soone attracted the good opinions of all men, and was so highly praised in the esteeme of the queene, that she thought the court deficient without him. And whereas, through the fame of his desert, he was in election for the kingdome of Pole, she refused to further his preferment; it was not out of emulation of advancement, but out of feare to loose the jewell of her time. He married the daughter and sole heire of Sir Francis Walsingham, the secretary of state; a lady destinated to the bed of honour, who, after his deplorable death at Zutphen, in the Low Countries, where he was at the time of his uncle Leicester's being there, was remarried to the Lord of Essex, and, since his death, to my Lord of Saint Albones, all persons of the sword, and otherwise of great honour and vertue.

They have a very quaint conceipt of him, that Mars and Mercury fell at variance whose servant he should be; and there is an epigrammist that saith, that Art and Nature had spent their excellencies in his fashioning, and fearing they could not end what they had begun, they bestowed him up for time; and Nature stood mute, and amazed to behold her owne marke: but these are the particulars of poets.

Certaine it is, he was a noble and matchlesse gentleman; and it may be sayd justly of him, without these hiperboles of faction, as it was of Ca. Ubicensis, and that he seemed to be born onely to that which he went about, *vir subtilis ingenii*, as Plutarch sayth it; but to speake more of him, were to make them lesse.[1]

Walsingham.

Sir Francis Walsingham, as we have sayd, had the honour to be Sir Philip Sidney's father-in-law. He was a gentleman at first of a good house, and of a better education, and from the universitie travelled for the rest of his learning; doubtlesse he was the onely linguist of his times, how to use his owne tongue, whereby he came to be imployed in the chiefest affaires of state.

He was sent ambassador to France, and stay'd there legate long in the heate of the civil warrs, and at the same time that Mounsier was here a sutor to the queene; and if I be not mistaken, he played the very same part there, as since Gundamore did here. At

[1] "Like Zephirus, he gave life wherever he blew. The universities abroad and at home, accounted him a general Mæcenas of learning, dedicated their books to him, and consulted him on every invention or improvement of knowledge. Soldiers he honoured; and they so reverenced him, as no man thought he marched under the true banners of Mars, that had not Sidney's approbation. Men of affairs in most parts in Christendom corresponded with him. But why speak I of these (saith Lord Brook) with whom his own ways and ends did concur; since, to descend, his bounty was such, there was not an approved painter, a skilful engineer, an excellent musician, or any other artificer of fame, that made not himself known to this famous spirit, and found in him a true friend, without hire: so that he was the common rendezvous of worth in his time."—Collins's *Letters and Memorials of State*, Vol. I. p. 99.

his returne, he was taken principall secretary, and for one of the great engines of state, and of the times, high in his mistress the queene's favor, and a watchfull servant over the safety of his mistress. [1]

They note him to have certaine curtesies and secret wayes of intelligence above the rest: but I must confesse, I am to seeke wherefore he suffered Parry [2] to play so long as he did, hang on the hooke before he hoysed him up; and I have been a little curious in the search thereof, though I have not to doe with the *arcana regalia imperii*, for to know it's sometimes a burthen; and I remember it was Ovid's criminant error, that he saw too much; but I hope these are collateralls, and of noe danger.

But that Parry having an intent to kill the queene, made the way of his accesse by betraying of others, and in appeaching of the priests of his owne correspondency, and thereby had accesse to conferre with the queene, as oftentimes private and familiar discourse with Walsingham, will not be the quere of the mystery, for the secretary might have had an end of a further discovery and maturity of the treason; but that after the queene knewe Parrye's intent, why she would then admit him to private discourse, and Walsingham to suffer him, considering the conditions of all the designes, and to permit him to goe where and whither he listed, and onely under the secrecy of a darke sentinell set over him, was a peece of reach and hazard beyond my apprehension. [3] I must againe professe that I have read many of his letters, for they are commonly sent to my lord of Leicester, and of Burleigh, out of France, containing many fine passages and secrets; yet if I might have been beholding to his cyphers, they would have told pretty tales of the times. But I must now close him up, and ranke him amongst the *Togati*, yet chiefe of those that layd the foundations of the French and Dutch warres, which was another peece of his finenesse of the times, with one observation more, that he was one of the greatest allaies of the Austerian imbracements; for both himselfe, and Stafford, that preceded him, might well have beene compared to him in the gospel, that sowed his tares in the night, so did they their seedes in division in the darke; and as it is a likely report, that they father on him at his returne, the queene speaking to him with some sensibility of the Spanish designes on France; madam, he answered, I beseech you be content, and feare not, the Spaniards have a great appetite, and an excellent digestion, but I have fitted him with a bone for these 20 yeares, that your majesty should have noe cause to doubt him, provided that if the fire chance to slake, which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and cast in some of your fewell, which will revive the flame.

[1] Some of this great statesman's qualifications were more useful than praiseworthy. "He outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and overreached them in their own equivocations and mental reservations. For two pistoles an order, he had all the private papers in Europe. Few letters escaped his hand, whose contents he could read, and not touch the seals. He had the wonderful art of weaving plots, in which busy people were so entangled that they could never escape, but were sometimes spared on submission, at others hanged for example." *Biographia Britannica.*

[2] William Parry, doctor of laws, a bigotted Papist. He pretended to reveal to the Queen and her ministers the plots which had been formed against her by Morgan and other fugitive Catholics. For this purpose he obtained repeated access to the Queen's person, harbouring all the while, as he himself confessed, the purpose of assassinating her. His treason was discovered by the confession of Edmund Neville, his accomplice, although Parry was not immediately secured, but suffered, as Naunton expresses it, to *play on the hook* for some time afterward.

[3] The conduct here objected to, seems to have arisen out of an over great habit of refinement; for it is said, "Walsingham would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the conspirators to his own and the queen's presence familiarly, but dogging them out watchfully; his spies waited on some men every hour for three years; and lest they could not keep counsel, he dispatched them to foreign parts, taking in new servants."—LLOYD'S *State Worthies*, p. 516.

Willoughbie.

My Lord Willoughbie was one of the queene's first swordmen; he was of the ancient extract of the Bartewes,[1] but more ennobled by his mother, who was Dutchess of Suffolk;[2] he was a great master of the art military, and was sent generall into France, and commanded the second army of five the queene had sent thither in ayde of the French;[3] I have heard it spoken, that had he not slighted the court, but applyed himselfe to the queene, he might have enjoyed a plentifull portion of her grace;[4] and it was his saying, and it did him no good, that he was none of the *reptilia;* intimating, that he could not creepe on the ground, and that the court was not his element; for indeed as he was a great souldier, so he was of a suitable magnanimitie, and could not brooke the obsequiousnesse and assiduitie of the court, and as he was then somewhat descending from youth, happily he had an *animam revertendi*, and to make a safe retreate.

Bacon.

And now I come to another of the *Togati*, Sir Nicholas Bacon,[5] an arch-peece of wit, and of wisdome; he was a gentleman, and a man of law, and of great knowledge therein; whereby, together with his after part of learning and dexteritie, he was promoted

[1] Lord Willoughbie's father was Richard Bertie, descended, say genealogists, of Leopold de Berthie, constable of Dover Castle in the days of King Ethelred. It is further said, that the family gave, during the Heptarchy, their name to Bertiestead, now Bersted, near Maidstone, in Kent.

[2] Widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and in her own right Baroness Willoughbie of Eresby. Lord Willoughbie was born at Wesel, in the Duchy of Cleveland, where his parents had fled during the persecution for religion in Queen Mary's reign. Hence he had his christian name Peregrine, *quasi* Wanderer.

[3] How very highly Henry IV. thought of the "brave Lord Willoughbie," for such was his popular distinction, appears from his letters to Queen Elizabeth. Lord Willoughbie also distinguished himself in the Low Countries, where he commanded the English forces after Leicester's departure.

[4] How much the queen esteemed his person, and disliked his absence, when danger was near, may be judged by the following letter which she sent to him during his residence at Spa, at the time of Spain's renewed threats of invasion.

"Good Peregrine,

We are not a little glad that, by your journey, you have received such good fruit of amendment; especially when we consider how great a vexation it is to a minde devoted to actions of honour, to be restrained, by any indisposition of body, from following those courses, which, to your own reputation, and our great satisfaction, you have formerly performed. And therefore, as we must now, (out of our desire of your welldoing,) chiefly enjoyne you to an especial care to encrease and continue your health, which must give life to all your best endeavours; so we next as seriously recommend to you this consideration, that in these times, when there is such an appearance, that we shall have the trial of our best and noble subjects, you seem not to affect the satisfaction of your own private contentation, beyond the attending on that which nature and duty challengeth from all persons of your quality and profession. For if necessarily (your health of body being recovered) you should elloigne yourself by residence there from those employments, whereof we shall have too good store, you shall not so much amend the state of your body, as haply you shall call in question the reputation of your mind and judgement, even in the opinion of those that love you, and are best acquainted with your disposition and discretion.

"Interpret this our plainness, we pray you, to an extraordinary estimation of you, for it is not common with us to deal so freely with many; and believe that you shall ever find us both ready and willing, on all occasions, to yield you the fruits of that interest, which your endeavours have purchased for you in our opinion and estimation. Not doubting, but when you have, with moderation, made trial of the successes of these your sundrie peregrinations, you will find as great comfort to spend your days at home, as heretofore you have done; of which we do wish you full measure, howsoever you shall have cause of abode or return. Given under our signet, at our manor of Nonesuche, the seventh of October 1594, in the thirty-seventh year of our reign.

Your most loving Sovereign,

E. R."

[5] Lord-keeper of the great seal. He received the seals upon the resignation of Heath, archbishop of York, and retained them till his death.

to be keeper of the great seale; and being of kin to the treasurer Burleigh, and also the helpe of his hand to bring him to the queene's great favour, for he was abundantly facetious, which tooke much with the queene, when it suited with the season, as he was well able to judge of the times: he had a very quaint saying, and he used it often to good purpose, "that he loved the jest well, but not the losse of his friend;" and that though he knew that *verus quisque suæ fortunæ faber*, was a true and a good principle, yet the most in number were those that numbered themselves; but I will never forgive that man, that loseth himselfe to be rid of his jests.[1]

He was father to that refined wit, which since hath acted a disasterous part on the publique stage; and of late sate in his father's roome as lord chancellor:[2] those that lived in his age, and from whence I have taken this little modell of him, give him a lively character; and they decipher him to be an other Solon, and the Synon of those times, such a one as Œdipus was, in dissolving of riddles; doubtlesse he was an able instrument, and it was his commendations that his head was the mallet, for it was a very great one, and therein kept a wedge, that entred all knotty peeces that came to the table.[3]

And now againe I must fall back to smooth and plane a way to the rest that is behind, but not from my purpose. There have been about this time two rivalls in the queene's favor; old Sir Francis Knowles,[4] comptroler of the House, and Sir Henry Noris, whom she called up at parliament, to sit with the peers in the Higher House, as Henry Norris of Rycot, who had married the daughter and heire of the old Henry Williams of Tyne, a noble person, and to whom in her adversite the queene had been committed to his safe custodie, and from him had received more than ordinary observances:[5] now such was the goodnesse of the queene's nature, that she neither forgot the good turnes received from the Lord Williams; neither was she unmindfull of this Lord Norris, whose father in her father's time, and in the businesse of her brother, died in a noble cause, and in the justification of her innocency.[6]

[1] Yet no one understood repartee better than Bacon, if we judge from his elegant reply to Queen Elizabeth, when she observed that his house at Redgrave was too little for him. "Not so, madam," answered the lord-keeper, "but your majesty has been pleased to make me too great for my house."

[2] Lord-chancellor Bacon, Viscount St Albans. His fame as a philosopher cannot suffer by his personal errors; but who without emotion can read Wilson's account of the close of his life?—"He lost his peerage and seal, and the scale was wavering whether he should carry the title of Viscount of St Albans to his grave; and that was all he did, having only left a poor empty being, which lasted not long with him, his honour dying before him. And to heighten his misery the more, many others were crushed to pieces by his fall; for he had a vast debt lay upon him, which they were forced to pay; and though he had a pension allowed him by the king, he wanted to his last, living obscurely in his lodgings at Grey's Inn, where his loneness and desolate condition wrought upon his ingenious, and therefor then more melancholy temper, that he pined away. And he had this unhappiness, after all his height of plenitude, to be denied beer to quench his thirst: for having a sickly taste, he did not like the beer of the house, but sent to Sir Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, in his neighbourhood, (now and then,) for a bottle of his beer, and after some grumbling the butler had order to deny him. So sordid was the one, that advanced himself to be called Sir Philip Sidney's friend, and so friendless was the other, after he had dejected himself from what he was."—WILSON'S *History of James I.*

[3] He was exceedingly corpulent, so much so as to be quite out of breath in walking from Westminster Hall to the Star-Chamber; so that the lawyers never proceeded till he gave a signal of his recovery. He at length caught a mortal disease, by sleeping exposed to a stream of air, while undressed for shaving. He told his servant, who from respect had not ventured to awake him while in that dangerous posture, that his civility had cost him his life, and so it proved.

[4] Sir Francis Knowls, or Knollys, whose sister was married to Secretary Walsingham. He was vice-chamberlain, treasurer of the household, and knight of the garter.

[5] During the reign of Queen Mary, Elizabeth, when removed from her confinement in the Tower to Woodstock, was placed under the guardianship of Sir John Williams, afterwards Lord Williams of Tame, and Sir Henry Benefield. The former was distinguished by the courtesy, the latter by the churlish severity of his conduct towards their royal charge. As we see that Elizabeth did not forget to reward the former, it may be mentioned to her honour, that the only vengeance she took of her jailor Benefield, was to assure him, he should have the custody of any state prisoner, who she desired should be confined with peculiar rigour.

[6] Henry Norris, groom of the stole, unjustly executed, on account of alleged adultery with Ann Bullen, 1536.

Norris.

My Lord Norris had by this lady an apt issûe, which the queene highly respected, for he had sixe sonnes, and all martiall and brave men; the first was William the eldest, and father to the late Earle of Barkeshire, Sir John vulgarly called General Norris, Sir Edward, Sir Thomas, Sir Henry, and Maximilian, men of hauty courage and of great experience in the conduct of military affayres; and to speake in the character of their merit, they were persons of such renowne and worth, as future times must out of duty owe them the debt of an honourable memory.

Knowles.

Sir Francis Knowles was somewhat near in the queene's affinitie, and had likewise noe incompetent issue; for he had also William, his eldest sonne, and since Earl of Banbury, Sir Thomas, Sir Robert, and Sir Francis, if I be not a little mistaken in their names, and marshalling; and there was also the Lady Lettice, a sister of those, who was first Countesse of Essex, and after of Leicester; and those were also brave men in their times and places, but they were of the court and carpet, and not by the genious of the camp.

Betweene these two families, there was, as it falleth out amongst great ones, and competitors of favour, no great correspondency; and there were some seedes either of emulation, or distrust, cast betweene them, which had they not beene disjoyned in the residence of their persons, as that was the fortune of their employments, the one side attending the court, and the other the pavillion, surely they would have broken out into some kind of hostilitie, or at least they would have intwinde and wrestled one in the other, like trees circuled with ivy; for there was a time, that when both these fraternities being met at court, when there passed a chalenge betweene them at certaine exercises, the queene and the old men being spectators, which ended in a flat quarell amongst them all; one, I am perswaded, though I ought not to judge, that there were some reliques of this feyned, that there were long after the causes of the one families almost utter extirpation, and the others in prosperitie; for it was a known truth, that so long as my Lord of Leicester lived, who was the maine pillar on the one side, for having marryed the sister, the other side tooke no deepe root in the court, though otherwise they made their waies to honour by their swords; and that which is of more note, considering my Lord of Leicester's use of men of war, being shortly after sent governor to the revolted states, and no souldier himselfe, is, that he made no more accompt of Sir John Norris,[1] a souldier then deservedly famoused,[2] and trained from a page under the discipline of the greatest captaine in Christendome, the Admiral Castilliau, and of command in the French and Dutch warres almost 20 yeares; and it is of further observation, that my Lord of Essex, after Leicester's decease, though addicted to armes, and honoured by the generall in the Portugall expedition,[3] where, out of instigation, as it hath beene thought, or out of ambition and jelousie, ecclipsed by the fame and splendor of this great commander, never loved him in sincerity.

Moreover, and certaine it is, he not onely crushed, and upon all occasions quailed the

[1] Sir John had long been general of the English auxiliaries in the service of the States. He sometimes astonished the provinces by his conduct and valour, and sometimes disgusted them by his harsh and haughty manners.

[2] Witness his memorable retreat at the head of a thousand men only, through the Prince of Parma's whole army for three miles together.

[3] Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, in conjunction, undertook an expedition, called at the time "The Journey of Portugal," having for its object the invasion of that kingdom. Essex stole from court, and joined them without the Queen's leave, at which she was highly displeased.

youth of this great man, and his famous brethren, but therewith drew on his owne fatall end, by undertaking the Irish action,[1] in time when he left the court empty of friends, and full fraught with his professed enemies. But I forbeare to extend my selfe in any further relation upon this subject, as having lost some notes of truth in these two nobles, which I would present, and therewith touched somewhat, which I would not, if the equity of the narration would have omitted.

Perrot.

Sir John Perrot was a goodly gentleman, and of the sword, and he was of a very ancient discent, as an heire to many substracts of gentry, especially from Guy De Brian, of Lawhorn, so was he of a very vast estate, and came not to court for want; and to these advancements, he had the endowments of carriage, and height of spirit, had he alighted on the allay and temper of discretion, the defect whereof, with a native freedome and bouldnesse of speech, drew him on to a clowded sitting, and layd him upon the spleene and advantage of his enemies, of whom Sir Christopher Hatton was professed. He was yet a wise man, and a brave courtier, but rough, and participating more of active than sedentary motions, as being, in his instellation, destinated for armes. There is a quære of some denotations, how he came to receive the foyle, and that in the catastrophe, for he was strengthened with honourable alliances, and the prime friendship in court, my Lord of Leicester, and Burleigh, both his contemporaries, and familiars; but that there might be (as the adage hath it) falsitie in friendship, and we may rest satisfied, that there is no dispute against fates; and they quit him for a person that loved to stand too much alone on his leggs, of too often regresse and discontinuance from the queene's presence, a fault which is incompatible with the waies of court and favour. He was sent Lord Deputy into Ireland, as it was then apprehended, for a kind of hautinesse and repugnancie in councells; or, as others have thought, the fittest person then to bridle the insolencies of the Irish; and probable it is, that both considering the sway that he would have at the board, and head in the queene's favor, concurred, and did alike conspire his remove and ruine: but into Ireland he went, where he did the queene very great and many services, if the surplusage of the measure did not abate the value of the merit, as after-time found to be no paradox, to save the queene's purse; but both her selfe and my Lord-treasurer Burleigh, ever tooke for good service: he imposed on the Irish the charge for bearing their own armes, which both gave them the possession, and taught them the use of weapons, which proceeded in the end to a most fatall worke, both in the profusion of blood and treasure.[2]

But at his returne, and upon some accompt sent home before, touching the estate of that kingdome, the queene powred out assiduous testimonies of her grace towards him, till by his retreat to his castle of Cary, where he was then building, and out of a desire to be in command at home, as he had beene abroad, together with the hatred and prac-

[1] Sir John Norris was sent into Ireland in 1596, with the title of lord-general. But his success against the rebels did not correspond with his high military character. He was imposed upon by Tyrone, and was at constant variance with the Lord-Deputy Russell. When the latter was recalled, Norris expected to succeed him in his office; but, through the influence of Essex, Lord Bourg was sent over as deputy, and Sir John was ordered in a sort of disgrace to retire to his government of Munster. This slight is supposed to have broken his heart, and he died in the arms of his brother Sir Edward in 1597. Essex, by disgracing this brave general, meant to pave the way for his own Irish expedition, and the success of his intrigue proved the immediate cause of his ruin.

[2] Perrot is generally allowed to have done good service in humbling the Irish rebels, although Spenser, naturally partial to his predecessor Lord Grey, says, he reaped the fruit of another man's harvest. Both that poet and Camden remark the impolicy of habituating the Irish to the use of arms in Ulster. The reason alledged was, to enable them to oppose the Scottish Islesmen, by whom they were often invaded. But the inconveniences of the system were discovered in the long and desperate rebellion of Tyrone.

tise of Hatton, then in high favour, whom he had not long before bitterly taunted for his dancing, he was accused for high treason, and for high wordes, and, by a forged letter, condemned; though the queene, on the newes of his condemnation, swore by her wonted oath, that the jury were all knaves; and they delivered it with assurance, that on his returne to the towne, after his triall, he said with oathes, and with fury, to the lieutenant Sir Owen Hopton, what, will the queene suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my skipping adversaries? Which being made knowne to the queene, and somewhat enforced, she refused to signe it, and swore he should not die, for he was an honest and faithfull man: and surely, though not altogether to set our rest and faith upon tradition, and old reports, as that Sir Thomas Perrot, his father, was a gentleman of the privy chamber, and in the court married to a lady of great honour, which are presumptions in some implications; but if we goe a little further, and compare his pictures, his qualities, gesture, and voyce, with that of the king, which memory retaines yet amongst us, they will plead strongly that he was a subreptitious child of the blood royall.

Certaine it is, that he lived not long in the Tower; and that after his decease, Sir Thomas Perrot, his sonne, then of no meane esteeme with the queene, having before married my Lord of Essex his sister, since Countesse of Northumberland, had restitution of his land, though after his death also (which immediately followed) the Crowne resumed the estate, and took advantage of the former attainder; and to say the truth, the priest's forged letter was, at his arraignment, thought but as a fiction of envy, and was soone after exploded by the priest's owne confession; but that which most exasperated the queene, and gave advantage to his enemies, was, as Sir Walter Rawleigh takes into observation, words of disdaine;[1] for the queene, by sharpe and reprehensive letters, had netled him; and thereupon sending others of approbation, commending his service, and intimating an invasion from Spaine; which was no sooner proposed, but he sayd publiquely, in the great Chamber at Dublin, "Loe now she is ready to bepisse herself, for feare of the Spaniards, I am againe one of her white boyes:"[2] which are subject to a various construction, and tended to some disreputation of his soveraigne; and such as may serve for instruction to persons in places of honour and command, to beware of the violences of nature, and especially the exorbitance of the tongue. And so I conclude him with this.

[1] Some of these words of disdain were singular enough. On one occasion it is stated, that while discoursing with Sir Nicholas Bagnol, Marshal of Ireland, and falling into hot words, Sir John said, "If it were not for that piled and paltry sword that lieth in the window, I would not brook these comparisons." This the accused party endeavoured to extenuate, by saying, that he spoke only in reference to the scabbard of her majesty's sword of justice, which was old and worn, and not with respect to the dignity thereof. Again, it was argued against him, that when at Council in Dublin, he said openly, "Stick not so much upon the queen's letters of commandment, for she may command what she will, but we will do what we list." Again, upon receiving her majesty's letter to prefer Mr Errington to the office of clerk of exchequer, Sir John Perrot used these undutiful speeches: "This fiddling woman troubles me out of measure. God's wounds, he shall not have the office: I will give it to Sir Thomas Williams." Further, he was accused, that when his secretary was writing to the queen in his name, and used the dutiful expression that "he would be sacrificed for her, Sir John scratched it out, saying, he had little cause to be sacrificed for her." Moreover, when on the Spanish threat of invasion, when his secretary said, he hoped God would bless them for her majestie's sake, he answered, "God's wounds, and why for her sake? never the more for her sake." But the highest and most unpardonable of these irreverent expressions was used to one Garland, who brought to Perrot a letter from the Queen, at the terms of which this putative son of Henry VIII. conceived such displeasure as to exclaim, "God's wounds, this it is to serve a base bastard piss-kitchen woman—if I had served any prince in Christendom, I had not been so dealt withal."

To these charges the poor criminal could answer little, excepting that it might be he used some speeches cholericly, as was his natural disposition; but then he renounced God's mercy, and his Saviour's merits, if he had ever thought or acted treason against his sovereign Queen Elizabeth.

[2] *White boy*, signifies darling, or favourite.—The trial gives this singular ejaculation thus: "Ah, silly woman! *now* she shall not curb me—*now* she shall not rule me—now God's lady dear, I shall be her white boy now again. Does she think to rule me *now*?" I need not point out to the intelligent reader how much this impetuous and boisterous temper resembled that of Henry VIII.

double observation, the one of the innocency of his intentions, exempt and cleare from the guilt of treason and disloyaltie, therefore of the greatnesse of his heart; for at his arraignement he was so little dejected with what might be alledged, that rather he grew troubled with choller,[1] and in a kind of exaspiration, he despised his jury, though of the order of knighthood, and of the speciall gentry, claiming the priviledge of tryall by the peeres and barronnage of the realme;[2] so prevalent was that of his native genious and hautinesse of spirit, which accompanied him to his last, and till without any diminution of change therein, it brake in pieces the cords of his magnanimitie, for he died suddainely in the Tower, and when it was thought the queene did intend his enlargement, with the restitution of his possessions, which were then very great, and comparable to most of the nobilitie.

Hatton.

Sir Christopher Hatton came to the court, as his opposite[3] Sir John Perrot was wont to say, by the Galliard; for he came thither as a private gentleman of the innes of court, in a maske; and for his activity, and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her favor: he was first made Vice Chamberlain; and, shortly after, advanced to the place of Lord Chancellor. A gentleman that, besides the graces of his person, and dancing, had also the endowment of a strong and subtile capacitie, and that could soone learne the discipline and garbe, both of the times and court; and the truth is, hee had a large proportion of guifts and endowments, but too much of the season of envy, and he was a mere vegetable of the court, that sprung up at night, and sunke againe at his noone.

Flos non mentorum, sed sex fuit illa virorum.

Effingham.

My Lord of Effingham, though a courtier betimes, yet I find not that the sunshine of his favour brake out upon him, untill she tooke him into the ship, and made him High Admirall of England; for his extract, it might suffice, that he was the sonne of a Howard, and of a Duke of Norfolke.[4]

And for his person, as goodly a gentleman as the times had any, if Nature had not been more intentive to compleat his person, than Fortune to make him rich; for the times

[1] Yet, on his first appearance in court, this singular character made a blunt, yet affecting request to his judges: he said he was 64 years old, and had been long imprisoned—that he was by nature choleric, and knew not what imperfections his imprisonment might work in him, and, therefore, if he should happen to fall into any extraordinary speeches in that honourable place, he craved pardon, alledging that the same should not proceed from want of duty or obedience.—*State Trials*, Vol. I. p. 189.

[2] On his trial he is only stated to have said, "Lord send me justice, and, for God's sake, let me have good men, and wished he might have men of his own sort, and such as knew service, and feared God; and desired that none might go upon him that had any suit in law with Sir Thomas Perrot, his son; and wished for mere good aldermen, yet if they that were sworn feared God, he cared not."—*State Trials*, Vol. I. p. 190.

[3] In 1587, on the death of Sir Thomas Bromley. He was more a courtier than a lawyer; but spared no pains to supply his own personal deficiencies, by consulting the ablest men of the profession. His death was hastened by a harsh and unexpected demand of the queen, that he should refund a large sum received by him of first-fruits and tenths. It is remarkable, that Hatton died a short time before his adversary Sir John Perrot; yet had laid the plan of his ruin so surely, that he soon followed him to the grave.

[4] He was the son of Lord William Howard, ninth son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, created, in 1553, Lord Howard of Effingham. Charles, the second Lord Effingham, of whom Naunton here treats, was made knight of the garter in 1574, but did not attain the post of high admiral until 1584. He had the honour to command the English fleet during the ever memorable year of the Spanish Armada.

considered, which were then active, and a long time after lucrative, he dyed not wealthy, yet the honester man; though it seemes the queene's purpose was to tender the occasion of his advancement, and to make him capable of more honour, at his returne from Cadiz voyage, and action,[1] she conferred it upon him, creating him Earle of Nottingham, to the great discontent of his colleague my Lord of Essex, who then grew excessive in the appetite of her favour, and, the truth is, so exorbitant in the limitation of the soveraigne aspect, that it much alienated the queene's grace from him, and drew others, together with the admirall, into a combination to conspire his ruine; and though, as I have heard it from that party, (I meane the old admirall's factions,) that it lay not in his proper power to hurt my Lord of Essex, yet he had more fellowes, and such as were well skilled in the setting of the trayne: but I leave this to those of another age; it is out of doubt, that the admirall was a good, honest, and brave man, and a faithfull servant to his mistress, and such a one as the queene, out of her own princely judgement, knew to be a fit instrument for her service; for she was a proficient in the reading of men, aswell as bookes, and as sundry expeditions, as that aforementioned and 88, do better expresse his worth, and manifest the queene's trust, and the opinion she had of his fidelitie and conduct.

Moreover, the Howards were of the queene's alliance, and consanguinitie by her mother, which swayed her affections, and bent it towards this great house; and it was a part of her naturall propention, to grace and support ancient nobilitie, where it did not intrench, neither invade her interest; from such trespasses she was quicke and tender, and would not spare any whatsoever, as we may observe in the case of the Duke and my Lord of Hartford, whom she much favoured and countenanced, till they attempted the forbidden fruit;[2] the fault of the last being, in the severest interpretation, but a trespasse of incroachment; but in the first it was taken as a ryot against the Crowne, and her owne soveraigne power; and, as I have ever thought, the cause of her aversion against the rest of that house, and the duke's great father-in-law, Fitz Allen Earl of Arundell, a person in the first ranke of her affections, before these and some other jelousies made a separation betweene them.

This noble Lord, and Lord Thomas Howard, since Earl of Suffolk, standing alone in her grace, and the rest in her umbrage.

Packington.

Sir John Packington was a gentleman of no meane family,[3] and of forme and feature no waies disabled; for he was a brave gentleman, and a very fine courtier, and for the

[1] Lord Effingham commanded in chief at sea, and the Earl of Essex at land in that exploit.

[2] Namely, by endeavouring to connect themselves with the succession to the crown: Norfolk, by his unhappy scheme of marrying Queen Mary of Scotland; and Hertford, by his scarce less unfortunate connection with the Lady Catherine Grey, already mentioned by Naunton.

[3] He was descended from William de Packington, secretary and treasurer to the Black Prince, and who wrote a French Chronicle, of which Leland has published some extracts.—Sir John Packington was so much distinguished for excellence in athletic exercises, that he was called in the court of Elizabeth, "lusty Packington." He is said to have wagered 3000l. to swim against three courtiers from Westminster to Greenwich; but Elizabeth prohibited the performance. He spent so much of his estate at court, that he at length resolved to retire. The queen endeavoured to prevent his departure, by a grant of a gentleman's estate, between 800l. and 900l. which had been forfeited. But Packington, finding he had fallen a victim to powerful enemies, resolved rather to retrieve his estate by his own œconomical privations, than by sharing the spoils of the unfortunate. He received, however, several favours from her majesty, and during his retirement improved his estate to a high degree. Of his high-spirited pride the following story is told:

"As he had been at great expences in building his house very sumptuously, so he was desirous that every thing about it should be as noble; therefore, he caused a large pool, or canal, of 122 acres, to be made in his new park of Westwood, and brought a brook or river to run into it, cut through a considerable extent of ground: But the

time which he stayed there, which was not lasting, very high in her grace; but he came in, and went out, through disassiduitie, drew the curtaine betweene himselfe, and the light of her grace, and then death overwhelmed the remnant, and utterly deprived him of recovery; and they say of him, that had he brought lesse to her court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought, for he had a time on it, but an ill husband of opportunitie.

Hunsdowne.

My Lord of Hunsdowne[1] was of the queen's nearest kindred, and on the decease of Sussex, both he and his sonne successively tooke the place of lord-chamberlaine: he was a fast man to his prince, and firme to his friend and servants; and though he might speake big, and therein would be borne out, yet was he the more dreadfull, but lesse harmfull, and far from the practice of the Lord of Leicester's instructions, for he was downe-right; and I have heard those that both knew him well, and had interest in him, say meerely of him, that his Lattine and dissimulation, were alike, and that his custome of swearing, and obscoenitie, in speaking, made him seeme a worse christian than he was, and a better knight of her carpet than he could be; as he lived in a roughling time, so he loved sword and buckler men, and such as our fathers were wont to call men of their hands, of which sort he had many brave gentlemen that followed him, yet not taken for a popular and dangerous person; and this is one that stood amongst the *Togati*, of an honest stout heart, and such a one that upon occasion would have fought for his prince and country, for he had the charge of the queene's person both in the court, and in the camp at Tilbury.

Rawleigh.

Sir Walter Rawleigh, was one that it seemes fortune had picked out of purpose, of

misfortune was, this great design could not be effected without making the high-ways part of the pond; which indeed the country very willingly consented to; Sir John having taken care to provide a more convenient road for them. However, it appeared soon after, that this grant was defective in point of law, which one of his neighbours observing, and thinking either to mortify Sir John, or ingratiate himself with him, got an order from the exchequer to destroy his pool, and restore the highway as it was before; yet at the time of serving the order signified, that it was not his intention to give him any molestation, but, if he pleased, his pond might continue without the least apprehension of disturbance from him. But, Sir John scorning any thing of courtesy from such a neighbour, and that he might know how little he valued him, went immediately to the pool, caused the flood-gates to be tore up, and the banks to be thrown down; whereby the water went out with such rapidity, that surprized the neighbourhood, dispersed great quantities of fish about the country; and the river of Severn, at Worcester, was discoloured for a week." *The Baronetage of England*, Lond. 1720, vol. ii. p. 192.

It is very possible, that "Packington's Pound," the name of a tune very popular in the 17th century, derived its name from some dance or revel, in which this gallant had figured. Sir John Packington died at his noble mansion of Westwood, 1625-6.

[1] Sir Henry Cary, created by Queen Elizabeth Lord Hunsdon, was her nearest relation, being son of her mother's sister. He was a stout soldier; and the queen entrusted him, during the year of the Armada, with the command of the army at Tilbury, while Leicester was general in chief. Lord Hunsdon was also governor of Berwick, and lord high chamberlain. Yet the Queen often used him with harshness, as may be seen from two letters in Carey's Memoirs. Elizabeth, it seems, incensed at Lord Hunsdon's delay to return to his government at Berwick, had sworn by God's wounds, that she would set him by the feet, and set another in his place. To this menace the doughty baron returned, in a letter addressed to Lord Burleigh, a sturdy expostulation, in which he concludes, "For any imprisonment she can use to me, it shall redound to her dishonour; because I neither have nor will deserve it, and therefore it shall not trouble me." *Carey's Memoirs*, edit. 1808, p. 165, 167.

When Lord Hunsdon was on his death-bed, the Queen honoured him with a visit, and enumerated all the favours she designed him, in case of his recovery. The dying man cut this vain enumeration short, by answering, "that since her majesty had not thought him deserving of such grace, while possessed of health and vigour, he deemed himself unworthy of them when age and infirmity rendered him incapable to serve her."

whom to make an example, and to use as her tennis-ball, thereby to shew what she could do; for she tossed him up of nothing, and to and fro to greatnesse, and from thence downe to little more than that wherein she found him, a bare gentleman, and not that he was lesse, for he was well descended, and of good alliance,[1] but poore in his beginnings; and for my Lord of Oxford's jests of him for the jacks and upstarts,[2] we all know it savored more of emulation, and his honour, than of truth; and it is a certaine note of the times, that the queene in her choyce never tooke in her favor a meere vew'd man, or a mechanicke; as Comines observes of Lewis XI. who did serve himselfe with persons of unknowne parents, such as were Oliver the barber, whom he created Earle of Dunoyes, and made him *ex secretis consiliis*, and alone in his favour, and familiarity.

His approaches to the university, and innes of court, were the grounds of his improvement; but they were rather extrusions than sieges, or settings downe, for he stayd not long in a place; and being the youngest brother, and the house diminished in his patrimony, he foresaw his destiny, that he was first to roule through want and disabillitie, to subsist otherwise, before he came to a repose, and as the stone doth by long lying gather mosse. He was the first that exposed himselfe into the land service of Ireland, a militia which did not then yeild him food and rayment, for it was ever very poore; nor dared he to stay long there, though shortly after he came thither againe,[3] under the command of my Lord Gray, but with his owne colours flying in the field, having in the interim cast a new chance both in the Low Countries, and in the voyage at sea; and if ever man drew virtue out of necessity, it was he, and therewith was he the great example of industry; and though he might then have taken that of the merchant to himselfe, *per mare per terras currit mercator ad indos;* he might also have said, and truly with the philosopher, *omnia mea mecum porto*, for it was a long time before he could bragg of more than he carried at his backe; and when he got on the winning side, it was his commendations that he tooke paines for it, and underwent many various adventures for his after-perfection, and before he came into the publique note of the world; and that may appeare how he came up *per ardua; per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum;* not pulled up by chance, nor by any great admittance; I will onely describe his nature and parts, and these of his owne acquiring.

He had in the outward man a good presence, in a handsome and well compacted person, a strong naturall wit, and a better judgement, with a bould and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and these he had by the adjuncts of some generall learning, which, by diligence, he enforced to a great augmentation and perfection; for he was an indefalliable reader, where by sea and land, and none of the least observers both of men and of the times; and I am somewhat confident, that among the second causes of his grouth, that there was variance between him and my Lord Generall Gray, in his second descent into Ireland, was principall, for it drew them both over to the counsell table, there to pleade their owne causes, where what advantage he had in the case in controversie, I know not, but he had much the better in the manner of telling his tale; insomuch as the queene and the lords tooke no slight marke of the man, and his parts, for from thence he came to be knowne, and to have accesse to the lords; and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply to progression,

[1] He was the fourth son of Walter Raleigh of Fardel, near Plymouth, a gentleman of ancestry, but with a large family and diminished estate.

[2] The story bears, that while Queen Elizabeth was playing on the virginals, Lord Oxford, remarking the motion of the keys, said, in covert allusion to Raleigh's favour at court, and the execution of Essex, "When jacks start up, heads go down."

[3] Oldys and Cayley, Raleigh's biographers, seem to deny that he was in Ireland more than once, when he served under Lord Grey as captain. But Naunton was likely to know the truth. The interim voyage was one in which Raleigh waited on the Duke of Anjou's agent Simier, from Paris to England; and, in the expedition to the Low Countries, he was in attendance on the Duke of Anjou himself at Antwerp.

and whether or no, my Lord of Leicester had then cast a good word for him to the queene, which would have done him no harme,[1] I doe not determine; but true it is, he had gotten the queene's eare in a trice, and she began to be taken with his election, and loved to heare his reasons to her demands, and the truth is, she tooke him for a kind of oracle, which netled them all; yea those that he relyed on began to take this his soddaine favor for an allarum, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his, which made him shortly after sing, "Fortune my foe, why dost thou frowne;"[2] so that finding his favour declining, and falling into a recesse, he undertooke a new perigrination to leave that *terra infirma*, of the court, for that of the waves, and by declining himselfe, and by absence to expell his and the passion of his enemies, which in court was a strange devise of recovery, but that he then knew there was some ill office done him, yet he durst not attempt to amend it, otherwise than by going aside, thereby to teach envy a new way of forgetfulnesse, and not so much as thinke of him; howsoever he had it alwaies in mind never to forget himselfe, and his devise tooke so well, and in his returne he came in as rams do, by going backward with the greater strength, and so continued to the last, great in her favor, and captaine of her guard, where I must leave him, but with this observation, though he gained much at the court, he tooke it not out of the exchequer, or meerely out of the queen's purse, but by his wit, and by the helpe of the prerogative, for the queene was never profuse in delivering out of her treasure, but payd most, and many of her servants, part in money, and the rest with grace, which as the case stood, was then taken for good payment, leaving the arrerres of recompence due for their merrit, to her great successor, which payed them all with advantage.[3]

Greville.

Sir Foulke Grevile,[4] since Lord Brooke, had no mean place in her favor, neither did he hold it for any short time, or term; for if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease, the smoothest time without rubs of any of her favorites; he came to the court in his youth and prime, as that is the time, or never; he was a brave gentleman, and hopefully descended from Willoughby, Lord Brooke, and admirall to H. VII. neither illiterate, for he was, as he would often professe, a friend to Sir Philip Sidney, and thereof is now extant some fragments of his penne, and of the times, which do interest him in the muses, and which shewes him the queene's election had ever a noble conduct, and it motions more of vertue and judgment, than of fancy.

[1] The following extract of a letter from Raleigh to Leicester, may shew the probability of Naunton's conjecture: "I may not forget continually to put your honour in mind of my affection unto your lordship, having to the world both professed and protested the same. Your honour having no use of such your followers, hath utterly forgotten me. Notwithstanding, if your lordship shall please to think me yours as I am, I will be found as ready, and dare do much in your service, as any man you may command; and do neither so much despair of myself, but that I may be some way able to perform as much. I have spent some time here under the deputy, in such poor place, and charge, as were it not for that I knew him to be as if yours, I would disdain it as much as to keep sheep.—From the camp of Lismore in Ireland, Aug. 25. 1581."

[2] This seems to allude to the jealousy of Essex, through whose means Raleigh was sent to Ireland in a kind of banishment in 1589; after which he sailed on an expedition against the Spaniards in 1592.

[3] This remark is singularly placed; and it is doubtful to say whether it conveys only an implied censure of James's prodigality to favourites, or an ironical allusion to the fate of Raleigh.

[4] Created by Charles I., Lord Brooke. He was descended from the ancient family of Greville, and born in 1554. He was early introduced at the court of Elizabeth, by his uncle Robert Greville. Lord Brooke was a professed votary of the muses; and extracts from his poems may be found in "Ellis's Specimens." After a long life of uninterrupted prosperity, and enjoying the smiles of three successive sovereigns, he was murdered by one of his own retainers, whom he hadneglected to reward for a life spent in his service, and who, in despair, first stabbed his master, and afterwardshimself, 30th September, 1628. A strange catastrophe, yet not unworthy of him whose sordid parsimony towards Bacon, the reader will find exemplified on p. 266. Note.

I finde that he neither sought for, nor obtained, any great place, or preferment in court, during all his time of attendance; neither did he need it, for he came thither backt with plentifull fortune, which as himselfe was wont to say, was then better held together by a single life; wherein he lived and dyed a constant courtier of the ladies.

Essex.

My Lord of Essex, as Sir Henry Wotton notes him, a gentleman of great parts, and partly of his times, and retaine, had his introduction by my Lord of Leicester, who had married his mother, a tye of affinitie, which, besides a more urgent obligation, might have invited his care to advance him, his fortunes being then through his father's infelicitie growne low; but that the sonne of a Lord Ferrers of Chartly, Viscount Hartford, and Earle of Essex, who was of the ancient nobility, and formerly in the queene's good grace, could not have roome in her favor, without the assistance of Leicester, was beyond the rule of her nature, which, as I have elswhere taken into observation, was ever inclinable to favour the nobility. Sure it is, that he no sooner appeared in court, but he tooke with the queene and the courtiers, and I beleeve they all could not chuse but looke through the sacrifice of the father, on his living sonne, whose image by the remembrance of former passages, was afresh like the bleeding of men murdered represented to the court, and offered up as subject of compassion to all the kingdome. [1]

There was in this young lord, together with a goodly person, a kinde of urbanity innovate curtesie, which both won the queene, and too much tooke up the people to gaze on the new adopted sonne of her favour; and as I goe along, it will not be amisse to take into observation, two noteable quotations; the first was a violent indulgence of the queene's, which is incident to old age where it incounters with a pleasing and suitable object, towards this great lord, which argued a non-perpetuity; the second was a fault in the object of her grace; my lord himselfe, who drew in too fast like a child sucking on an over uberous nurse; and had there beene a more decent decorum observed in both, or either of these, without doubt the unity of their affections had beene more permanent, and not so in and out as they were, like an instrument well tuned, and lapsing to discord.

The greater error of the two, though unwilling, I am constrained to impose on my Lord of Essex, and rather on his youth; and none of the least of the blame on those that stood sentinell about him, who might have advised better, but that like men intoxicated with hopes, they likewise had sucked in with the most of their lord's receipts, and so, like Cæsars, would have all or none; a rule quite contrary to nature, and the most indulgent parents, who though they may expresse more affection to one in the abundance of bequeathes, yet cannot forget some legacyes, and distributives, and dividents to others of

[1] It was shrewdly suspected, that Walter Earl of Essex, father to the favourite, was poisoned by Crampton, the yeoman of his bottles, and Lloyd his secretary, at the instigation of Leicester, and to clear the way for the favourite's wedding the widowed countess. The accusation is thus stated in a libel called "Leicester's Ghost:"

> The valiant Earl, whom absent I did wrong,
> In breaking Hymeneus' holy band,
> In Ireland did protract the time too long,
> While some in England ingled under hand.
> And at his coming homeward to this land,
> He died with poison, as they say, infected,
> Not without cause, for vengeance I suspected.

Yet Sir Henry Sidney wrote to the council of England a long letter, preserved among the Sidney State Papers, tending to establish, that Essex died of the bloody flux, to which he was habitually subject.

their begetting, and how hurtfull partiality is, and proves, every dayes experience tells us, out of which common consideration might have framed to their hands a maxime of more discretion, for the conduct and management of their new graved lord and master.

But to omit that of infusion, and to do right to truth, my Lord of Essex, even of those that truely loved and honoured him, was noted for too bold an ingrosser, both of fame and favor; and of this without offence to the living, or treading on the sacred grave of the dead, I shall present the truth of a passage yet in memory.

My Lord of Mountjoy, who was another child of her favour, being newly come, and then but Sir Charles Blunt, (for my Lord William his elder brother was then living) had the good fortune to run one day very well at tilt, and the queene was therewith so well pleased, that she sent him in token of her favor, a queene at chesse in hold, richly enamelled, which his servants had the next day fastened unto his arme, with a crymson ribband: which my Lord of Essex, as he passed through the privy chamber, espying with his cloake cast under his arme, the better to command it to the view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed? Sir Foulk Grevile tould him it was the queene's favour, which the day before, and next after the tilting, she had sent him; whereat my Lord of Essex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limitted her favour, said, now I perceive every foole must have a favor. This bitter and publique affront came to Sir Charles Blunt's eare, at which he sent him the challenge, which was accepted by my lord, and they met neare Marybone Parke, where my lord was hurt in the thigh, and disarmed; the queene, missing of the men, was very curious to learne the truth, but at last it was whispered out, she sware by God's death it was fit that some one or other should take him downe, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him; and here I note the iminition of my lord's friendship with Mountjoy, which the queene herselfe did then conjure.

Now for his fame we need not goe far, for my Lord of Essex having borne a grudge to Generall Norris, who had unwittingly offered to undertake the action of Brittaine, with fewer men than my lord had before demanded on his returne with victory, and a glorious report of his valour, he was then thought the onely man for the Irish wars, wherein my Lord of Essex so wrought by dispising the number and qualitie of the rebells, that Norris was sent over with a scanted force, joyned with the reliques of the uttered troopes of Brittaine, of set purpose, and as it fell out to ruine Norris; and the Lord Barrowes, by my lord's procurement, sent at his heeles, and to command in chiefe, and to convey Norris onely to his government at Mounster, which the great heart of the generall to see himselfe undervalued, and undermined, by my lord and Burrowes, which was as the proverb speakes, *juvenes docere senes.*

Now my Lord Burrowes in the beginning of his prosecution dyed, whereupon the queene was fully bent to send over my Lord Mountjoy, which my Lord of Essex utterly misliked, and opposed with many reasons, and by arguments of contempt towards Mountjoy, (his then professed friend, and familiar) so predominate was his desire to reape the whole honour of closeing up that war, and all other; now the way being paved, and opened, by his owne workmanship, and so handled, that none durst appeare to stand in the place; at last, and with much adoe, he obtained his owne ends, and therewith his fatall destruction, leaving the queene and the court, where he stood impregnable, and firme in her grace, to men that long had sought, and wayted their times to give him the trip, and could never find any oppertunity but this of his absence, and of his owne creation; and those are true observations of his appetite and inclinations, which were not of any true proportion, but hurried, and transported, with an over desire, and thirstinesse after fame, and that deceiptfull fame of popularity. And to helpe on his catastrope, I observe likewise two sorts of people that had a hand in his fall; first was the souldary, which all flock unto him, as it were foretelling a mortality, and are commonly of blunt,

and too rough councells, and many times dissonant from the time of the court and state: the other sort were of his family, his servants, and his owne creatures, such as were bound by safety and obligations of fidelity, to have looked better to the steering of that boate, wherein they themselves were carryed, and not to have suffered it to fleet and run on ground with those empty sales of tumor, of popularity, and applause; me thinks one honest man or other, which had but the brushing of his cloathes, might have whispered in his eare, my lord looke to it, this multitude that followes you, will either devoure you, or undoe you; do not strive to over-rule all, for it will cost hot-water, and it will procure envy, and if needs your genius must have it so, let the court and the queene's presence be your station, for your absence must undoe you; but as I have sayd, they have suckt too much of their lord's milke, and instead of withdrawing, they drew the coales of his ambition, and infused into him too much of the Spirit of glory, yea and mixed the goodnesse of his nature with a touch of revenge, which is ever-more accompanied with the destinie of the same fate. Of this number, there were some of insufferable natures about him, that towards his last gave desperate advise, such as his integritie abhorred, and his fidelitie forbad, amongst whom Sir Henry Wotton notes without injury, his secretary Cuffe, as a vile man, and of a perverse nature; I could also name others, that when he was in the right course of recovery, settling to moderation, would not suffer a recease in him, but stirred up the dregs of those rude humors, which by times, and his affections out of his owne judgement, he thought to repose, and give them all a vomit. And thus I conclude this noble lord, as a mixture betweene prosperity and adversity, once a child of his great mistresse's favour, but a sonne of Bellona.

Buckhurst.[1]

My Lord of Buckhurst was of the noble house of Sackviles, and of the queene's consanguinity; or as the people then called him Fill-Sacks, by reason of his great wealth, and the vast patrimony left to his sonne, whereof in his youth he spent the best part, untill the queene, by her frequent admonitions, diverted the torrent of his profusion: He was a very fine gentleman, of person and endowments, both of art and nature, but without measure magnificent, till on the torne of his honour[2] and the allay that his yearely good counsell had wrought upon those immoderate courses of his youth, and that height of spirit inherent to his house; and then did the queene, as a most judicious, indulgent princesse, who when she saw the man growne setled, and stayed, gave him an assistance, and advanced him to the treasurer-ship, where he made amends to his house for his misspent time, both in the increasement of his estate and honour which the queene conferred upon him, together with the opportunity to remake himselfe, and thereby to shew that this was a child that should have a share in her grace.

They much commend his elocution, but more the excellency of his pen, for he was a scholler, and a person of a quick dispatch, faculties that yet run in the blood; and they say of him, that his secretaries did little for him, by the way of indictment, wherein they could seldome please him, he was so facete and choyce in his phrases and style; and for his dispatches, and for the content he gave to suitors, he had a decorum seldome put in practise; for he had of his attendance that tooke into a role, the names of all suitors,

[1] Thomas Sackville, Baron of Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset, and Lord High-Treasurer of England. He was a beautiful poet, as is evident from his share of the Induction to the Mirror for Magistrates, and a no less able statesman.

[2] His conversion was owing, it is said, to the following incident: Happening, when he began to feel his fortune embarrassed, to wait on an alderman of London, who had made great advantages by purchasing land from him, Buckhurst was made to wait so long ere he could see the man of money, that his heart revolted at subjection to such incivility; and to prevent being in future exposed to it, he became a frugal improver of his remaining property. *Fuller's Worthies.*

with the date of their first addresses, so that a fresh man could not leape over his head, that was of a more ancient edition, excepting the urgent affayres of the state.

I finde not, that he was any way insnared in the factions of the court, which were all his time strong, and in every man's note; the Howards and Cecills of the one part, and my Lord of Essex, &c. on the other; for he held the staffe of the treasury fast in his hand, which made them once in a yeare to be beholding to him; and the truth is, as he was a wise man, and a stout, he had no reason to be a partaker, for he stood sure in blood, and in grace, and was wholly intentive to the queene's service: and such were his abilities, that she received assiduous proofes of his sufficiency; and it hath been thoughte she might have more cunning instruments, but none of a more strong judgmentt and confidence in his wayes, which are symptomes of magnanimitie; whereunto methinks his motto hath some kind of reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice;* as though he would have charactered in a word the genius of his house, or expresse somewhat of a higher inclination that lay within his compasse. That he was a courtier is apparent, for he stood alwaies in her eye, and in her favour.

Mountjoy.

My Lord Mountjoy was of the ancient nobility, but utterly decayed in the support therof (patrimony,) through his grandfather's excesse, his father's vanitie in search of the philosopher's stone, and his brother's untimely prodigallity;[1] all which seemed by a joynt conspiracie to ruinate the house, and altogether to annihilate it. As he came from Oxford he tooke the Inner Temple in the way to court; whither he no sooner came, but he had a pretty kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his owne, and much more of the secrets of those times; he was then much about twenty yeares of age, browne haired, of a sweet face, and of a most neate composure, tall in his person;[2] the queene was then at Whitehall, and at dinner, whither he came to see the fashion of the court, and the queene had soone found him out, and, with a kind of an affected favour, asked her carver what he was? he answered he knew him not; insomuch an enquiry was made one from another, who he might be, till at length it was told the queene, he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This enquirie with the eye of her majesty fixed upon him, as she was wont to doe, and to daunt men she knew not, stirred the blood of the young gentleman, insomuch as his colour went and came; which the queene observing, called unto him, and gave him her hand to kisse, encouraging him with gracious words, and new lookes; and so diverting her speech to the lords and ladyes, she sayd, that she no sooner observed him, but she knew there was in him some noble blood, with some other expressions of pitty towards his house; and then againe demanding his name, she sayd, faile you not to come to the court, and I will bethinke myselfe, how to do you good; and this was his inlet, and the beginning of his grace; where it falls into consideration, that though he wanted not wit, and courage, for he had very fine attractives, as being a goodpeece of a scholler, yet were those accompanied with the retractives of bashfulnesse, and naturall modesty, which as the wave of the house of his fortune then stood, might have hindered his progression, had they not been reinforced

[1] "In his childhood, when his parents would have his picture, he chose to be drawn with a trowel in his hand, and this motto, *Ad reædificandam antiquam Domum.* For this noble and ancient barony was decayed, not so much by his progenitors prodigality, as his father's obstinate addiction to the study and practice of alchemy, by which he so long laboured to increase his revenues, till he had almost fully consumed them." *Fynes Morrison's Journal of Tyrone's Rebellion.*

[2] Morrison describes him as tall, and of very comely proportion, his complexion fair, though his hair was almost black, "his forehead broad and high, his eyes great, black, and lovely, his nose somewhat low and short, and a little blunt in the end, his chin round, his cheeks full, round, and ruddy, his countenance chearful, and as amiable as ever I beheld of any man." *Morrison's Journal.* This was a picture to suit the taste of the "Maiden Queen," a distinguished connoisseur in male beauty.

by the infusion of soveraigne favour, and the queene's gracious invitation; and that it may appeare how he was, and how much that heritique necessity will worke in the directions of good spirits, I can deliver it with assurance, that his exhibition was very scant, untill his brother died, which was shortly after his admission to the court, and then was it no more but a thousand markes per annum, wherewith he lived plentifully, and in a fine garbe, and without any great sustentation of the queene, during all her times.

And as there was in nature a kind of backwardnesse, which did not befriend him, nor suite with the motion of the court; so there was in him an inclination to armes, with an humor of travelling, and gadding abroade, which had not some wise man about him laboured to remove, and the queene layd in her command, he would out of his owne native propensity marred his owne market; for as he was growne by reading, whereunto he was much addicted, to the theory of a souldier, so was he strongly invited by his genius to the acquaintance of the practise of the war, which were the causes of his excursions; for he had a company in the Low Countries, from whom he came over with a noble acceptance of the queene; but somewhat restles in honourable thoughts, he exposed himselfe again and againe, and would presse the queene with the pretences of visiting of his company so often, till at length he had a flat denyall; yet he stroke over with Sir John Norris into the action of Brittaine, which was then a hot and active war, whom he would alwaies call his father, honouring him above all men, and ever bewailing his end; so contrary he was in his esteeme, and valuation of this great commander, to that of his friend, my Lord of Essex, till at last the queene began to take his degressions for contempt, and confined his residence to the court, and her owne presence; and upon my Lord of Essex fall, so confident she was in her owne princely judgment, and the opinion she had conceived of his worth and conduct, that she would have this noble gentleman, and none other, to bring in the Irish wars, to a propitious end; for it was a propheticall speech of her owne, that it would be his fortune, and his honour, to cut the thred of that fatall rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave, wherein she was not deceived; for he atchieved it, but with much paines and carefulnesse, and without the forces, and many jealousies of the court and times, wherewith the queene's age, and the malignitie of her setling times, were repleate; and so I come to his deare friend in court, secretary Cecill, whom in his long absence he adored as his saint, and counted him his only Mecenas, both before and after his departure from court, and during all the time of his command in Ireland; well knowing that it lay in his power, and by a word of his mouth, to make or marr him.[1]

Robert Cecill.

Sir Robert Cecill, since Earle of Salisbury, was the sonne of the Lord Burleigh, and by degrees successor of his places and favors, though not of his lands; for he had Sir Thomas Cecill, his elder brother, since created Earle of Exeter: he was first secretary of state, then master of the court of wards, and in the last of her raigne came to be lord-treasurer; all which were the steps of his father's greatnesse, and of the honour he left to his house: for his person he was not much beholding to nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside: for his inside it may be said, and with-

[1] Lord Mountjoy was sent to Ireland as lord-deputy in 1599, upon the departure of Essex. He had the honour to terminate the long war with Tyrone, which had broke the heart of Norris, and was the remote cause of the fall and death of Essex. Morrison has preserved in his Journal an account of that war, and some part of the correspondence between the lord-deputy and Cecill.

Lord Mountjoy returned to England in 1605, bringing with him the vanquished Tyrone in a sort of triumph. He received many favours from James, who had succeeded Elizabeth during his absence, and was finally created Earl of Devonshire. But he did not long enjoy his new honours, dying of an ardent fever, April 1606.

out offence, that he was his father's owne sonne, and a pregnant president in all his discipline of state: he was a courtier from his cradle, which might have made him betimes, but he was at the age of twenty and upwards, and was far short of his after proofe, but exposed, and by change of clymat, he soon made shew what he was and would be.

He lived in those times wherein the queene had most need and use of men of waight, and amongst many able ones, this was chiefe, as having taken his sufficiency from his instruction, which begat him the tutorship of the times and court, which were then academyes of art and cunning; for such was the queene's condition from the tenth or twelfth of her raigne, that she had the happinesse to stand up, whereof there is a former intimation, environed with many and more enemies, and assaulted with more dangerous practises, than any prince of her times, and of many ages before, where we must not in this her preservation, attribute too much to human policies; for that in his owne omnipotent providence, he ordained those secondary meanes, as instruments of the worke by an evident manifestation of the same worke which she acted; and it was a well pleasing worke of his owne, out of a peculiar care he had decreed the protection of the work-mistris, and thereunto added his abundant blessing upon all, and whatsoever she undertooke, which is an observation of satisfaction to my selfe, that she was in the right, though to others now breathing under the same forme and frame of her government, it may not seeme an animadversion of their worth; but I leave them to the perill of their owne folly, and so come again to this great minister of state, and the staffe of the queen's declining age, who though his little crooked person could not promise any great supportation, yet it carried thereon a head, and a head-peece of a vast content; and therein it seemes nature was so diligent to complete one, and the best part about him, as the perfection of his memory and intellectuals: she tooke care also of his senses, and to put him in *Linceos oculos;* or to pleasure him the more, borrowed of Argos so, to give unto him a prospective sight; and for the rest of his sensitive virtues, his predecessor Walsingham had left him a receipt to smell out what was done in the conclave.

And his good old father, so well seene in mathematicks, as that he could tell you throughout Spaine every part, every port, every ship with their burthens, whither bound, what preparations, what impediments for diversion of enterprises, counsel, and resolution; and that we may see, as in a little mappe, how docible this little man was[1] I will present a tast of his abillities.

My Lord of Devonshire[2] upon certainty that the Spaniard would invade Ireland with a strong army, had written very earnestly to the queene, and to the councell, for such supplies to be timely sent over, that might enable him both to march up to the Spaniard, if he did land and follow on his prosecution, without diverting his intentions against the rebells, Sir Robert Cecill, besides the generall dispatch of the counsell (as he often did) writ thus in private, for these two then began to love dearely.

"My Lord, out of the abundance of my affection, and the care I have of your well-doing, I must in private put you out of doubt of feare, for I know you cannot be sensible, otherwise than in the way of honour, that the Spaniards will not come unto you this yeare, for I have it from my owne, what his preparations are in all his parts, and what he can do; for be confident, he beareth up a reputation, by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe; but the next yeare be assured he will cast over to you some forlorne troopes, which how they may be reinforced beyond his present abilitie, and his first intention, I cannot as yet make any certaine judgment, but I beleeve out of my intelligence, that you may expect the landing in Munster, and the more to distract you in severall

[1] Cecill, Earl of Salisbury, was hunch-backed and deformed. King James, in his childish jargon, used to call him his little beagle, from the acuteness with which he could run the scent of policy.

[2] *i. e.* Lord Mountjoy, whom Naunton here calls by his last and highest title, Earl of Devonshire. The letter from Cecill was probably dated in 1600; for in September 1601, according to his prediction, the Spaniards actually invaded Ireland, and garrisoned Kinsale, agreeable to the intelligence which Cecill had procured.

places, as at Kings-sale, Beereheaven, and Baltimore; where you may be sure coming from sea, they will first fortifie, and learne the strength of the rebells, before they dare take the field; howsoever, as I know you will not lesson your care, neither your defences, and whatsoever lies in my power to do you, and the publique service, rest thereof assured."

And to this I could add much more, but it may (as it is) suffice to present much of his abilities, in the penn, that he was his crafts master in forraigne intelligence, and for domestique affaires, as he was one of those that sate at the helme to the last of the queene, so was he none of the least in skill, and in the true use of the compasse; and so I shall onely vindicate the scandall of his death, and conclude him, for he departed at Saint Margarets, neare Marleborough, at his returne from Bathe, as my Lord Vice Chamberlane, my Lord Clifford, and my selfe, his sonne, and sonne in law, and many more can witnesse, but that the day before he sounded on the way, and was taken out of his litter, and layd into his coach, was a truth out of which that falsehood concerning the manner of his death, had its derivation, though nothing to the purpose, or to the prejudice of his worth.

Vere.[1]

Sir Francis Vere was of that ancient, and of the most noble extract of the Earles of Oxford; and it may be a question, whether the nobility of his house, or the honour of his atchievements, might most commend him but that we have an authentique rule: *Nam genus, et proavos, et quæ nos non fecimus ipsi; vix ea nostra voco.* For though he was an honourable slip of that ancient tree of nobilitie, which was no disadvantage to his vertue; yet he brought more glory to the name of Vere, than he tooke of blood from the family.

He was amongst all the queene's sword-men inferior to none, but superior to many; of whom it may be sayd, to speak much of him were the way to leave out somewhat that might add to his praise, and to forget more that would make to his honour.

I finde not that he came much to the court, for he lived almost perpetually in the

[1] Sir Francis Vere, nephew of John Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford, was an English commander in service of the States of Holland; Elizabeth herself pitched upon him as the fittest person to be governor of Brill, when it was mortgaged to the Queen. He was greatly distinguished by his exploits in the Low Country wars.

"To give our men the more courage, I went into the bottom amongst them; where, riding up and down, I was, in their eyes, both doing the office of a captain and soldier. At my first coming I got one shot through my leg; and, a quarter of an hour after, another through the same thigh, which I then neither complained nor bragged of, nor so much as thought of any chirurgeon; for I knew if I left the place, my men would instantly quail. I therefore chose (not having been used to have my troops foiled) to try the uttermost, rather than to shew them the way to flee, hoping still for the coming of the Frisons, and the horse I sent for. But their haste was so small, that my men, overlaid with number, forsook the place, notwithstanding my best endeavour to stay them, hasting along the sands towards our cannon, the enemy following them hard. I was forced, seeing them all going, to go for company, with the last, uneasily and unwillingly, (God knows,) and on the way my horse fell dead under me, and upon me, that I could not stirre. I had neither officer, gentleman, nor servant about me to give me help.—Sir Robert Drury by chance came; and a gentleman, being a servant of his, called Higham, drew me from under the horse, and set me up behind his master; which help came very seasonably, for the enemy being near at hand when I fell, by this means I was saved out of their clutches. Thus I rode to the ordnance, where I found my brother Horace, and the most of the officers that were living, with some three hundred foot. I made them stand from before the ordnance, and willed the cannoniers to discharge upon the enemy that now swarmed upon the sands; and at the same instant, my own companie of horse and Captain Ball's coming thither, I willed them to go to the charge, and my brother with the foot to advance, and second them home. This small number of horse and foot made an exceeding great charge on a sudden, for the enemy in hope of victory followed hard, and being upon the sands, where horse might serve upon them, were soon routed, most cut in pieces, the rest saving themselves by flight, as they could, in the downs, our men both horse and foot followed them."—Sir Frances Vere's *Commentaries* p. 102. *et seq.*

campe; but when he died, no man had more of the queen's favour, and none lesse envied, for he seldome troubled it with the noyse and alarms of supplications, his way was another sort of undermining.

They report that the queene, as she loved marshall men, would court this gentleman as soone as he appeared in her presence; and surely he was a souldier of great worth and command, thirty yeares in the service of the states, and twenty yeares over the English in chiefe, as the queen's generall; and he that had seene the battaile of Newport, might there best have taken him, and his noble brother the Lord of Tilbury to the life.[1]

Worcester.[2]

My Lord of Worcester I have here put last, but not least in the queene's favour. He was of the ancient and noble blood of the Beaufords, and of her grandfather's kin, by the mother, which the queene could never forget, especially where there was an incurrence of old blood with fidelity, a mixture which ever sorted with the queen's nature; and though theer might hap somewhat in this house, which might invert her grace, though not to speak of my Lord himselfe but in due reverence and honour, I mean contrariety or suspition in religion, yet the queene ever respected his house, and principally this noble blood, whom she first made master of her horse, and then admitted him of her councell of state.

In his youth, part whereof he spent before he came to reside at court, he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times, which were then the manlike and noble recreations of the court, and such as tooke up the applause of men, aswell as the prayse and commendation of ladyes; and when yeares had abated those exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor; and as I have placed him last, so was he the last liver of all her servants of her favour, and had the honour to see his renowned mistresse, and all of them layd in the places of their rests; and for himselfe, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation, and in a peaceable old age, a fate that I make the last, and none of my slightest observations, which befell not many of the rest; for they expired like unto a light blowne out with the snuffe stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with an offence to the standers by. And thus I have delivered up my poore essay, or little draught, of this great princesse and her times, with the servants of her state, and favour; I cannot say I have finished it, for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed onely in the originall nature, not without the active blessings, and so left it as a talke fitter for remoter times, and the sallies of some bolder pencill to correct that which is amisse, and drawe the rest up to life; as for me to have endeavoured it, I took it into consideration how easily I might have dashed into it much of the staine of pollution, and thereby have defaced that little which is done; for I professe I have taken care to master my pen, that I might not erre *animo*, or of set purpose discolour each or any of the parts thereof, otherwise than in concealment; happily they

[1] Sir Horatio Vere, created Lord Tilbury. King James sent him with the scanty auxiliary forces, which he destined to the assistance of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine; indeed he held him, Sir Horatio, in such high respect, that, forgetting his rank, says Camden, he remained uncovered before him.

The battle of Newport was a desperate action, fought in 1600 between Count Maurice, who besieged that place, and the Archduke Albert, who advanced to relieve it. The brunt of the fight fell upon the English, commanded by Sir Francis Vere, who were severely handled. Out of 1500, there were 800 killed and wounded, eight captains were killed, and but two commanders escaped unhurt. Sir Francis Vere, who had a horse shot under him and his brother Horatio, distinguished themselves in retrieving the day when it was almost lost.

[2] Edward Beaufort, fourth Earl of Worcester. He seems to have been a mere courtier. In 1591, he was sent on an embassy to Scotland, and in the 43d of queene Elizabeth, was created master of the horse, which office he resigned in the 13th year of her successor's reign; being then made lord privy-seal, an office better suiting his years. This last of the "Queen's old courtiers," died at a good old age, 3d March, 1627-8.

are some which will not approve of this modesty, but will censure it for pusillanimitie, and, with the cunning artist, attempt to draw their line farther out at length, and upon this of mine which way (somewhat more ease) it may be affected, for that the frame is ready made to their hands, and then happily I could draw one in the midst of theirs, but that modesty in me forbids the defacements in men departed, their posterity yet remaining enjoying the merit of their virtues, and do still live in their honour. And I had rather incur the censure of abruption, than to be conscious and taken in the manner, sinning by eruption, or trampling on the graves of persons at rest, which living we durst not look in the face, nor make our addresses to them, otherwise than with due regard to their honours, and reverence to their virtues.

The Constitution of the Exchequer of Ireland, with the manner and method of their Proceedings in reference to the King's Revenue, Law, and Equitie, &c. and all the Officers to that Court belonging.

The following Tracts respecting the Exchequer of Ireland, although belonging to different reigns, are classed together, that they may throw light upon each other, agreeably to the license which the Editor has reserved of departing from the general order of arrangement when any advantage can be gained by doing so. Those desirous of farther information may consult HOWARD's *Treatise of the Exchequer Revenue of Ireland.* Dublin, 2 vols. 4to.

THE exchequer of Ireland differs in many respects from the exchequer of England, and is more certain, and easy, and adapted to a settlement of a forreigne plantation, than that of England.

It is an original court, not constituted by the king's patent or charter, but by prescription.

It is a court of record, at first erected for the king's household; and holding pleas for determining all matters both in law and equity respecting them, and for managing his revenue.

It has enlarged its power, and extended it to others besides the king's servants; so that whoever will, may commence any suit in law or equity in that court, under the notion or pretence, that they are the king's debtors or farmers: though there is an act of parliament, that whoever shall bring any suit either in law or equity into that court, that is not the king's officer, farmer, or tenant, shall for every such action forfeit ten pounds; but that being never looked after, there are more causes in that court both in law and equity, than in the chancery, and the other two courts.

No officer belonging to the king's revenue is to be sued, or prosecuted in law or equitie, but in that court; and in case any action be brought against such officers in any other court, the third baron demands the sayd privilege, which is never denyed, but the cause transmitted thither.

The constitution of that court is such, that if the officers be faithfull, it is not possible that either the king or the subject can be defrauded of their rights relating to any part of the revenue, or the accompts thereof; there being cheques upon every branch, and on all monys that are received or payd.

All revenues belonging to the king, and all the accompts whereof, are under the power and care of this court, except where it is otherwise settled by act of parliament, or by special commission under the great seale, as the vice-treasurer's accounts and hannaper accounts are.

All persons that are debtors, or farmers to the king, may claim the ayd of this court to recover any debts in the king's name, to capacitate them to pay what is due from them to the king. And such debt is recovered by process, bill, plaint, or information in the king's name, as his revenue, they assigning by deed such debt unto the king; and when the debt is recovered, the king detains what is due to him from such persons, and pays them the overplus.

The king cannot recover or take any money, debt, land, or estate, but by matter of record appearing in that court, and in the proper office to which the care thereof appertaines, and for that reason cannot take interest for any debt or sum of money due to him.

The RESPECTIVE OFFICERS *belonging to that* COURT, *according to their degrees therein.*

The Chancellor,

Who is concerned only in matters of equity.

The Lord Treasurer,

Who hath power to appoint all inferior officers relating to the customes, and is concerned onely in matters of the revenue.

The Vice Treasurer,

Who receives all the revenue, and accompts for it; he is onely concerned in revenue matters.

The Chief Baron, The Second Baron, The Third Baron.

These have power in all causes of equity, law, and revenue. In the two first, they manage themselves by the common rules of chancery, and the common pleas; and in the last by the rules of their owne: and with respect thereunto, the court is always open, as well out of, as in terme.

The Attorny Generall,

Hath a speciall charge of the revenue. No rent can be discharged, or abated, but by his confession, or consent; nor no information or English bill be brought in the king's name, but what is signed by him; nor can he therein act but by *debit. constat,* or certificate from the proper officer, in whose office, the debt, or matter for which such information or bill brought, is recorded.

The Solicitor Generall,

Is assisting to the attorny in all the matters aforesayd, as to pleadings in the court; and for all patents of lands, estates, honours, offices, &c. He may, as well as the attorny generall, prepare the fiats, according to the method herein after mentioned.

The King's Remembrancer, or Chief Remembrancer;

In whose office are all the bookes relating to the customes and roll of the clergy's tenth parts; and all bills, answers, pleas, demurrers, and proceedings in equity; he takes the rules and orders of the court relating thereunto, and makes out process accordingly; as likewise for the hearth-money, subsidies, excise, pole-money, and other such like revenues, being not by act of parliament directed to be otherwise managed, than according to the course of the exchequer.

The Auditor Generall.

In his office are entred *(verbatim)* all grants for lands and offices, where any rent is payable to the king, or stipend payable by him; and a rent-roll made of all rents in his office. With him are also entered all deed of assignments, and purchase of any lands or estate, out of which any rent or duty is payable to the king, else the rent is always continewed in the name of the former proprietor. In this office are likewise all the accompts of the vice-treasurer, clerk of the hannaper, and of money impressed for any particular use or service; which accompts are made up by him, and passed by the commissioners of accounts constituted for that purpose, under the great seale of England, or Ireland, after they are compared by the commissioners, with the vouchers and the auditor, with the vice-treasurer's, the pells, and chamberlain's books; and what rents are unaccompted for, and remain in arrear, he writes out a particular, and transmits them unto the treasurer's remembrancer, to issue process for the levying thereof.

The Surveyor Generall,

Hath in his office all the surveys, and inquisitions, relating to the king's title for lands, houses, &c.; and if any controversie ariseth concerning the extent or boundarys of any lands or mannors, &c. he appoints surveyors to settle such metes, and bounds, and the quantityes of such estate, together with the yearly value thereof, if requisite; for which purpose inquisitions are taken by jurys, and the escheater assists therein. And when any grant is to be passed of any estate, a warrant from the lord-lieutenant is directed to him, and to the auditor-general, to make out a particular of such estate. Upon which the surveyor-generall makes out the survey in parchment, and the auditor the particular, and out of the survey ascertains the quantity, and the rents payable to the king. The survey remaines with the auditor, and the particular is returned by him to the surveyor, to re-examine and signe, and then transmitted to the lord lieutenant, under both their hands, upon which a warrant is made, directed to the attorny or solicitor-general, to prepare a grant pursuant to such particular, which remains with either the attorny or solicitor-general.

The Treasurer's Remembrancer, or Second Remembrancer,

Hath in his office a docket of all the grants that are passed for any lands, houses, estates, &c. which is twice a-year brought by the master of the rolls, and delivered to the court, and by them transmitted into this office to be compared with the entry in the auditor's office, least any thing should pass not entered by him; and so this office is a checque on the auditor's as to all the king's rents. He takes notes of all rules and orders given in the court relating to the king's revenue, (except for the customs, excise, pole-money, that is in the first remembrancer's office) and issues process for all arrears or debts, &c. Which orders are signed by the chief baron, and the original filed in this office, and copies thereof made out and signed by the officer, and transmitted to the respective offices, or persons that are concerned therein. The first process of this office is but in the nature of a *Scire Facias*, on which the sheriff notwithstanding must levy, or take security from the party concerned, to pay or answer such rent or debt in the court. In this office are likewise all inquisitions of estates seized for any forfeiture, rent, or debt, or for treasure trove, or other casualtys, except wrecks, or what relates to the customs, which is in the chief remembrancer's office.

The Clerk of the Pipe,

Makes a yearly roll of all rents, and debts whatever that are brought in by process, in any of the offices, and accompted for in the court; and of all rents, and debts that are in arrear unanswered for the sheriffs on their accompts; all orders of discharge, respite, or installement of any such rent or debts are entered with him, who also makes out custodiums upon any seizure or sequestration of any estate, whether it be for term of years, not exceeding seven years, or during pleasure, according to an order for that purpose; and likewise makes out, and from time to time renews process for all such arrears that stand upon such roll. In this office likewise the sheriffs *Quietus est* is prepared, as being the last office of accompt of the process. The attorny generall, solicitor generall, king's remembrancer, auditor, surveyor, treasurer's remembrancer, the clerk of the pipe, have seates in the court, and priviledge to sit covered when they please.

The Clerk of the Pells,

Is a late officer, and not of the originall constitution of the court. His work is to signe and enter all acquittances that are given by the vice-treasurer or his deputy for any rent, debt or summe of money payd into the treasurey; and of all payments made by warrant directed to the vice-treasurer, without which he makes no payment.

The Cheif and the Second Chamberlain,

Are ancient officers, whose work is the same with the clerk of the pells, as to all receipts and payments into the treasurie; and whose bookes as well as the pells are transmitted to the auditor to be compared with rent rolls in his office, to adjust and ascertain what is received, and what remaines on arrears, in order to the issuing out of process, and ascertaineing all receipts.

The Clerk of the Common Pleas.

In his office all proceedings at law between party and party, not immediately respecting the revenue, are entered and recorded; in which he observes the usual practise of the common pleas.

The Clerk of the First Fruits.

In his office are all presentations, and inductions, and bonds for the installing of their first fruits; as likewise a roll containing what bishops, or clergymen, are yeerly to pay for their tenth part. He receives the money so payable, and accompts for the same, and makes out process for what is in arrear of the tenth part. The bonds unpayed for the first fruits are by him transmitted into the king's remembrancer's office, and there prosecuted.

The Comptroller of the Pipe,

Hath a counter-roll of all arrears, and is assisting to the clerk of the pipe, and makes out the process, and counter-signes them with the clerk of the pipe.

The Clerk of the Estreats, The Summonister,

Have the care of all fines, amerciaments, and casualties of that kind, that ariseth either in chancery, king's bench, common pleas, the assizes, or sessions, clerk of the market, &c. which are brought to the clerk of the estreats in manner following; viz.

From the chancery, king's bench, common pleas, by an officer belonging to those courts; and from the assizes and sessions, by the clerk of the assizes, and of the peace; and by the clerk of the market themselves. Upon which the summonister makes out process signed by them both, and then transmitted under the seale of the court to the sheriff to levy such fines, forfeitures, and debts, which process is but in the nature of a *Scire facias,* which notwithstanding he must answer for on his account, or take bonds from the partie to clear such debt in court.

The Clerk of Reducements.

He attends the court of reducements which is in the exchequer, and consists of the lord-treasurer, vice-treasurer, barons, attorney, and solicitor general, who are constituted by commission under the great seale, who, at the end of each term, receive petitions for the moderating of recognizances, bonds, fines, &c. which are heard in open court, and certificates produced by the petitioner, from either the judges, justice, or persons of note, or quality, concerning the state, and merit of the petitioner, and cause depending. The orders for such reducements are, according to a docket signed by the barons, prepared by the said clerk, and signed by the chief baron, and entered in the respective offices where such charge remaines against the party concerned.

The Escheater,

Was an office of great service and business so long as the court of wards continued, and a relief was payed, which was a yeer's rent upon the death, or allienation of the king's tenant; but now their work and business is by inquisition, to find out the king's title to any land, or estate concealed or obtained by fraud, which inquisition is returned into the king's remembrancer's office, if for honor, and into the treasurer's remembrancer's, if for title; as also into the surveyor's office.

Besides which, in each office there are secondaries and attornies that attend the concern of the subject, taking care of the king's business.

There is also a cryer, who only with the attornies are appointed by the court; all other officers are by patent, with power to execute their offices by deputies.

A Rent is created to the King after this Manner, viz.

When inquisitions are requisite, they are taken either by speciall commission, or by the escheater as before; which inquisitions are returned as before; and a survey and particular thereof made out by the surveyor and auditor, as before; and a grant, or fiat, prepared by the attorney, or soliciter general, as before, which fiat is lodged in the rolls, and grant when sealed inrolled in that office, and the fiat there filed; but the patent is not given directly to the party concerned therein, but brought by one of the clerkes belonging to the rolls unto the auditor, to be by him entered as before, and by the auditor delivered to the party concerned; of which the master of the rolls delivers into court twice a yeer a schedule as before.

How Rents are Reduced or Discharged.

The party aggrieved, or sueing for such reducements or discharge, moves the court, on a *constat* of such rent which expresses the grounds thereof; which *constat*, by order of court, is carryed to the attorny generall, who proceeds either to demurr or plead. If he confesseth the matter of fact, and equity for such discharge, it is filed in the treasurer's remembrancer's office, and the court againe moved; and as matters appear, orders are given accordingly. The originall of which orders are filed in the court, or that office as before, and copies given and entred in the respective offices where such rents so appear; but if it be a rent issueing out of an intire estate, and part thereof sould, that rent shall not be divided notwithstanding such sale, for the court will not lessen the king's security, but the whole estate continues liable to answer the whole rent.

How the King's Revenue is Received.

The party that is to pay any rent, produces a debit from the auditor; or if it be any other summe of money, the like debit from the respective offices, where the same appears, which with his money is tendered to the receiver general, or his tellers; and when payd, the receiver general (who is deputy to the vice treasurer) gives an acquittance, expressing the summe of money received, when it grew due, and for what, and how; which acquittance is not delivered to the party paying the money, but transmitted to the chamberlains, who likewise enter, and signe such acquittance, and then by them delivered

over to the clerk of the pells, to be entered and signed by him, and delivered to the party concerned; no mistake therein barrs the king's right, nor extinguisheth any arreare that grew due before the time exprest in such acquittance.

How Arrears of Debts are Recovered.

The respective offices, in manner aforesaid, make out process, to be issued under the seale of the court; if for a casualty, out of the clerk of the estreates and summonister's office, which, as before, is in the nature of a *scire facias*, yet with power to levy.

If for a rent, and issueing out of the treasurer's remembrancer's office, the first process is much of the same kind, in case the rent or debt be disputable. The second process of that office extends to goods, and lands; and then the sheriff thereupon must answer, that there is none such to be found in his baylywick, and for which he must make an inquisition by jury.

If out of the pipe, it is a *levare*, that seizes body, goods, and land, which process is from time to time renewed, untill the debt be recovered or transmitted into an exannuall roll.

The summonister transmits what is unanswered for in his office, to the treasurer's remembrancer's office, to renew the second process as before.

If the treasurer's remembrancer's office by process cannot recover those arrears and debts, he transmits them to the pipe.

The pipe from time to time issues his process; and when there is no possibility of recovering the debt, then all the revenue officers meet, and examine those arrears, and make them up into an exannuall roll, to remaine there, that if at any time they can be recovered they may, and then by order of court the process stops.

The Manner of the Sheriff's Accompting in the Court.

He delivers in to the respective offices his original process, and the respective officers attend his opposeat: he begins with the casualties, which are read over by the clerk of the escheats, or the summonister; and his answer, if he have received the money, is *tot*; if not, *nil* to each charge.

If for rent or casualties transmitted to the second remembrancer's office, it is either *tot*; or, neither body, goods, nor land.

If for the process of the pipe, either *oni*, (as an abbreviation of *Honorati,)* or, neither body, goods, nor land.

The auditor in the mean time sits in court, and with his counters casts up each summe that is totted, and gives in the total summe to the treasurer's remembrancer, who enters it in his book.

This is done the court sitting, who give such orders as are requisite for secureing the debt, or reliefe of the subject.

For the process in the chiefe remembrancer's office, they are not called over openly in court, but settled in the office.

If the sheriff make an insufficient answer, or an answer the court is not satisfied with, they tot such charge upon the sheriff; and in that case a writ of assistance is granted to levy that money for the sheriff, and he made to answer it upon his accompt. If the sheriff appears not on his account at his day prefixed, he is fined, and for the third default taken into custody, and so made to acount.

For the Sheriff's Discharge.

When he is gone through all the offices, and settled all matters, a debit is given him in the respective offices; and when his money is paid into the treasury in manner as before, and he hath entered his acquittance in those respective offices, and produced constats thereof to the clerk of the pipe, he prepares his *quietus est*, and tenders it to the court, and then by proclamation in the court he is discharged; but his bonds are not canceled, but remaine as a security, to answer any matter that afterwards might happen or appeare.

How the King may recover any Lands, or Debts.

If land by inquisition, the king's title is found, and a seizure issues out of the court thereupon, which the partie may traverse; the king may also recover by Latin information or English bill, according to the common method of the courts of chancery or law.

If it be an arrear of land, or rent due upon record, the king may issue a *levare* without *scire facias*, and may raise it upon any lands or goods of the debtor, and transmit the debt from one county to another, on any land the party had when the debt grew due; and in that case there is no replevy lyes against the king, but if the party hath any matter of complaint, it must be made to the court. Such process may be directed immediately to the sheriff; or the king, if he please, may appoint collectors or receivers by special commission, to receive and to distrein for such rents, on any goods or cattle on the ground; and in case of non-payment, or that the debtor drives off his cattle from the ground, on affidavies thereof, a seizure may be issued, and a custodium of the estate granted, reserving onely the growing rent, untill the party concerned therein shall pay such arrear. But the sheriff and such collectors, if they seize any cattle, must impound them, and keep them for seven days before they are appraised and sold; and what remains after the king's and charges of keeping are payd, must be returned or payd back to the owner.

If it be an arrear of custome, excise, hearth-money, or other casual revenue, or bonds, recognizances, transmitted into the chief remembrancer's office, a *scire facias* issues to the sheriffe to summon the party concerned, whose returne is openly read in court; and if the party appear not, such process are a second and third time renewed; and upon the third, judgment passes for the king, and levying process issues accordingly as before, and seizeth body, goods, and land.

The king hath prefference of all men, and shall receive his debt in the first place, though the estate be seized or extended by judgment, statute, recognizance, &c. and will not satisfie any more but the king's debt, (except chattles actually seized before judgment past for the king, or process of *levare* issued for his debt or arrear, which cannot be recoverable for the king, but he is barred as to such chattles only) but the king may enter upon all other of his chattles and lands, though extended as before, notwithstanding such judgment or extent.

The court will not suffer their constitution and method to be interrupted. The king can make an establishment for what payments shall be made to his army and officers, civil and militarie, and pensions for whom he pleaseth, and direct what rents shall be abated, discharged, or instated; but yet no warrant signed by the king, or under his privie seale or great seale, can immediately or directly charge his revenue, or is a sufficient warrant to any of the officers, except allowed of by the court, and inroled in the proper offices thereof, otherwise the king might be defrauded, and his revenue anticipated or dis-

ordered; the court many times reject such warrants and patents, especially if they finde the allegations not true, or the king deceived therein.

The Irish Establishment signed by the Queen, March 31. 1601.

Officers General.

THE lord deputy for his diet, 100l. *per mensem;* a band of horse 3l. 4s. *per diem;* fifty foot, each at 8d. *per diem;* for allowance in lieue of cesse 10l. *per annum,* besides his companies of horse and foot in the army; in all *per diem* 12l. 6s. 6¾d. *per annum* 4444l. 17s. 1¾d.

The lieutenant of the army 3l. *per diem,* 1095l. *per annum.*

The treasurer of war 1l. 15s. *per diem;* 638l. 15s. *per annum.*

The marshal, besides his thirty horse, at 1s. *per diem;* without cheque in the army 5s. 9d. *per diem;* 104l. 18s. 9d. *per annum.*

The serjeant major of the army 1l. *per diem;* 364l. *per annum.*

The master of the ordnance 1l. 6s. 11d. *per diem;* 491l. 4s. 7d. *per annum.*

Ministers of the ordnance 1l. 5s. 2d. *per diem;* 459l. 5s. 10d. *per annum.*

Muster master general 11s. 6d. *per diem;* 209l. 17s. 6d. *per annum.*

Comptrollor of the victuals 10s. *per diem;* 182l. 10s. *per annum.*

Five commissaries of victuals, one at 8s. and four each at 6s. *per diem;* 1l. 12s. *per diem;* 584l. *per annum.*

Fourteen colonels each at 10s. *per diem;* 7l. *per diem;* 2555l. *per annum.*

Scout master, besides six horse each, at 1s. *per diem;* part of the army 6s. 8d. *per diem,* 121l. 13s. 4d. *per annum.*

Provost-marshal of the army for himself and four horsemen 4s. 3d. *per diem,* 77l. 11s. 3d. *per annum.*

Officers Provincial.

President of Munster at 133l. 6s. 8d. *per annum.* His diet and the councils at 10l. the week. His retinue of thirty horse and twenty foot at 1l. 10s. 7½d. *per diem;* 3l. 6s. 6d. *per diem;* 1213l. 13s. 4d. *per annum.*

Provost-marshal of Munster 14s. *per diem,* 255l. 10s. *per annum.*

The commander of the forces in Connaught at 10s. *per diem,* with an increase of 100l. *per annum;* 15s. 5¾d. *per diem,* 282l. 10s. *per annum.*

Provost-marshal of Connaught, besides twelve horsemen of the army, 5s. 7½d. *per diem,* 102l. 14s. 1½d. *per annum.*

Commander of the forces at Loughfoyle, besides his pay of 10s. *per diem,* as colonel, hath 3s. 4d. *per diem,* 60l. 16s. 8d. *per annum.*

Provost-marshal there 4s. *per diem,* 73l. *per annum.*

Provost-marshal of Ballistrannon 4s. *per diem,* 73l. *per annum.*

Lieutenant of the Queen's-county 6s. 8d. *per diem,* 121l. 13s. 4d. *per annum.*

Provost-marshal in Leimster for himself and six horsemen 5s. 7½d. *per diem,* 102l. 14s. 1½d. *per annum.*

Warders in Leimster, *per annum*, 1310l. 19s. 2d.
Warders in Ulster, *per annum*, 821l. 5s.
Warders in Munster, *per annum*, 542l. 13s. 9d.
Warders in Connaught, *per annum*, 200l.

Twelve hundred horsemen distributed into twenty-four bands; the captain 4s., the lieutenant 2s. 6d. the cornet 2s., *per diem*, and three hundred horsemen each at 1s. 6d. *per diem*, on condition they be English both horse and men, or else to have but 1s. *per diem*, and two hundred horsemen at 1s. 3d. *per diem*, and seven hundred horsemen at 1s. *per diem, per annum* 29273l.

Fourteen thousand footmen distributed into a hundred and forty bands; the captain 4s., lieutenant 2s., ensign 1s. 6d. *per diem*; two serjeants, one drum, and one surgeon each 1s. a-piece *per diem*, and each soldier at 8d. *per diem, per ann.* 199715l. 16s.

Pensioners on the muster book, *per annum*, 1809l. 15s. 10d.
Pensioners by letters patent, *per annum*, 874l. 5s. 9d½.
Thirteen Almsmen, *per annum*, 88l. 19s. 4½d.

Officers of the musters which are payable out of the checks, namely, one muster master at 6s. 8d. one comptroller at 10s. and twenty commissaries, each at 3s. 4d. *per diem, per annum*, 1520l. 16s. 8d.

Extraordinary allowance for messengers, espials, post-barks, rewards of services, &c. *per annum* 6000l.

Total of this establishment, *per annum* 255,773l. 1s. 2d¼.

N. B. What the establishment was in the time of K. Charles I. being inserted in Rushworth, which is in most libraries, we therefore omit here.

The Irish Establishment, beginning from Michaelmas, 1669.

Courts of Exchequer.

	L.	s.	d.
Vice treasurer	50	0	0
Chancellor	100	0	0
Chief baron	400	0	0
Second baron	300	0	0
Third baron	200	0	0
Prime serjeant	20	10	0
Attorney general	75	0	0
Solicitor general	75	0	0
Chief remembrancer	30	0	0
Auditor general	234	6	3
Surveyor general	60	0	0
Escheater of Leimster	6	12	4
——— of Munster	1	5	0
——— of Connaught	1	5	0
——— of Ulster	1	5	0
Second remembrancer	7	15	6
Clerk of the pipe	15	0	0
Chief chamberlayne	5	0	0

	L.	s.	d.
Comptroller of the pipe	7	0	0
Usher of the Exchequer	12	10	0
Transcriptor and foreign appost	15	0	0
Summonister	7	10	0
Marshall of the lower courts	4	0	0
Clerk of the pells	30	0	0
Clerk of the first fruits	27	10	0
Cryer of the exchequer	1	13	0
Total	1687	12	1

Court of King's Bench.

Chief justice	500	0	0
Second justice	300	0	0
Third justice	300	0	0
Clerke of the crowns	7	10	0
Total	1107	10	0

Chancery.

Chancellor of Ireland	500	0	0
Master of the rolls	144	3	3
Two masters of chancery	40	0	0
Clerk of the crown	25	0	0
Clerk of the hannaper	35	10	0
Total	744	13	3

Common Pleas.

Chief justice	400	0	0
Second justice	300	0	0
Third justice	300	0	0
Prothonotary	907	10	0
Total	1907	10	0

Star Chamber.

Clerk of the star chamber	10	0	0
Marshal of the same	10	0	0
Total	20	0	0

Officers attending the State.

Secretary of state	200	0	0
For his intelligence	100	0	0
Clerk of the council	47	10	0

	L.	s.	d.
Ulster king at arms	26	13	4
Athlone pursuivant	13	13	9
Serjeant at arms	25	0	0
Wakefield pursuivant	13	13	0
Roe pursuivant	10	0	0
Keeper of the council chamber	18	5	0
Total	454	15	1

Circuits.

Judges of the circuits	1000	0	0

A share to be paid only to those that goe, the rest saved to the king.

Incidents.

Judges, master of the rolls, and the king's counsellors robes	173	6	8
Liberals of the officers of the exchequer	82	1	8
For the ———— house	25	0	0
Keepers of the same	5	0	0
Singers of Christ church	2	0	0
Pursuivant of the exchequer	150	0	0
Total	437	8	4

Provincial Officers of Munster.

Chief justice of Munster	100	0	0
Second justice	66	13	4
Attorney	13	6	8
Clerk of the council	7	10	0
Serjeant at arms	20	0	0
Total	207	10	0

Provincial Officers of Connaught.

Chief justice	100	0	0
Second justice	66	13	4
Attorney	20	0	0
Clerk of the council	7	10	0
Serjeant at arms	20	0	0
Total	214	3	4

Officers of the Customs.

Customer of Dublin	7	10	0
Comptroller	7	10	0
Searcher	5	0	0

	L.	s.	d.
Officers of all other parts	205	16	8
Lower commissioners of appeals	400	0	0
Accomptant general of the customs and excise	200	0	0
Total	825	16	8

Creation Money.

Duke of Ormonde	40	0	0
Marquiss of Antrim	40	0	0
Earl of Castlehaven	20	0	0
—— of Desmond	15	0	0
—— of Westmeath	15	0	0
—— of Arglass	15	0	0
—— of Carbury	15	0	0
—— of Caven	15	0	0
—— of Dunagall	15	0	0
—— of Glangrazill	20	0	0
—— of Inchequin	20	0	0
—— of Orrery	20	0	0
—— of Morntrath	20	0	0
—— of Tyrconnell	20	0	0
—— of Mount Alexander	20	0	0
—— of Corlingford	20	0	0
Lord Viscount Graidison	10	0	0
———— Willmot	10	0	0
———— Vallintin	10	0	0
———— Dillon	10	0	0
———— Nettervill	10	0	0
———— Killultagh	10	0	0
———— Maguennis	10	0	0
———— Sarsfield	10	0	0
———— Rawliegh	10	0	0
———— Wenman	10	0	0
———— Shannon	13	6	8
———— Clare	10	0	0
Lord Baron of Casher	11	5	0
Total	464	11	8

Perpetuities.

Colledge of Dublin	183	15	0
Archbishop of Dublin	18	5	6
Dean of Christ church, Dublin	45	6	8
Bishop of Meath, out of the manor of Trim	1	15	0
Citizens of Dublin	500	0	0
Chanter of Christ church for the rent of a plot of ground	27	0	0
Total	981	2	2

Temporary Payments.

	L.	s.	d.
Lord Treasurer	30	0	0
Keepers of the castle room	19	5	0
——— of the records in Birmungam	10	0	0
Total	59	5	0

Pensions and Annuities.

Countess of Tyrconnell	300	0	0
Patrick Archer	205	0	0
Lord Courey of Cork	300	0	0
Sarah King, widow	40	0	0
Mary Warren	40	0	0
Sir Isaac Dillon	500	0	0
Luke Gernon	100	0	0
John Doherty	27	7	7
Joseph Magvire	40	0	0
Anne Connock	50	0	0
William Aubrey	52	0	0
Total	1650	7	7
True commissary of accounts and their clerks allowance	150	0	0
Payments for extraordinary Bylone cortatums	4000	0	0
Total	4150	0	0
The total sum of all payments aforesaid mounts unto	14397	17	8

Military Payments.

The Lord Lieutenant, for all his entertainments in time of peace	6591	16	8
In case of war, as general	3192	4	2
Lieutenant-general of the army	365	0	0
Major-general	365	0	0
Commissary-general	365	0	0
Total	4287	4	2

The four last abovementioned are only to be pay'd in War, and the Grants doe cease with the present Possession.

The knight marshall of Ireland	489	6	7
Muster master	365	0	0
Comptroller of the cheques	165	0	0
Four commissaries	400	0	0
A corporal of the field, at 5s. *per diem*	91	5	0
Advocate-general, at 6s. 8d. *per diem*	121	13	0
Physician-general, at 10s. *per diem*	182	10	0
Surgeon to the army	121	13	4
Total, with the lord lieutenant's entertainment	8528	4	7

Officers Provincial.

	L.	s.	d.
President of Munster	908	19	9½
President of Connaught	908	19	9½
The provost-marshal of 4 provinces, at 77l. 3s. 7½d. each, to cease with the present possessors	308	14	2
Total	2126	13	9

Constables.

The constable of Dublin Castle	20	0	0
Porter	13	3	9
Constable and porter of Limerick	20	5	3
Constable and porter of Athlone	18	7	9
Constable of Carrickfergus	45	12	0
Total	117	8	9

Officers of the Ordnance and Artillery.

Master of the ordnance	491	4	7
Lieutenant of the ordnance, at 7s. *per diem*	127	15	0
Comptroller of ordnance	109	10	0
Engenier and overseer of the fortification, at 5s. *per diem*	91	5	0
Several other officers of the ordnance in Leimster	170	14	0
Officers of the ordnance in Munster	176	8	4
Officers of the ordnance in Connought	176	8	4
Officers of the ordnance in Ulster	136	7	6
Total	1470	12	9

Temporary Payments.

Knight marshal of Ireland	198	1	9
Scout master-general of Ireland	221	13	4
Lord Lanesborough —— of war	456	5	0
Earl of Donagall, governor of Carrickfergus	199	14	9
Major of the city of Dublin	146	0	0
Governor of the city of Clare	186	0	0
Constable of Hillsborough	60	16	8
Total	1468	11	6

The Horse.

These are troops of horse, besides the life guard, six of which belong to the lieutenant; 5 general officers have 50 troops, the other 23 have but 45; and the lord lieutenant hath 9s. *per diem* allowed him for two trumpets extraordinary.

So these belong to the Horse.

	These Numbers.	*Their Pay.* L.	s.	d.
Captains	29	6820	16	0
Lieutenants	29	4383	16	1
Cornets,	29	3410	8	0
Quarter-masters	29	2436	0	0
Corporals	87	3654	0	0
Trumpets	60	2587	4	0
Troops	1335	33642	0	0
Total		56934	4	1

The Foot.

These are 61 companies of foot: a share of the lord lieutenant hath 100 private soldiers and 2 drums, and all the rest have but 1 drum and 60 private soldiers.

These belong to the Foot.

	Their Numbers.	*Their Pay.*		
Captains	61	8189	8	0
Lieutenants	61	4099	4	0
Ensigns	61	3074	8	0
Serjeants	122	3074	8	0
Corporals	182	3074	8	0
Drummers	62	1041	12	0
Soldiers	3700	31080	0	0
Total		53633	8	0

The Pay of an ordinary Troop.

Names.	*per Diem.* L.	s.	d.	*per Mensem.* L.	s.	d.	*per sex Menses.* L.	s.	d.	*per Annum.* L.	s.	d.
Captain	0	14	0	19	12	0	177	12	0	235	4	0
Lieutenant	0	9	0	12	12	0	75	12	0	151	4	0
Cornet	0	7	0	9	16	0	58	16	0	117	12	0
Quarter-master	0	5	0	1	0	0	42	0	0	84	0	0
3 Corporals, each 2s. 6d.	0	7	6	10	10	0	63	0	0	126	0	0
2 Trumpeters, 2s. 6d.	0	5	0	7	0	0	42	0	0	84	0	0
45 Troopers, each 1s. 6d.	3	7	6	193	10	0	567	0	0	1134	0	0
Total	5	15	0	254	0	0	1026	0	0	1932	0	0
Lord lieutenant's troop	6	11	6	184	2	0	1104	12	0	2209	4	0
Gen. officers troop	6	2	6	171	10	0	1029	0	0	2058	4	0
Total of 23 troops	132	5	0	1703	0	0	22218	0	0	44436	0	0
Total of 60 troops	737	4	0	1041	12	0	6249	12	0	12499	4	0
Total of the horse	169	9	1	4744	12	0	28467	12	0	56935	4	0

The Life-guard consists of a captain, at 9l. 12s. *per mensem.* A lieutenant and cornet at 12l. 12s. each. A quarter-master, at 9l. 16s. Six corporals, at 6l. 6s. each. Six trumpeters, whereof two at 6l. 6s., and the other four and a kettle drum, at 3l. 10s. each. A farrier, sadler, armourer, at 4l. 18s. each, and 100 horsemen at 3s. 6d. *per diem*, 4l. 18s. *per mensem.*

Amounting to . . .	22	8	0	627	4	0	3763	4	0	7526	8	0

The Pay of a Foot Company.

Names.	*per Diem.*			*per Mensem.*			*per sex Menses.*			*per Annum.*		
	L.	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
Captain	0	8	0	11	4	0	67	4	0	134	8	0
Lieutenant	0	4	0	5	12	0	33	12	0	67	4	0
Ensign	0	3	0	4	4	0	25	4	0	50	8	0
Serjeants, each 18d. . . .	0	3	0	4	4	0	25	4	0	50	8	0
Corporals, each 12d. . . .	0	3	0	4	4	0	25	4	0	50	8	0
Drummer	0	1	0	1	8	0	8	8	0	16	16	0
Soldiers, each 6d.	10	10	0	42	0	0	252	0	0	504	0	0
Total . .	11	12	0	72	16	0	436	16	0	873	12	0
Lieutenant's company . .	3	3	0	102	4	0	613	4	0	1226	8	0
Pay of the 6 companies .	159	13	0	4407	4	0	26821	4	0	53642	8	0
Pay of all the army . .	329	2	0	9214	16	0	55288	16	0	110577	12	0

The Royal Regiment,

Consists of a colonel, at 28l. *per mensem.* A lieutenant-colonel, at 12l. *per mensem.* A Major, at 16l. 16s. Nine captains, at 11l. 4s. Twelve lieutenants, at 5l. 2s. each. Forty serjeants, at 2l. 2s. each. Thirty-six corporals, at 1l. 8s. each. A drum-major, at 2l. 16s. Twenty-four drummers, and a piper to the king's company, at 1l. 8s. each. One thousand two hundred, at 1l. 1s. 4d. each. A chaplain, at 9l. 16s. An adjutant, quarter-master, and surgeon, at 5l. 2s. each. A surgeon's mate, at 3l. 12s. Twelve, at 4l. 4s. each.

	per Diem.			*per Mensem.*			*per sex Menses.*			*per Annum.*		
	L.	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
Amounting to	67	2	10	1880	0	0	11280	4	0	22560	8	0
Pay of the horse and foot guards	89	10	10	2507	4	8	15043	8	8	30086	16	0

Signed George R.

An Establishment, or List, containing all Payments to be made for Civil Affairs for Our Kingdom of Ireland, commencing the 25th Day of March 1715, in the First Year of Our Reign.

Court of Exchequer.

	L.	s.	d.
Lord Treasurer	365	0	0
Vice-treasurer, for his ancient fee	50	0	0
Chancellor of the exchequer	200	0	0
Lord Chief Baron, for his fee and robes	500	0	0
And for his augmentations	200	0	0
Second baron for his fee and robes	400	0	0
And for his augmentations	200	0	0
Third baron, for his fee and robes	400	0	0
And for his augmentations	200	0	0
Prime serjeant, for his fee and robes	100	0	0
Second serjeant	30	6	0
Attorney-general, for his fee and robes	88	6	8
Solicitor-general, for his fee and robes	88	6	8
Auditor-general, for ancient fee	184	0	0
And to him more, in full satisfaction of all fees due to him on passing sheriff's accompts	31	0	0
To him more, for transmitting yearly accounts into Great Britain	50	0	0
Surveyor-general	60	0	0
Escheator of the province of Leimster	6	13	4
——— of the province of Munster	1	5	0
——— of the province of Connaught	1	5	0
——— of the province of Ulster	1	5	0
Chief remembrancer	30	0	0
To him more, in full satisfaction of all fees due to him on passing sheriff's accompts	21	19	2
Second remembrancer	7	15	6
To him more, in full satisfaction of all fees due to him on passing sheriff's accompts	45	6	9
Clerk of the pipe	45	0	0
To him more, in full satisfaction of all fees due to him on passing sheriff's accompts	111	12	0
Chief chamberlain	52	3	4
Second chamberlain	52	3	4
Comptroller of the pipe	7	0	0
To him more, in full satisfaction of all fees due to him on passing sheriff's accompts	46	10	0

	L.	s.	d.
Usher of the exchequer, for his fee, at 50s. *per annum*, and for his allowance for ink for the exchequer, at 10l. *per annum*	12	10	0
To him more, on passing sheriff's accompts	11	12	6
Transcriptor and foreign opposer	15	0	0
To him more, on passing sheriff's accompts	38	15	0
Summonister and clerk of the estreats	7	10	0
To him more, on passing sheriff's accompts	36	8	6
Marshal of the four courts, over and above the lawful fees of his office, computed at 120l. *per annum*	280	0	0
Clerk of the pells	30	0	0
Clerk of the first fruits, and 20th parts	27	10	0
To him more, on passing sheriff's accompts	11	4	9
Cryer of the exchequer	1	13	4
To him more, on passing sheriff's accompts	7	15	0
Pursuivant of the exchequer	71	5	0
To him more, on passing sheriff's accompts	7	15	0
Auditor of the foreign accounts, and imprest	121	13	4
Total	4257	10	2

Court of King's Bench.

Lord Chief Justice, for his fee and robes	600	0	0
And for his augmentations	200	0	0
Second justice, for his fee and robes	400	0	0
And for his augmentations	200	0	0
Third justice, for his fee and robes	400	0	0
And for his augmentations	200	0	0
Clerk of the crown	7	10	0
Total	2007	10	0

Court of Chancery.

Lord Chancellor of Ireland	2000	0	0
Master of the rolls	157	19	11
Four masters in chancery, at 60l. *per annum* each	240	0	0
Clerk of the crown in Chancery	25	0	0
Clerk of the Hannaper, at 10l. 10s. *per annum*, and for paper and parchment for the Chancery, at 25l. *per annum*	35	10	0
Total	2458	9	11

Court of Common Pleas.

Lord Chief Justice, for his fee and robes	500	0	0
And for his augmentation	200	0	0
Second justice, for his fee and robes	400	0	0
And for his augmentation	200	0	0

	L.	s.	d.
Third justice, for his fee and robes	400	0	0
And for his augmentation	200	0	0
Prothonotary	7	10	0
Total	1907	10	0

Officers and Ministers attending the State.

Principal secretary of state	300	0	0
Clerk of the council, for his constant fee	400	0	0
To him more, for paper and parchment	40	0	0
Physician to the state	66	13	4
Ulster, king at arms	26	13	4
Athlone, pursuivant	13	13	9
Chief serjeant at arms	100	0	0
Second serjeant at arms	100	0	0
Three pursuivants, at 30l. *per annum* each	90	0	0
Keeper of the council chamber	18	5	0
——— of the rooms in Dublin castle	16	16	0
——— of the records in Birmingham's tower	400	0	0
Clerk of the paper office	200	0	0
Constable of the castle of Dublin	20	0	0
A kettle drummer and six trumpeters, at 7l. *per annum*	490	0	0
Lord mayor and citizens of Dublin	500	0	0
Ranger of the Phœnix Park, and master of the game	50	0	0
Porter of the castle of Dublin	13	13	9
Total	2845	15	2

Incidents.

Charge of the circuits, to every justice of assize who goes, at 100l., which, for 5 circuits twice a-year, come to the sum of	2000	0	0
The allowance of such as do not go, to be saved to the king.			
To the dean of Christ Church, Dublin, for the rent of the exchequer chamber, and other rooms within the four courts	15	10	0
Rent of Shiddy's castle, the store-house at Cork	7	10	0
To the receiver-general, for paper and parchments	25	0	0
Keeper of the house, for receipt	5	0	0
Singers of Christ Church, Dublin, for praying for his majesty, at 10s. every term	2	0	0
For prosecution of criminals	100	0	0
Rent of the Parliament-house	186	0	0
To a French minister of Cortholough	30	0	0
To the prebend of St Andrews, for visiting the sick in the several prisons in Dublin	20	0	0
King at arms, for his attendance on state days	12	0	0
For pumping water for the use of Dublin castle	11	13	10
To the bayliffe of the Phœnix Park	9	0	0
Ranger of the Curragh of Kildare	20	0	0

	L.	s.	d.
Gate keepers of the Phœnix Park	17	18	0
Vicar of Castle-Knock, in lieu of his glebe and tythes of land in the Phœnix Park	18	0	0
State musicians	370	0	0
Master of the riding-house	100	0	0
Under keeper of the Phœnix Park, for winter firing	13	14	6
Rent of a plot of ground adjoining to Carrickfergus castle	16	3	6
Wardrobe keeper for Cassels	4	0	0
Patrick's and St Mary's Dublin	60	0	0
Total	3043	9	10

Officers of the Customs.

Dublin	Customer	7	10	0		
	Comptroller	7	10	0		
	Searcher	5	0	0		
					20	0	0
Wexford	Customer	10	0	0		
	Comptroller	5	0	0		
					15	0	0
Waterford and Ross	Customer	15	0	0		
	Comptroller	15	0	0		
	Searcher	6	13	4		
					36	13	4
Youghal and Dungaran	Customer	13	6	8		
	Comptroller	6	13	4		
	Searcher	5	0	0		
					25	0	0
Corke	Customer	13	6	8		
	Searcher	5	0	0		
					18	6	8
Kingsale	Customer	13	6	8		
	Searcher	6	13	4		
					20	0	0
Limerick	Customer	13	6	8		
	Comptroller	13	6	8		
	Searcher	5	0	0		
					31	13	4
Galway	Customer	13	6	8		
	Searcher	5	0	0		
					18	6	8
Drogheda, Dundalk, and Carlingford	Customer	7	10	0		
	Comptroller	7	10	0		
	Searcher	5	0	0		
					20	0	0
Carrickfergus	Customer	7	10	0		
	Searcher	6	13	4		
					14	3	4

		L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Strongford	Customer	7	10	0			
	Searcher	6	13	4			
					14	3	4
Dingle I Couch Customer					5	0	0
Accomptant-general, to be paid by debentur, quarterly, out of the exchequer, and not otherwise							
	Total				738	6	3

Perpetuities.

To the provost and fellow of Trinity College, Dublin	388	15	0
To the dean and chapter of Christ-church, Dublin	45	6	8
To the lord bishop of Meath, out of the manor of Trim	3	15	0
To the lord archbishop of Dublin, for profit due to him out of divers churches belonging to the late monasteries of St Thomas Court, St Mary Abby, and St John's of Jerusalem	18	5	6
To the chanter of Christ-church, for the rent of a plot of ground near our castle of Dublin	27	0	0
To the rent of Castleney-Park, whereon the fort of Kingsale stands	6	13	4
To the minister of the French church, Dublin	50	0	0
Second minister of the French church, Dublin	50	0	0
For printing the bills of mortality	12	0	0
For the rent of the auditor-general office	26	0	0
For tythes of land in the Phœnix Park	12	0	0
Total	639	15	6

Commissioners of Appeals.

Three commissioners, at 100l. *per annum* each	300	00	

Non-Conforming Ministers.

To be distributed among such non-conforming ministers, by a warrant from the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors for the time being, in such manner as he or they shall find necessary for our service, and the good of the kingdom, not exceeding the sum of	1200	0	0

Prizage.

The Duke of Ormonde, for prizage	3500	0	0
Payments for extraordinaries, by concordatures for freight, transportations, carrying of letters, and other expences, and rewards for sea service; repairing and upholding sufficiently our houses, maintaining our forts, finishing needful undertakings of that kind begun in apt places but not finished; erecting of more strength of the like nature in other fit and necessary places; diet and charge of keeping poor prisoners, and sick and maimed soldiers in hospitals; printing, riding, and travelling charges; prest upon account, and all other payments, amongst which			

	L.	s.	d.
the repairs of fortifications, and provision of hospitals, are chiefly to be taken care of by concordatures of the lord lieutenant, lord deputy, lord justice, or other chief governor or governors and council, and the concordatures to be every three months certified over to our privy council here	5000	0	0

And our pleasure is, that no payment or allowance be made by concordature, but by a warrant drawn by the clerk of the council in Ireland, passed openly at our council board there, and signed by our lieutenant deputy, or other chief governor or governors, and by any three or more of the officers following, viz. our treasurer, chancellor, vice-chancellor, vice-treasurer, chancellor of our exchequer, chief justice of our court of King's Bench, chief justice of our court of Common Pleas, chief baron, master of the rolls, and secretary of state; and for default, either by exceeding the sums limited, by anticipation or otherwise, or by not observing this our direction in every point, our will and pleasure is, that all the sums that shall be otherwise allowed and paid, there shall be sets *insuper*, as debts upon our lieutenant, or any other chief governor or governors, our under treasurer, and all others that shall sign the same, to be defaulked to our use upon their several entertainments.

Pensions.

	L.	s.	d.
Thomas Hughes, a blind man	25	0	0
Duke of St Albans	800	0	0
Baron De Virazel	100	0	0
David Jervis and his wife	50	0	0
Katherine Wynn	100	0	0
Earl of Ranelagh's heirs and executors	300	0	0
Marquis de Montandre	200	0	0
Brig. Belcastle's heirs and executors	500	0	0
Ulick, Lord Roch	100	0	0
Ellin Roch	50	0	0
Daniel Dering, Esq.	100	0	0
Sir George Barnwell	100	0	0
Dame Sarah Davie	50	0	0
Elizabeth Ronsell	50	0	0
Elizabeth Countess of Thanet	300	0	0
Katherine Talbot	50	0	0
Mary Murray	91	5	0
John Outing, Esq.	200	0	0
Barbara Chantrel	100	0	0
Dame Antonata Mowat	100	0	0
Lord Athenree	200	0	0
Countess of Caven	100	0	0
Harry Power, Esq.	250	0	0
Deborah Rollston	20	0	0
Faith Steel	10	0	0
John Whittle, clerk	16	0	0
Jane Campsey	20	0	0
Francis Tippin	10	0	0
Robert Fanning	10	0	0

	L.	s.	d.
Daniel M'Gwyre	10	0	0
Elizabeth Shallcross	12	0	0
James Roch, Esq.	300	0	0
Earl of Roscommon	300	0	0
Sir William Russell and his brother	200	0	0
John Walker, Esq.	200	0	0
Benjamin Parry, Esq. publick register	500	0	0
Elizabeth Caldwell	100	0	0
Earl of Caven	200	0	0
John Pratt, Esq. and John Bayley, Gent.	300	0	0
Joanna Cutts	100	0	0
Earl of Grantham	1500	0	0
Duke of Ormonde, in lieu of treasurer, deduction out of the prizage	108	4	11¼
Lawrence Stanyan, Esq.	100	0	0
Katherine Cadroy	54	15	0
Jane Cathcart	54	15	0
Ignatius Nugent, Esq.	146	0	0
William Phillips, Esq.	200	0	0
Duke of Ormonde	5000	0	0
Thomas Keightley, Esq.	1000	0	0
Samuel Hinton, Esq.	300	0	0
Lord Bellew, and his sister	300	0	0
Earl of Clarendon	2000	0	0
Mary Hide	20	0	0
Dame Jane Douglass	60	0	0
Abraham Jacobs	20	0	0
Alicia Reader	40	0	0
Isabella Berkley	30	0	0
Mary Hartlib	20	0	0
James Shaw, clerk	40	0	0
Ellinor South	300	0	0
Alice Collins	60	0	0
—— Bouhereau, under keeper of the public library at Dublin	30	0	0
Captain Ferdinando Callaghan	80	0	0
Renatus de Saurieres L'Hermitage	500	0	0
John Hansard, Esq.	100	0	0
Richard Leving, Esq.	300	0	0
——— Le Estanquet, widow	50	0	0
Mary Barry	50	0	0
Manon Senry De'Olivier	60	0	0
Total.	18847	19	11¼

French Pensioners.

	L.	s.	d.		L.	s.	d.
One at 15s. *per diem*	0	15	0	Two at 10s. *per diem*	1	0	0
Three at 8s.	1	4	0	Two at 7s.	0	14	0
Nine at 6s.	2	14	0	Thirteen at 5s.	3	3	0
Twenty-four at 4s.	4	16	0	Two at 3s. 6d.	0	7	0
Forty-nine at 3s.	7	7	0	Seventy-seven at 2s. 6d. . . .	9	2	6
Seventy-six at 2s.	7	12	0	Eighty at 1s. 6d.	6	0	0
Fifty at 1s.	2	10	0	Three at 8d.	0	2	0
One at 1s. 1d. 151	0	1	1	Nine at 6d., and one at 1s. . .	0	5	6
				Total *per diem*	47	13	1

Civil List.

Exchequer	4257	10	2
King's Bench	2007	10	0
Chancery	2457	19	11
Common Pleas	1907	10	0
State officers	2845	15	2
Incidents	3642	17	10
Custom officers	638	6	8
Perpetuities	639	15	6
Appeals	300	0	0
Non-conforming ministers	1200	0	0
Prizage	3500	0	0
Concordatums	5000	0	0
Pensions	18547	9	$11\frac{1}{4}$
French pensions	17605	7	11
Total . .	64950	3	$1\frac{1}{4}$

Signed George R.

An Establishment, or List, containing all Payments to be made to Our Army, Ordnance, and other Officers therein mentioned, for Military Affairs, for Our Kingdom of Ireland, to commence from the 25th Day of March 1715, *in the First Year of Our Reign.*

General Officers.

	Per Diem. L.	s.	d.	*Per Annum.* L.	s.	d.
Lord Lieutenant, deputy, justices, or other chief governor or governors-general of Ireland, for their allowances and entertainments	18	1	$3\frac{1}{8}$	6493	6	8

	Per Diem. L.	s.	d.	*Per Annum.* L.	s.	d.
Two aid-de-camps, at 10s. each	1	0	0	365	0	0
One lieutenant-general	4	0	0	1460	0	0
One aid-de-camp	0	10	0	182	10	0
Three major-generals, at 2l. each	6	0	0	2190	0	0
Six brigadier-generals, at 30s. each	9	0	0	3285	0	0
Muster-master-general, clerk of the cheques, in full of all allowances, and not to receive the day's pay	1	7	$4\frac{3}{4}$	500	0	0
Six deputy's commissionaries, at 8d. each	2	8	0	876	0	0
Quarter-master-general	1	0	0	365	0	0
Adjutant-general	1	0	0	365	0	0
Judge-advocate-general	0	6	8	121	13	4
Surgeon-general	0	6	8	121	13	4
Provost-marshal-general	0	4	0	73	0	0
Physician-general	0	10	0	182	10	0
Total	45	14	$0\frac{1}{2}$	16580	17	4
Military Contingencies.						
To be issued by warrants from our chief governor for the time being	8	4	$4\frac{1}{2}$	3000	0	0
Military Incidents.						
Rent of the horse guard stables	0	6	$0\frac{1}{4}$	110	0	0
Allowance for fire and candle to the guards in Dublin, if not otherwise provided for	0	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$	60	0	0
Total	0	9	$3\frac{1}{2}$	170	0	0
One Regiment of Foot, Field and Staff Officers.						
Colonel, as colonel	0	12	0	219	0	0
Lieutenant-Colonel, as lieutenant-colonel	0	8	0	146	0	0
Major as major	0	5	6	100	7	6
Chaplain	0	6	8	121	13	4
Surgeon	0	4	0	73	0	0
Kettle drummer	0	2	6	45	12	6
Total	1	18	8	705	13	4
One Troop.						
Captain 10s., and 2 horses, at 2s. each	0	14	0	255	10	0
Lieutenant 5s., and 2 horses, 2s. each	0	9	0	164	5	0
Cornet, 3s., and 2 horses, 2s. each	0	7	0	127	15	0
Quarter-master, for himself and horse	0	5	0	91	5	0
2 Corporals, each 2s. 6d.	0	5	0	91	5	0

	Per Diem. L. s. d.	*Per Annum.* L. s. d.
1 Trumpeter	0 2 6	45 12 6
36 Private soldiers, at 18d. each	2 14 0	985 11 0
Total	4 16 6	1761 3 6
The pay of five troops more, of the like number, and at the same rate	24 2 6	8805 12 6
Total for this regiment	30 17 8	11272 3 4
The pay of four regiments more of horse, of the like numbers, and at the same rate	123 10 8	45189 13 4
Total of the horse	154 8 4	56362 1 8

One Regiment of Dragoons, Field and Staff Officers.

Colonel, as colonel	0 12 0	219 0 0
Lieutenant-colonel, as such	0 7 0	127 15 0
Major, as major	0 5 0	91 5 0
Chaplain	0 6 8	121 13 4
Surgeon	0 4 0	75 0 0
Total	1 14 8	932 13 0

One Troop.

Captain	0 10 0	182 10 0
Lieutenant	0 5 0	91 5 0
Cornet	0 4 0	73 0 0
Quarter-master	0 3 0	54 15 0
1 Serjeant	0 2 6	45 12 6
2 Corporals, 1s. 6d. each	0 3 0	54 15 0
1 Drummer	0 1 6	27 7 6
1 Hautboy	0 1 6	27 7 6
36 Dragoons, at 1s. 2d. each	2 2 0	766 10 0
Total	3 12 6	1323 2 6
The pay of five troops more, of the like number, and the same rates	18 2 6	6615 12 6
Total of the regiment	25 9 8	8571 8 4

Another Regiment of Dragoons, Field and Staff Officers.

Colonel, as colonel	0 12 0	219 0 0
Lieutenant-colonel, as such	0 7 0	127 15 0
Major, as major	0 5 0	91 5 0
Chaplain	0 6 8	121 13 4
Surgeon	0 4 0	73 0 0
Total	1 14 8	632 13 4

One Troop.

	Per Diem. L.	s.	d.	*Per Annum.* L.	s.	d.
Captain	0	10	0	182	10	0
Lieutenant	0	5	0	91	5	0
Cornet	0	4	0	73	0	0
Quarter-master	0	3	0	54	15	0
1 Serjeant	0	2	6	45	12	6
2 Corporals at 1s. 6d. each	0	3	0	54	15	0
1 Drummer	0	1	6	27	7	6
1 Hautboy	0	1	6	27	7	6
31 Dragoons at 1s. 2d. each	1	16	2	660	0	10
Total	3	6	8	1216	13	4
Eight troops more of the same number	26	13	4	9733	6	4
Total of the regiment	31	14	8	11582	13	4
Total of the dragoons	55	4	4	20154	1	8

The Royal Regiment of Foot, Field and Staff Officers.

Colonel as colonel	0	12	0	219	0	0
2 Lieutenant-colonels as such, each 7s.	0	14	0	255	10	0
Major as major	0	4	0	73	0	0
Second major as such	0	4	0	73	0	0
Chaplain	0	6	8	121	13	4
2 Adjutants and quarter-masters, 4s.	0	8	0	146	0	0
Surgeon, 4s. 2d., mates, 2s. 6d. each	0	9	0	164	0	0
Drum-major	0	2	0	36	10	0
Piper to the colonel's company	0	1	0	18	5	0
Total	3	0	8	1106	18	4

One Company.

Captain	0	8	0	146	0	0
Lieutenant	0	4	0	73	0	0
Ensign	0	3	0	54	15	0
2 Serjeants at 1s. 6d. each	0	3	0	54	15	0
2 Corporals at 12d. each	0	2	0	36	10	0
1 Drummer	0	1	0	18	5	0
36 Private soldiers	0	18	0	328	10	0
Total	1	19	0	711	15	0
The pay of 17 companies more, of the like numbers, and the same rates	33	3	0	12099	15	0

One Company of Grenadiers.

	Per Diem. L. s. d.	*Per Annum.* L. s. d.
Captain	0 8 0	146 0 0
2 Lieutenants, each 4s.	0 8 0	146 0 0
2 Serjeants at 1s. 6d.	0 3 0	54 15 0
2 Corporals at 1s.	0 2 0	36 10 0
1 Drummer	0 1 0	18 5 0
36 Private soldiers at 6d. each	0 18 0	328 10 0
Total	2 0 0	730 0 0
One other company of grenadiers, of the same number and rates, to compleat this regiment	2 0 0	730 0 0
Total of this regiment	42 2 8	15378 13 4

One Regiment of Foot, Field and Staff Officers.

Colonel as colonel	0 12 0	219 0 0
Lieutenant colonel as such	0 7 0	127 15 0
Major as major	0 4 0	73 0 0
Chaplain	0 6 8	121 13 4
Surgeon	0 6 6	118 12 6
Adjutant and quarter-master	0 4 0	73 0 0
Total	2 0 2	733 0 10

One Company.

Captain	0 8 0	146 0 0
Lieutenant	0 4 0	73 0 0
Ensign	0 3 0	54 15 0
2 Serjeants, at 1s. 6d. each,	0 3 0	54 15 0
2 Corporals, at 1s.	0 2 0	36 10 0
1 Drummer	0 1 0	18 5 0
36 Private men, at 6d. each	0 18 0	328 10 0
Total	1 19 0	711 15 0
The pay of eight companies more of the like numbers, and same rates	15 12 0	5694 0 0
One company of grenadiers to compleat this regiment	2 0 0	730 0 0
Total of this regiment	21 11 2	7860 15 10
The pay of twenty regiments more of the like numbers, and the same rates	431 3 4	157375 16 8
Total	494 17 2	180623 5 10

Company of Foot Guards.

	Per Diem. L.	s.	d.	*Per Annum.* L.	s.	d.
A Captain, at 15l. each kalendar month	0	9	$10\frac{3}{8}$	180	0	0
2 Lieutenants, at 9l. each	0	18	10	216	0	0
2 Serjeants, at 2s. each *per diem*	0	4	0	73	0	0
50 Yeomen, at 10d. each	2	0	8	760	8	4
Total	3	13	$4\frac{3}{8}$	1229	8	4

Charge of the Ordnance, Superior Officers.

Master of the ordnance	1	7	$4\frac{3}{8}$	500	0	0
Lieutenant of the ordnance	0	16	$5\frac{1}{4}$	300	0	0
Major of the train of artillery	0	10	11	200	0	0
Surveyor and comptroller	0	10	$11\frac{1}{2}$	200	0	0
Clerk of the ordnance	0	5	$5\frac{3}{4}$	100	0	0
Engenier, overseer, and surveyor-general of the fortifications and buildings	0	16	$5\frac{1}{4}$	300	0	0
Second engenier	0	10	0	182	0	0
Third engenier to attend the train	0	8	0	146	0	0
Inferior officers in Dublin.—Two gentlemen of the ordnance	0	8	0	146	0	0
Store-keeper	0	5	$5\frac{3}{4}$	100	0	0
Two fire-masters, each 4s.	0	8	0	146	0	0
Two bombardiers, each 2s.	0	4	0	73	0	0
Armourer at Dublin	0	4	0	73	0	0
4 Assistant armourers, to move from store to store, as occasion requires, 2s. each	0	8	0	146	0	0
Wheel-wright	0	2	0	36	10	0
Waggon and carriage maker	0	2	0	36	10	0
Master gunner to attend the train	0	2	$8\frac{7}{8}$	50	0	0
Gunner's mate	0	1	$4\frac{3}{8}$	25	0	0
8 Gunners to attend the train, 1s. each	0	8	0	146	0	0
8 Matrosses to attend the train, 9d. each	0	6	0	109	10	0
Paymaster to the train	0	2	6	45	10	6
Clerk to the surveyor and comptroller of the ordnance	0	2	0	36	10	0
Londonderry — Storekeepers	0	2	$2\frac{1}{4}$	40	0	0
Londonderry — Two gunners	0	2	0	36	10	0
Londonderry — Two matrosses	0	1	6	27	17	6
Charlemont — One gunner	0	1	0	18	5	0
Charlemont — One matross	0	0	9	13	13	9
Limerick — Store-keeper	0	2	$2\frac{1}{4}$	40	0	0
Limerick — Four gunners	0	4	0	73	0	0
Limerick — Two matrosses	0	1	6	27	7	6
Kingsale — Master gunner	0	2	0	36	10	0
Kingsale — Eight gunners	0	2	$2\frac{1}{4}$	40	0	0
Kingsale — Store-keeper	0	8	0	146	0	0
Kingsale — Four matrosses	0	3	0	54	15	0

		Per Diem. L.	s.	d.	*Per Diem.* L.	s.	d.
Galway	Store-keeper	0	2	2¼	40	0	0
	Three gunners	0	3	0	54	15	0
	Two matrosses	0	1	6	27	7	6
Athlone	One gunner	0	1	0	18	5	0
	One matross	0	0	9	13	13	9
	Store-keeper	0	2	2¼	40	0	0
	Master gunner	0	2	0	36	10	0
Duncannon	Two gunners	0	2	0	36	10	0
	Two matrosses	0	1	6	27	7	6
Waterford	Store-keeper	0	2	2¼	40	0	0
Carrickfergus	One gunner	0	1	0	18	5	0
	One matross	0	0	9	13	13	9

Contingencies.

For firing, candles, postage of letters, and divers other necessaries for the office of ordnance, to be applied according to the particular warrants, or directions of our lieutenant-deputy or other chief governor, or governors of Ireland, for the time being, any sum not exceeding . . . 600 0 0

Whereas the safety of our kingdom of Ireland does much depend upon a useful and proper train of artillery, with able officers and artificers to attend the same: We do therefore think fit, and accordingly require the chief governor or governors of Ireland for the time being, to enquire into the ability and condition of the present superior and inferior officers of our ordnance and train, to the end that such as shall be found either unqualified for their respective employments, or do not constantly reside and execute the same, be removed from such employment, and others fitly qualifyed placed therein; and that in future no inferior officer or artificer belonging to the ordnance or train, shall be admitted to serve therein, before they shall be approved of by the said chief governors of that our kingdom. And for the farther improvement of the said office of ordnance, we do hereby impower the said chief governor or governors of that kingdom, to consider and adjust, with the master of our ordnance there, such rules and orders for the government and management of the said office and train, as shall be deemed most useful for our services: Which rules and orders shall be sufficient authority to our said master of the ordnance, and the officers under him, to act by.

Additional Pay to such Troops of Horse, and Regiments of Foot, as shall be commanded on Duty in Dublin.

The allowance of three troops of horse on duty in Dublin, being 105 private men and non-commissioned, at 3s. *per diem* each, (the widows men excluded), with a kettle-drummer, for six months in the year . . L. 1 8 7½ 522 8 1½

The allowance for 3 regiments of foot on duty in Dublin, according to the present numbers, consisting of private men and non-commissioned officers, four hundred in

	Per Diem. L. s. d.	Per Annum. L. s. d.
each regiment, (the widows men excluded), at 1d. *per diem* each	5 0 0	1825 0 0
Total . .	6 8 7½	2347 8 1½

Governors of Garrisons.

Londonderry and Culmore Fort	Governor 10s. a-day, whereof 40l. *per annum* is to be applied for fire and candles for the gunners and garrison	0 10 0	182 10 0
Cork governor		1 0 0	365 0 0
Limerick	Governor	1 0 0	365 0 0
	Town-major	0 4 0	73 0 0
Kingsale	Governor	1 0 0	365 0 0
	Lieutenant-governor	0 10 0	182 10 0
	Fort-major	0 4 0	73 0 0
Duncannon	Governor	1 0 0	365 0 0
	Fort-major	0 4 0	73 0 0
Ross Castle	Governor	0 10 0	182 10 0
Dublin	Town-major	0 5 0	91 5 0
Charlemont	Governor	1 0 0	365 0 0
	Total . .	7 7 0	2682 15 0

Fire and Candle for the Guards, &c.

Dublin, Town guards		48 0 0
Limerick		48 0 0
Galway		20 0 0
Charles Fort		40 0 0
Athlone		10 0 0
Total . .		166 0 0

Military Pensions.

Colonel Henry Lutterell	500 0 0
Earl of Galway	1500 0 0
—— of Mount Alexander	500 0 0
Major-general Gustavus Hamilton	182 10 0
Col William Culliford	250 0 0
Lord Viscount Longford	500 0 0
Lord Blancy	182 10 0
Captain Adam Blair	100 0 0
Captain James Peltior	91 5 0
Colonel Henry Hawley	182 10 0
Peter Poussin	27 7 6
Captain George Lindon	54 15 0

	Per Annum. L.	s.	d.
Captain John Augustus Clavarie	45	12	6
Captain Peter Dolom	63	17	6
Philip Janssen de Tendbeuf	91	5	0
Captain Richard Hill	91	5	0
Cornelius Kennedy, Esq.	200	0	0
Marquiss De Merimont	1000	0	0
Major Charles Lancaster	150	0	0
Colonel Richard Barry	200	0	0
Major-general Sherrington, in lieu of a troop in his regiment, till one become vacant	310	5	0
Margaret Fleming	30	0	0
Catharine Barton	80	0	0
Lord Frederick Howard, till otherwise provided for	200	0	0
Lieutenant William Napier	54	15	0
Frederick William, Earl of Lifford	500	0	0
Total	7078	17	6

Our will and pleasure is, that no payment be made upon the foregoing pensions we shall hereafter be pleased to grant payable out of our revenue of that our kingdom of Ireland, unless the person to whom the same be granted do actually reside in our said kingdom, or be absent by leave and licence of us or our lieutenant deputy, or other chief governor or governors of our said kingdom for the time being: And unless such pensioner, when each payment of his pension shall be made, do personally appear before our vice-treasurer of that our kingdom or his deputy, or that there be delivered unto him an authentick certificate of such pensioner's being alive at the time when the said payment became due to be filed in the office of our treasury there: And whereas it may happen that some of the persons inserted in the foregoing list of pensions are dead, by reason whereof their pensions ought to cease, notwithstanding their being inserted in this our establishment.

Half-pay.

	Per Diem.			*Per Annum.*		
Brig. Wolesley's regiment of horse	1	13	0	602	5	0
Echlin's dragoons	0	5	6	110	7	6
Cunningham's	0	2	6	45	12	6
Col. Michellurus foot	1	2	0	401	10	0
Col. St John's foot	1	1	0	383	5	0
—— Creighton's	0	7	0	127	15	0
—— Villiers	0	5	0	91	5	0
Brig. Tyffin's	0	5	0	91	5	0
Lord Mountjoy's	0	2	0	36	10	0
—— Charlemont's	0	4	0	73	0	0
Col. Seymour's	0	1	6	27	7	6
—— Frederick Hamilton	0	2	0	36	10	0
Earl of Wharton's dragoons	2	7	0	857	15	0
Brig. Creighton's foot	4	10	10	1657	14	2
Col. Lucas's	4	17	4	1776	6	8
Sir John Whittewrong's	4	4	4	1539	1	8
Col. Morris's dragoons	3	14	4	1356	11	8

	Per Diem. L.	s.	d.	*Per Annum.* L.	s.	d.
Major general Pearce's	3	12	4	1320	1	8
Earl De Lorrain's foot	4	12	10	1694	4	2
Marquiss De Montandre	4	14	4	1721	11	8
Earl of Hyndford's dragoons	3	14	4	1136	11	8
Brig. Bowles's foot	4	15	10	1748	19	2
Brig. Dormer's foot	4	15	10	1748	19	2
—— Grant's	5	0	4	1831	1	8
Colonel Harrison's	0	8	6	155	2	6
General Stuart's	0	10	0	182	10	0
Lord Windsor's horse	3	2	4	1265	6	0
Colonel Clayton's foot	0	13	0	237	5	0
Lieutenant general George's	0	13	0	237	5	0
Colonel Windress	0	13	0	237	5	0
Brig. Windsor's	0	10	0	182	10	0
Lord Ashburnham's horse	3	9	4	1265	6	8
Colonel Backwell's	0	2	0	36	10	0
Lord Harwich's	0	2	0	36	10	0
Major general Wade's foot	0	7	0	127	15	0
Colonel Chudley's	4	2	10	1511	14	2
Colonel Kerris's dragoons	3	11	10	1310	19	2
Major general Pepper's	4	16	4	1758	1	8
Colonel Churchil's foot	4	2	10	1511	14	2
Lord Mountjoy's	4	13	10	1712	9	2
Colonel Corbett's	4	2	10	1511	4	2
Additional officers	6	14	4	2451	11	8
Total	99	5	2	36229	5	10

Our will and pleasure is, that when-soever any of the before named officers shall die, be preferred, or refuse to serve where appointed, such their allowance shall cease, and determine from such time. And whereas it may happen that some persons inserted in the foregoing list of reformed officers may at this time be provided for, or dead, by reason whereof such half-pay ought to cease; our will and pleasure is, that the same do cease, notwithstanding its being inserted in this establishment. And, whereas, we have been informed, that great abuses have been committed by continuing upon the half-pay, persons who were provided for by commissions, employment, pensions, or half-pay in Great Britain, which they held at the same time, all and every our officers and ministers whom it may concern, more especially our muster-master general, and clerk of the chequer in that our kingdom of Ireland, are hereby strictly charged and required to inquire diligently from time to time, of the circumstances and qualification of the several persons receiving half-pay, who are, before they receive any payment, to return to our said muster-master general, who is to keep the same carefully, a voluntary oath by each of them, taken before any one or more of our judges, masters in chancery, justices of the peace, or other persons having legal authority to administer the same, that he is not otherwise provided for, by any commission, or employment, civil or military, on our services or other establishment of half-pay; and whosoever shall appear to have sworn falsly herein, whereby we might be defrauded, and these our regulations be evaded, shall not only forfeit such half-pay, but also be dismissed our service.

An Establishment of the Annual Charge for Maintaining and Upholding the Barracks built in the several Places hereafter mentioned, viz.

Leimster Province.

Arklow	0	2	Wicklow	0	3		
Athy	1	0	Dublin	3	3		
Bray	0	1	Duncannon	0	3		
Cullen	0	1	Drogheda	0	2		
Carrickneshune	1	0	Enniscorthy	0	2		
Carlow	1	0	Fina	0	1		
Carlingford	0	1	Kilkenny	1	4		
Mullingar	1	0	Longford-town	1	0		
Navan	1	0	Mary Burough	1	0		
Phillipstoun	0	1	Wexford.	0	2		
Ross.	1	0	Troops of horse	14	0		
Tullogh	1	0	Companies of foot	0	53		
Trim	1	0					

Munster Province.

Abbington	0	0½	Dingle	0	1		
Bantry	0	1	4 Mile Water	0	0		
Caperquin	1	0	Galbally	0	0		
Corke	0	9	Kilm. Thomas	0	0		
Charles Fort	0	10	Kingsale	0	10		
Coolecormack	0	0½	Kilmedy	0	0		
Charville	1	0	Negragh	1	2		
Killenaul	0	0½	9 Mile House	0	0		
Limerick	0	22	Ross Castle	0	2		
Longford Pass	0	0½	Roxercagh	0	1		
Macroome	0	1	Silvermine	0	0		
Mallow	1	0	Threrles	1	0		
Needen	0	0½	Tralee	0	1		
Newmarket	0	1	Waterford	0	7		
Clonwell	2	0	Youghall	0	2		
Cullen	0	0½					
Dungarven.	0	1		Total	7	77	

Conaught Province

Athlone	1	4	Galway	0	1		
Bryans Bridge	0	1	Headford	1	0		
Bannaghar	0	1	James-town	0	1		
Beldare	0	0½	Loughrea	1	0		
Bellexghy.	0	0½	Lanesborough	0	1		
Boyle	1	0	Portumna	1	2		
Clare Castle	0	2	Roscommon	1	0		
Castle Barr	1	0	Sagoe	0	2		
Cooloney	1	0					
Carrick Druminrush	0	1		Total	8	27	

Ulster Province.

Ardmagh	0	1	Downpatrick	1	0
Altomore	0	1	Doumbart	0	0½
Bolturbat	1	0	Dungannon	0	0
Ballyconnell	0	0½	Enniskilling	0	0
Belcoe	0	0½	Garrison	0	0
Ballyshanon	0	1	Garridevellin	0	0
Belfast	0	2	Killevan	0	0
Black Bank	0	0½	Lifford	0	0
Cavan	1	0	Londonderry	0	0
Clonaneley	0	0½	Newtown		
Culmore	0	1	Newtown Camedy		
Coleraine	0	3	Virgirra	0	0
Carrickfergus	1	5			
Charlemont	0	2	Total	7	30

Keeping the barracks, houses, &c. in constant order and repair, for which the barrack-masters have contracted twenty-one years from 1703	1263	3	4
To supply earthen-ware trenchers, &c. subject to break	500	0	0
To keep the bedding, sheeting, curtains, and utensils in the country barracks, in constant repair, according to contract made by the overseers of the barracks for ninety years, from 1705	2342	10	2
The same for Dublin barracks, for two regiments of foot, and two troops of horse, as by contract made by the overseers of barracks for fifteen years and an half, from 1708	324	8	8
Sallaries for twenty-five barrack masters, at 50l. each *per annum*, comes to	1250	0	0
Sallaries for two inspectors general, who view the barracks twice a year round the kingdom, at 157l. 10s. each *per annum*	315	0	0
For measuring the coals in, and measuring them out to the two regiments of foot, and two troops of horse, quartered in Dublin	10	0	0
To the surveyor general's extraordinary clerk, and for books, ink, &c. on the barracks account	40	0	0
Barrack-master of Dublin, 80l., assistant, 20l.	100	0	0
Register, for his constant attending the services at the barrick-office in Dublin	157	10	0
To two clerks, door-keeper, messenger, books, paper, ink, quills, wax, &c.	100	0	0
Firing and candle for thirty-six troops of horse and dragoons, and one hundred and thirty-six companies of foot	6000	0	0
To provide straw for filling the soldiers beds, to be shifted four times a year	360	0	0
Watching empty barracks	400	0	0
Rent of the ground whereon several of the barracks are built according to contract, and other contingencies	172	17	10
Total	13335	10	0

Whereas there is allowed upon the foregoing establishment the sum of 13335l. 10s. for the charge of maintaining the barracks, in bedding, utensils, repairs, and for our

forces quartered in our several barracks in our kingdom of Ireland, and for the sallaries of barrack-masters, and other expences attending the same.

And whereas several alterations may hereafter happen as to the number of forces being reduced or drawn off from any of the said barracks, whereby part of the allowance for fire and candle will be saved, our will and pleasure is, and we give and grant full power and authority unto our lieutenant deputy, or other chief governor or governors of that our kingdom for the time being, to change and alter from time to time, as he or they shall see occasion, the disposition of the said established sum of 13335l. 10s. so as that the same sum be still appropriated to the service of the said barracks only, any order or instruction to the contrary at any time heretofore notwithstanding.

Military List.

General officers	16680	13	4
Military contingencies	3000	0	0
——— incidents	170	0	0
Four regiments of horse	56362	1	8
Two ——— of dragoons	20154	1	8
	257139	9	2
Twenty-two regiments of foot	18623	5	10
One company of foot guards	1229	8	4
Ordnance	4687	11	9
Additional pay	2347	8	1½
Governors of garrisons	2682	15	0
Fire and candle for guard and garrisons	166	0	0
Military pensions	7087	17	6
Half-pay officers	36229	5	10
Barracks	13335	10	0
Total	439895	8	2½
Total of the civil list	63950	13	1¼
Military list	439895	8	2½
Total of the establishment	503846	1	3¾

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THIRD CLASS.

MILITARY TRACTS.

MILITARY TRACTS.

The Declaration of the States General of the United Provinces; setting forth, that Philipp the Second had forfeited his right of Sovereignty over the said Provinces. At the Hague, 26 July 1581.

The States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countreys, to all whom it may concern, do by these Presents send greeting:

As 'tis apparent to all, that a prince is constituted by God to be ruler of a people, to defend them from oppression and violence, as the shepherd his sheep; and whereas God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects (without which he could be no prince) to govern them according to equity, to love and support them as a father his children, or a shepherd his flock, and even at the hazard of life to defend and preserve them. And when he does not behave thus, but, on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges, exacting from them slavish compliance, then he is no longer a prince, but a tyrant, and the subjects are to consider him in no other view. And particularly when this is done deliberately, unauthorized by the states, they may not only disallow his authority, but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defence. This is the only method left for subjects, whose humble petitions and remonstrances could never soften their prince, or dissuade him from his tyrannical proceedings; and this is what the law of nature dictates for the defence of liberty, which we ought to transmit to posterity, even at the hazard of our lives; and this we have seen done frequently in several countreys, upon the like occasion, whereof there are notorious instances, and more justifiable, in our land, which has been always governed according to their antient privileges, which are expressed in the oath taken by the prince at his admission to the government; for most of the provinces receive their prince upon certain conditions, which he swears to maintain; which if the prince violates, he is no longer sovereign. Now thus it was with the king of Spaine, after the demise of the emperor his father, Charles the Fifth, of glorious memory, (of whom he received all these provinces,) forgetting the services done by the subjects of these contreys, both to his father and himself, by whose valour he got so glorious and memorable victorys over his enemys, that his name and power became famous, and dreaded over all the world, forgetting also the advice of his said imperial majesty, made to him before to the contrary, did rather hearken to the counsel of those Spaniards about him, who had conceived a secret hatred to this land and to its liberty, because they could not enjoy posts of honour and high employments here under the states, as in Naples, Sicily, Milan, and the Indies, and other countreys under the king's dominion. Thus allur'd by the riches of the said provinces, wherewith many of

them were well acquainted, the said counsellors, I say, or the principal of them, frequently remonstrated to the king, that 'twas more for his majesty's reputation and grandeur to subdue the Low Countreys a second time, and to make himself absolute (by which they mean to tyrannise at pleasure) then to govern according to the restrictions he had accepted, and at his admission sworn to observe. From that time forward the king of Spain, following these evil counsellors, sought by all means possible to reduce this countrey (stripping them of their antient privileges) to slavery, under the government of Spaniards, having first, under the mask of religion, endeavoured to settle new bishops in the largest and principal citys, endowing and incorporating them with the richest abbeys, assigning to each bishop nine canons to assist him as counsellors, three whereof should superintend the inquisition. By this incorporation, the said bishops (who might be strangers as well as natives) would have had the first place and vote in the assembly of the states, and always the prince's creatures, at devotion; and by the addition of the said canons he would have introduced the Spanish inquisition, which has been always as dreadfull and detested in these provinces as the worst of slavery, as is well known, insomuch that his imperial majesty, having once before proposed it to these states, and upon whose remonstrances did desist and intirely gave it up, hereby giving proof of the great affection he had for his subjects; but notwithstanding the many remonstrances made to the king, both by the provinces and particular towns, in writing, as well as by some principal lords, by word of mouth, and namely by the Baron of Montigni, and Earl of Egmont, who with the approbation of the Dutchess of Parma, then governess of the Low Countreys, by the advice of the council of state, were sent several times to Spaine upon this affair. And although the king had, by fair words, given them grounds to hope that their request should be complied with, yet by his letters he ordered the contrary, soon after expressly commanding, upon pain of his displeasure, to admit the new bishops immediately, and put them in possession of their bishopricks and incorporated abbeys; to hold the court of the inquisition in the places where it had been before; to obey and follow the decrees and ordinances of the council of Trent, which in many articles are destructive of the privileges of the countrey. This being come to the knowledge of the people, gave just occasion to great uneasiness and clamor among them, and lessened that good affection they had always borne towards the king and his predecessors. And especially seeing that he did not only seek to tyrannise over their persons and estates, but also over their consciences, for which they believed themselves accountable to God only. Upon this occasion the chief of the nobility, in compassion to the poor people, in the year 1566, exhibited a certain remonstrance, in form of a petition, humbly praying, in order to appease them and prevent publike disturbances, that it would please his majesty (by shewing that clemency due from a good prince to his people) to soften the said points, and especially with regard to the rigorous inquisition, and capital punishments for matters of religion. And to inform the king of this affair in a more solemn manner, and to represent to him how necessary it was for the peace and prosperity of the publick, to remove the foresaid innovations, and moderate the severity of his declarations published concerning divine worship, the Marquesse de Berghe, and the aforesaid Baron of Montigni, had been sent, at the request of the said lady regent, council of state, and of the states general, as embassadeurs to Spain; where the king, instead of giving them audience, and redress the grievances they had complained of, (which for want of a timely remedy did always appear in their evil consequences among the common people,) did, by the advice of Spanish council, declare all those who were concerned in preparing the said remonstrance to be rebells, and guilty of high treason, and to be punished with death, and confiscation of their estates; and what's more, (thinking himself well assured of reducing these contreys under absolute tyranny by the army of the Duke of Alva,) did soon after imprison and put to death the said lords the embassadors, and confiscated their estates, contrary to the law of nations, which has been always re-

ligiously observed even among the most tyrannick and barbarous princes. And although the said disturbances, which in the year 1566 happened on the fore-mentioned occasion, were now appeased by the gouvernesse and her ministers, and many friends to liberty were either banished or subdued, in so much that the king had not any shew of reason to use arms and violences, and further oppress this contrey; yet for these causes and reasons, long time before sought by the council of Spain (as appears by intercepted letters from the Spanish ambassador Alana, then in France, writ to the Dutchess of Parma) to annull all the privileges of this countrey, and govern it tirannically at pleasure as in the Indies, and in their new conquests, he has, at the instigation of the council of Spain, (shewing the little regard he had for his people, so contrary to the duty which a good prince owes to his subjects,) sent the Duke of Alva with a powerful army to oppress this land, who for his inhumane crueltys is look'd upon one of its greatest enemys, accompyned with counsellors too like himselfe. And although he came in without the least opposition, and was received by the poor subjects with all marks of honour and respects, as expecting no less from him then tenderness and clemency, which the king had often hypocritically promised in his letters, and that himself intended to come in person, to give orders to their generall satisfaction, having since the departure of the Duke of Alva equip'd a fleet to carry him from Spaine, and another in Zeland to come to meet him, at the great expence of the countrey, the better to deceive his subjects, and allure them into the toyls. Nevertheless the said duke, immediat after his arrival (though a stranger, and no way related to the royall family) declared that he had a captain general's commission, and soon after that of governor of these provinces, contrary to all its antient customs and privileges; and the more to manifest his designs, he immediately garrisons the principal towns and castles, and caused fortresses and cittadels to be built in the great citys, to awe them into subjection, and very courteously sent for the chief nobility in the king's name, under pretence of taking their advise, and to employ them in the service of their countrey; and those who believed his letters, were seised and carried out of Brabant, contrary to law, where they were imprisoned, and prosecuted as criminals before him, who had no right, nor could be a competent judge; and at last he, without hearing their defense at large, sentenced them to death, which was publickly and ignominiously executed. The others, better acquainted with Spanish hypocrisy, residing in foreign countreys, were declared outlawries, and had their estates confiscated; so that the poor subjects could make no use of their fortresses, nor be assisted by their princess in defence of their liberty against the violence of the pope; besides a great number of other gentlemen, and substantial citizens, some of whom were executed, and others banished, that their estates might be confiscated, plagueing the other honest inhabitants, not only by the injuries done to their wives, children, and estates, by the Spanish soldiers lodged in their houses, as likewise by diverse contributions, which they were forced to pay towards building cittadels, and new fortifications of towns even to their own ruin, besides the taxes of the hundreth, twentieth, and tenth penny, to pay both the foreign, and those raised in the countrey, to be employed against their fellow citizens, and against those who, at the hazard of their lives, defended their liberties. In order to impoverish the subjects, and to incapacitate them to hinder his designe, and that he might with more ease execute the instructions received in Spaine, to treat these countreys as new conquests, he began to alter the course of justice after the Spanish mode, directly contrary to our privileges; and imagining at last he had nothing more to fear, he endeavoured by main force to settle a tax called the tenth penny, on merchandise and manufactury, to the total ruine of these countreys, the prosperity of which depends upon a flourishing trade, notwithstanding frequent remonstrances, not by a single province only, but by all of them united; which he had effected, had it not been for the Prince of Orange, with diverse gentlemen, and other inhabitants, who had followed this prince in his exile, most of whom were in his pay, and banished by the Duke of Alva, with others who espoused

the liberty of their countrey. Soon after the provinces of Holland and Zeland for the most part revolted, putting themselves under the protection of the Prince of Orange, against which provinces the said duke, during his government, and the great commander (whom the king sent to these countreys, not to heal the evil, but to pursue the same tyrannical courses by more secret and cautious methods) who succeeded him, forced the provinces, who, by garrisons and citadels, were already reduced under the Spanish yoke, both with their lives and fortunes to conquer them, shewing no more mercy to those they employed to assist them, than if they had been enemys, permitting the Spaniards, under pretence of mutiny, to enter the city of Antwerp forcibly, in the sight of the great commander, and to live there at discretion for the space of six weeks, at the expence of the inhabitants, and obliging them (to be free from Spanish violence) to furnish the sum of four hundred thousand florins for the payment of the troops. After which the said troops, made more insolent by the connivance of their commanders, proceeded to open violence, endeavouring first to surprise the city of Brussels, the prince's usual residence, to be the magazine of their plunder; but not succeeding in that, they took by force the town of Alost, and after that surpris'd and forc'd Maistrict, and soon after the said city of Antwarp, which they plunder'd and burnt, and massacred the inhabitants in a most barbarous manner, to the irreparable loss not only of the citizens, but to all nations who had any effects there. And notwithstanding the said Spaniards had been by the council of state, (upon which the king, after the decease of the great commander, had conferr'd the government of the contrey,) in the presence of Jeronimo de Rhoda, been declared enemys to the states, by reason of their outrageous violences; nevertheless the said Rhoda, upon his own authority, (or as it is imagined) by vertue of certain private instructions which he might possibly have received from Spain, undertook to head the Spaniards, and their accomplices, and to use the king's name (in defiance of the said council) and authority, to counterfeit the great seal, and act openly as governor and lieutenant general; which gave occasion to the states at the same time to agree with the aforesaid Prince of Orange, in conjunction with the provinces of Holland and Zeland, which agreement was approved by the said council of state (as the only legal governors of the contrey) to declare warr unanimously against the Spaniards as their common enemy, to drive them out of the countrey; at the same time, like good subjects, making use of all proper applications, humbly petitioning the king to have compassion on account of the calamitys already suffered, and of the greater expected hourly, unless his majesty would withdraw his troops, and exemplarily punish the authors of the plundering and burning of our principal citys, as some small satisfaction to the distressed inhabitants, and to deter others from committing the like violences. Nevertheless the king would have us believe, that all this was transacted without his knowledge, and that he intended to punish the authors, and that for the future we might expect all tenderness and clemency; and as a gracious prince, would give all necessary orders to procure the publick peace; and yet he not only neglected to do us justice in punishing the offenders; that on the contrary, 'tis plain all was done by orders concerted in the council of Spain; for soon after letters were intercepted directed to Rhoda, and other captains, who were the authors of all our miseries, under the king's own hand, in which he not only approves of their proceedings, but even praises and promises them rewards, and particularly to the said Rhoda, as having done him singular services, which he performed to him, and to all the rest who were ministers of his tyranny, upon his return to Spain; and the more to blind his subjects, he sent at the same time Don John, his naturall brother, as of his blood, to govern these countries, who, under pretence of approving the treaty of Ghent, confirming the promise made to the states, of driving out the Spaniards, of punishing the authors of the disturbances, of settling the publick peace, and of re-establishing their antient libertys, endeavoured to divide the said estates, in order to enslave one after another; which was soon after discovered by the Providence of God, who is an enemy to all tyranny, by

certain intercepted letters, from which it appeared, that he was charged by the king to follow the instructions of Rhoda; and the better to conceal this fraud, they were forbidden to see one another, but that he should converse friendly with the principal lord of the country, that gaining them over to his party, he might by their assistance reduce Holland and Zeland, after which the other provinces would be easily subdued. Whereupon Don John, notwithstanding his solemn promise and oath, in the presence of all the foresaid states, to observe the pacification of Ghent, and other articles stipulated between him and the states of all the provinces, on the contrary sought, by all possible promises, made to the colonels, already at his devotion, to gain the German troops, who were then garrisoned in the principal fortresses and the citys, that by their assistance he might master them, as he had gained many of them already, and held them attached to his interest, in order, by their assistance, to force those who would not join with him in making war against the Prince of Orange, and the provinces of Holland and Zeland, more cruel and bloody than any war before. But as no disguises can long conceal our intentions, this project was discovered before it could be executed, and he unable to perform his promises; and instead of that peace so much boasted of at his arrival, a new warr kindled, not yet extinguished. All these considerations give us more than sufficient reason to renounce the King of Spain, and seek some other powerfull and more gracious prince to take us under his protection; and more especially, as these contreys have been for these twenty years abandoned to disturbance, and oppression by their king, during which time the inhabitants were not treated as subjects but enemys, enslaved forcibly by their own governors.

Having also, after the decease of Don John, sufficiently declared by the Baron de Selles, that he would not allow the pacification of Ghent, the which Don John had in his majesty's name sworn to maintain, but dayly proposing new termes of agreement less advantageous. Notwithstanding these discouragements, we used all possible means, by petitions in writing, and the good offices of the greatest princes in Christendom, to be reconciled to our king; having lastly maintained for a long time our deputies at the congress of Cologne, hoping that the intercession of his imperial majesty, and of the electors, would procure an honourable and lasting peace, and some degree of liberty, particularly relating to religion, (which chiefly concerns God and our own consciences,) at last we found by experience that nothing would be obtained of the king by prayers and treaties, which latter he made use of to divide and weaken the provinces, that he might the easier execute his plan rigorously, by subduing them one by one, which afterwards plainly appeared by certain proclamations and proscriptions published by the king's orders, by vertue of which we and all officers and inhabitants of the United Provinces, with all our friends, are declared rebells, and as such, to have forfeited our lives and estates; thus, by rendering us odious to all, he might interrupt our commerce, likewise reducing us to dispaire, offering a great summe to any that would assassinate the prince of Orange. So having no hope of reconciliation, and finding no other remedy, we have, agreeable to the law of nature, in our own defence, and for maintaining the rights, privileges, and libertys of our contreymen, wives and children, and latest posterity, from being enslaved by the Spaniards, been constrained to renounce allegiance to the king of Spain, and pursue such methods as appear to us most likely to secure our ancient liberties and privileges. Know all men by these presents, that, being reduced to the last extremity, as above-mentioned, we have unanimously and deliberately declared, and do by these presents declare, that the king of Spain has forfeited, *ipso jure*, all hereditary right to the sovereignty of those contreys, and are determined from henceforward not to acknowledge his sovereignty or jurisdiction, nor any act of his relating to the domains of the Low Countreys, nor make use of his name as prince, nor suffer others to do it. In consequence whereof we also declare all officers, judges, lords, gentlemen, vassals, and all other the inhabitants of this contrey, of what condition or quality soever, to be hence-

forth discharged from all oaths and obligations whatsoever made to the king of Spain, as sovereign of those contreys. And whereas upon the motives already mentioned, the greater part of the United Provinces have, by common consent of their members, submitted to the gouvernment and sovereignty of the illustrious Prince and Duke of Anjou, upon certain conditions stipulated with his highness; and whereas the most serene Archduke Matthias has resigned the government of these contreys with our approbation, we command and order all justiciarys, officers, and all whom it may concern, not to make use of the name, titles, great or privy seal of the king of Spain, from henceforward, but in lieu of them, as long as his highness the Duke of Anjou is absent, upon urgent affairs relating to the welfare of these contreys, (having so agreed with his highness,) or otherwise, they shall provisionally use the name and title of the president and council of the province; and untill such a president and counsellors shall be nominated, assembled, and act in that capacity, they shall act in our name, except that in Holland and Zealand, where they shall use the name of the prince of Orange, and of the states of the said provinces, till the foresaid council shall legally sit, and then shall conform to the directions of that council, agreeable to the contract made with his highness. And instead of the king's seal aforesaid, they shall make use of our great seal, contreseal, and signet, in affairs relating to the publick, according as the said council shall from time to time be authorised. And in affairs concerning the administration of justice, and transactions peculiar to each province, the provincial council, and other councils of that country, shall use respectively the name, title, and seal of the said province, where the case is to be tryed, and no other, on pain of having all letters, documents, and dispatches annulled. And for the better and effectual performance hereof, we have ordered and commanded, and do hereby order and command, that all the seals of the king of Spain which are in these United Provinces, shall immediately, upon the publication of these presents, be deliver'd to the estate of each province respectively, or to such persons as by the said estates shall be authorised and appointed, upon peril of discretionary punishment.

Moreover we order and command, that from henceforth no money coyned shall be stamped with the name, title, or arms of the king of Spain, in any of these United Provinces; but that all new gold and silver pieces, with their halfs and quarters, shall only bear such impressions as the states shall direct. We order likewise and command the president and other lords of the privy council, and all other chancellors, presidents, and lords of the provincial council, and all presidents, accountant-general, and to others in all the chambers of accounts respectively in these said countries, and likewise to all other judges and officers (as we hold them discharged from henceforth of their oath made to the king of Spain, pursuant to the tenor of their commission) that they shall take a new oath to the states of that contrey, on whose jurisdiction they depend, or to commissaries appointed by them, to be true to us against the king of Spain, and all his adherents, according to the formule of words prepared by the states general for that purpose. And we shall give to the said councellors, justiciares, and officers, employed in these provinces, who have contracted in our name with his highness the Serenisme Duke of Anjou, an act to continue them in their respective offices, instead of new commissions, a clause annulling the former provisionally till the arrival of his highness.—Moreover to all such counsellors, accomptants, justiciarys, and officers in these provinces, who have not contracted with his highness aforsaid, we shall grant new commissions under our hands and seals, unless any of the said officers are accused and convicted of having acted under their former commissions against the liberties and privileges of this contrey, or of other the like mal-administration. We farther command the president and members of the privy council, chancellor of the dutchy of Brabant, also the chancellor of the dutchy of Gueldres, and county of Zulphen, to the president and members of the council of Holland, to the receivers or great officers of Beoostersheldt and Bewesterscheldt in Zealand, to the president and council of Frise, and to the Escoulet of Meche-

len to the president and members of the council of Utrecht, and to all other justiciarys and officers whom it may concern, to the lieutenants all and every of them, to cause this our ordnance to be published and proclaimed throughout their respective jurisdictions, in the usual places appointed for that purpose, that none may plead ignorance. And to cause our said ordnance to be observed inviolably, punishing the offenders impartially, and without delay, for so 'tis found expedient for the publick good. And for better maintaining all and every article hereof, we give to all and every of you, by express command, full power and authority; in witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, dated in our assembly at the Hague, the six and twentieth day of July, 1581, indors'd by the orders of the states general, and signed J DE ASSELIERS.

The Actions of the Lowe Countries. Written by Sir Roger Williams, Knight. London, printed by Humfrey Lownes for Mathew Lownes, 1618.

Anthony a Wood has given us the following account of the gallant author of this tract:—"Roger Williams, son of Thomas Williams of Penrose, in Monmouthshire, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of Sir William Vaughan, knight, was born in that county, of a family rather ancient than wealthy, and being from his childhood more given to military than scholastical matters, yet for form's sake he was sent to the university; but to what house therein, unless to Brasennose, whereof one of both his names, and a Welshman, was a student in 1554, (2d of Q. Mary,) I know not. Soon after he left Oxford, became a soldier of fortune under the Duke of Alva, ran through all the degrees of military offices, was a colonel in the French and Belgic wars, and might have been sided with the best of those times, if his discretion could have but well tempered his hot furious valour, which was the reason that Q. Elizabeth would not commit any place or employment of great trust to his care. In 1586, he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, was then beloved of all his soldiers, and so much noted for his martial prowess, that he went beyond the commendation of the panegyric."—WOOD's *Athenæ*, p. 282. Vol. I.

Sir Roger Williams gave many distinguished marks of his courage during the wars of France and the Low Countries. In 1581, when Captain Thomas, an officer in the Spanish service, challenged General Norris to single combat, Williams, then his Lieutenant, accepted the defiance in room of the general, who could not do so by the law of arms. After a trial of skill, in front of both armies, the champions, like Hector and Ajax, parted friends, without a wound on either side, and after they had drunk a hearty cup together. In 1586, our military annalist was engaged upon a much more desperate service, having, while the Prince of Parma's army was besieging Venloo, undertaken the daring exploit of breaking through the besiegers' camp at midnight. His companion in command was Skenk, a Frieslander. They cut their way to the Prince's own tent, in the centre of the encampment; but, being outnumbered, were compelled to retreat, though with high commendation of their courage. In 1591, Sir Roger Williams had the honour to serve with General Norris, in the auxiliary army sent by Elizabeth to aid Henry IV. against the Leaguers, and received high praise from that monarch, for the spirit with which he behaved on several occasions, especially at the battle of Yvecourt. But his conduct was not always so unquestionable as his valour, and more than once occasioned such havoc among his followers, as to draw down the censure of Queen Elizabeth, an œconomist as well of lives as of money.

Sir Roger Williams' death is thus mentioned by Camden: "The very same month [December 1595] died Sir Roger Williams, Knight, a Welsh gentleman, of the family of Penrose, in Monmouthshire. He first tried his fortune in the army under the Duke of Alva; and afterwards, having obtained a full and complete experience of the arts and discipline of war, he was perhaps no way inferior to the best soldiers of that age, could he have put bounds to his courage, which ran away with his conduct and discretion. It was undoubtedly by a singular excellence in him, that he was capable, upon the bare stock of experience, without the least stock of learning or education, of writing a most exquisite and judicious history of the Low Country wars, in which he was an actor, and of maintaining, as he did, in an admirable book on that subject,[1] the art of fighting, as

[1] Besides the following historical treatise, Sir Roger Williams published "A Brief discourse of War, with his opinion concerning some part of Military Discipline. London, 1590." This treatise, according to Wood, gave

it is now practised, against that which was in former ages, to the great mortification of the antiquated admirers of bows and arrows. The Earl of Essex attended at his funeral, which was solemnized at St Paul's, besides as many officers of the army as were then in town." CAMDEN'S *Annals*, ap. ann. 1595.

No apology is necessary for the insertion of this scarce piece among the Somers' Tracts. It is not only a curious record of important events, by an eye-witness and actor, but claims peculiar authority from the blunt manly style in which the old warrior details, not his successes only, but the blunders, discomfitures, and even panics, with which his warfare was chequered. There is also a humorous simplicity, with which he frequently acknowledges that his own opinion leant to the worse, or more imprudent counsel. In short, these commentaries present a singular picture of the man, the war, and the age.

Williams is characterised in the following passage of Byron's Conspiracie, by Chapman:

" ——————— Heere serv'd
The Generall, my Lord Norris, sent from England:
As great a captaine as the world affords;
One fit to leade and fight for Christendome;
Of more experience, and of stronger braine;
As valiant for abiding, in commaund,
On any sudden; upon any ground,
And in the forme of all occasions,
As ready, and as profitably, dauntlesse:
And heere was then another; *Collonell Williams,*
A worthy captaine; and more like the Duke,[2]
Because he was lesse temperate than the generall;
And being familliar with the man you prayse,
(Because he knew him haughty and incapable
Of all comparison) would compare with him,
And hold his swelling valour to the marke
Justice had set in him, and not his will:
And as in open vessels fill'd with water,
And on mens shoulders borne, they put treene cups,
To keepe the wild and slippery element
From washing over, follow all his swayes,
And tickle aptnesse to exceed his bounds,
And at the brym containe him; so this knight
Swomme in Byron, and held him but to right."

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England.

Right Honourable,

THIS part of historie, having lyen a long time by mee, I have thought good to publish to the world; and that especially for these reasons: First, to incite other men of armes to imitate in like sort their great master Julius Cæsar, who wrote exact Commentaries, (adorned of late with observations of a worthy man of our nation,) of such militarie actions as happened under his commaund. Secondly, to prevent least such worthy pains should either perish, or hereafter be set forth by others as their own: a thing too much practised by some, not of meanest note. Lastly, to make this a meane of drawing the residue into light, which happely sleepeth in the custodie of some other man. This doe I presume to present to your honour; as well in regard of the honourable estimation which still remaineth of the author, as for the worthinesse which I conceive to be in the worke. For all of us doe well discerne both the lustre of many excellent perfections in your own noble spirit, and how you favour men of valour, learning, or honest endeavour; which vertues, as they have advanced you to this height of honour, so will they make your memorie eternally to flourish.

Your honours in all service, PE. MANWOODE.

S. Stephens, 1 *Jan.* 1618.

great offence to some "old beaten soldiers, and lovers of archery." I know not if it be worth noticing, that Sir John Hayward, the historiographer, who published the "Actions in the Low Countries," was, notwithstanding, a great advocate for the long-bow, in preference to the musquet.

[2] Charles Duke of Byron, Marshall of France.

To the Reader.

ALBEIT in all histories three things are especially required, order, poyse, and truth; yet for divers causes it hapneth that in many, one of these doth faile.

For some have written of times so anciently past, that no means are extant, either to direct or to correct them. Many of these, living in artlesse ages, have stuffed their stories with most senselesse fictions; nothing better then country womens tales. Of this sort was Hunibaldus, who fableth, that the French tooke their originall from Francio, a Trojan; and is followed in his sotteries by Gregorie of Tours, Rheginus, Sigebert, and divers others of the same suite. After this example Geoffry of Munmouth, about 400 years since, did first (as some affirme) draw the originall of the Britans from Brutus the Trojan; forging such races, names, reignes, and passages of affaires, as may more easily be convinced to be false, then supplied with any certaine truth. Of the same streine is Wittikind; who by his counterfeit Saxo, hath drawen the Saxons and first inhabitants of Germanie, from the olde Macedonian soulders of Alexander the Great. So the Scots set up Scota, daughter to Pharao king of Ægypt, for foundresse of their nation. Likewise the Irish hatched their Hiberus, the Danes their Danus, the Brabants their Brabo, the Gothes their Gothus, as founders both of their nation and name; a subject wherein forgeries may range at large; because the first times of nations for the most part are, as very small, so altogether obscure. Of this sort among the ancients were Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Theopompus; in whose bookes Cicero saith, many idle untruths are found; even so farre as the vaine veine of the Græcians durst adventure to advowe for truths. In how many places (saith Josephus) is Hellanicus charged with falsities by Agesilaus and by Ephorus? they by Timæus? Timæus by many who followed? Herodotus by all.

Others have written of countries farre distant, either altogether unknown, or by them never seene: who, writing upon vulgar reports, things either imagined, or erroneously observed, are easily entangled with untruths. Of this fault Eratosthenes, Possidonius, and Patrocles the geographer, are branded by Strabo. Hence also did rise the fables of the Arimaspes, Gryphons, Troglodites, Amazons, Satyrs, Pigmies, and of their cruell warres with Cranes; of nations of men with dogs heads, with horse feete, without heads, without mouthes, with one foote wherewith they cover themselves against sun and raine, and of divers other monstrous kinds of men, beasts, and fowles, which now are discovered for utopicall aperies. With these may Stephanus and Arianus be joined; of whom the one writeth, that the French are a people of Italie; the other placeth the Germanes neere to the Ionick sea. So Strabo choppeth, that the river Ister or Danowe, hath his spring neere to the Adriaticke sea; and that the rivers Lapus and Vezer, discharge themselves into the river Enis; whereas the one runneth into the Rhine, the other into the ocean. So are Tacitus, Marcellus, Orosius, Blondus, in divers places of Germanie, much mistaken. And so Sabellicus, Volaterrane, and Conrade, doe much confound the Alans and Almans; the Hungarians and Hunnes; the Danes and the Dace; Austerane, and Austrich; placing the mount Saint Ottoly in Bavaria, and the Riphæan mountaines in Polonia or Muscovia.

Others have written of their owne countries and times; but these againe are of divers sorts. For some busie themselves much in those things which the popular multitude doe applaud; making wordie (I cannot say worthy) reports of beare-baitings, lanching of shipes, fleas, mice, owles, maskes, mayings, &c. And if they speake of any publicke affaires, they discerne nothing but the out-side; not unlike to beggars, who traverse over many countries, from dore to dore, and touch as many faire buildings; but observe nothing either of the persons, or furniture, or order within. Such historians doe daily and duely attend certain kings in India; and whatsoever they doe, whether eate, drinke, sleepe, disport, ease nature, retyre to any woman; in a word, all, they barely wright downe, and nothing else.

Some others better furnished with judgement, doe strongly biasse in their affections: and that chiefly by two meanes, levitie and partiality.

Of the first sort are they who, affecting to write rather pleasingly then truely, doe enterlace many jeasts, conceits, tales, and other pleasing passages; either omitting or defacing the solide truth.. Of this fault Trebellius is reprooved by Laberian and Vopiscus, Tacitus by Tertullian and Orosius, Orosius by Blondus. To these also wee may adjoyne Danudes, Philostratus, Guidius, Cresias, Hecatæus, and divers others; who have transformed the truth of many things into fabulous inventions of their owne.

Of the second sort are they who upon hate, feare, or favour, either to some persons, or to their native countrey, or to the religion which they professe, or for some other partiall respect, doe write panegyrickes or invectives, rather than histories. So Salust writeth, that the acts of the Græcians are much admired; not because they exceede the atchievements of other men, but because their writers having wit at will, did much enlarge them above the truth. Of this fault Blondus and Sabellicus are noted in their histories of Venice; Paulus Æmilius and Gaguine in their histories of France; and most others in the histories of their owne countries; who extoll, depresse, deprave immoderately; making things seeme not as they are, but as they would have them; no otherwise almost then comedies and tragedies are fashioned by their authors.

Amongst those fewe who have written with knowledge, judgement, and sincerity, the author of this historie is worthy to be ranged; who doubtlesse was of endlesse industry; alwaies in action, either with his sword, or with his penne. He was well known to be a man, who both knew and durst; his courage no lesse free from indiscretion, then from feare. Yet hath hee wrote so modestly of himselfe, that some may happelie esteeme him rather a looker on, then a medler, in the hot medlies whereof he doth write; but his attributing so little to himselfe, will make others attribute the more unto him. In writing of others, hee expresseth a most generous disposition; neither forbearing the errours of his friends, nor forgetting the vigilancy and valoure of his enemies; but carrying himselfe with an even hand betweene them.

Touching the historie itselfe, it is faithfull and free; wherein are found sieges, assaults, surprises, ambushes, skirmishes, battailes, lively described. Great varietie both of persons and of actions; much mutability of fortune, many changes in affaires. Admirable advices, unexpected events, ponderous judgements; a phraze in a souldiers stile, sinowie and sweet; full both of perspicuitie and grace. In a word, I esteeme it a compleate historie, if it were compleate; I meane if it extended to all the actions wherein the author did serve. But whether the residue was never written, or whether it bee perished, or whether it resteth in any other hand, I remaine doubtfull. This piece beeing shewed to mee, by a person of whose virtues I had rather speake nothing, then not enough, I did much esteeme; for that it comprizeth some actions of the time wherein I have lived; of which time I endeavour to leave a large memoriall to posteritie. But comming to mee in a ragged hand, much maimed, both in sense, and in phrases; I have restored it so neere as I could, both to the stile and meaning of the author. This is all the paines that I have taken; this is all the thankes which I doe either challenge or deserve.

Jo. Hayward.[1]

[1] "Sir John Hayward, historiographer of Chelsea College, was a celebrated historian and biographer, in this, and the preceding reign; and was particularly admired for his style. He wrote the lives of the three Norman kings, and also the lives of Henry IV. and Edward VI. Some political reflections in the life of Henry IV. which offended Queen Elizabeth, were the occasion of his suffering a tedious imprisonment. The queen asked Mr Bacon, who was then of her council learned in the law, if he discovered any treason in that book. He told her majesty, that he saw no treason in it, but much felony. The queen bid him explain himself. Upon which he told her, that he had stolen his political remarks from Tacitus. This discovery was thought to have prevented his being put to the rack. Ob. 1627."—Ranger's *Biographical History of England*, vol. ii. p. 27.

The Occasions of the first Stirres in the Low Countreys, the Duke D'Alva's first comming thither, and his surprizing of the principall of the Nobilitie, the Prince of Orange escapeth into Germanie, and Charles Mansfelt into France.

THE state of Spaine, as I said in my discourse of their discipline, is governed by two sorts of people, captaines and clergie. The captains animate the king to warres, to maintaine their wealth and greatnesse; so doth the clergie to maintaine their estate against them of the religion. By these meanes, the ambition of the Duke D'Alva, of Cardinall Granvill, and their seconds, perswaded the king to undertake to subdue the Netherlanders to his pleasure; to lay upon them such gables, taxes, and all manner of tributes as should please the king to demand. But this they could never effect without making away their warlike and politike nobilitie; namely, the Prince of Orange, the Counts of Egmond, of Horne, of Battenburgh, the Lord of Brederode, the Marquesse of Bergues, with divers others of good qualitie; besides, they had a great number of strong townes, innumerable treasure and riches; the seate of the most of their provinces being mervailous strong by nature, by reason of their great rivers and streights, furnished plentifully with artillerie, munition, and other necessaries for warres. Also their liberties were such, that no stranger might governe either their provinces, or any of their townes. And this grieved the Spanish not a little, that such base people as they esteemed the Netherlanders to be, should possesse peaceably such a brave and rich countrie, and their king carrie no other title than duke, count, and lord over their seventeen provinces. Hereupon the king resolved to send his great captaine Duke D'Alva with a mightie army, giving him commission to alter, place, and displace whome, and as many as pleased him, as well in their provinces in generall, as in any particular towne; also giving him authority to execute as many as pleased him, without respect of persons. This being discovered unto the Prince of Orange, from a gentleman Burgundian of the kings chamber (who was greater with one of the kings secretaries wives, than with her husband) by reason of the Spanish long counsailes in their resolutions, it came in good time to the prince, long before the dukes troupes marched from Spaine into Italie. In the meane time the prince animated the people all hee could against the Spanish, making divers of his assured friends acquainted with his intelligences; but durst not trust Count Egmond, fearing his ambition and choler would marre all. Notwithstanding, considering his vogue and greatnesse with the men of warre, hee durst attempt nothing without him; wherefore, politickely, the prince fed both parties; assured the governesse, the Dutchesse of Parma, of his loyalty towards the king and his religion; but in troth he was of the Protestant religion, favouring them what he could under hand; so much, that hee and his instruments procured the people in great numbers to present supplications openly to the governesse, for the libertie of their consciences. Likewise divers papists and Martinists presented her with supplications, to perswade the king to stay his Duke D'Alva and his armies: shewing her plainly that it was against their liberty and customes, that strangers should governe them. In this time the prince and his instruments animated a quarrell betwixt Count Egmond, and Card. Granvill; so as after a banquet at Brussels, upon a dispute with multiplying of words, the count tooke the cardinall a boxe on the eare, to the prince and his parties great joy. This count (as I said before) was so ambitious, that hee thought it his due to bee chiefe over all warlike actions, which either his king or country would undertake (I meane among the Netherlanders). Without comparison he deserved it. He was most valiant, most liberall, and greately fortunate in all his actions; amongst the rest of his actions, the chiefe praise of the battaile of S. Quintins, and of Gravelin belonged to this count. Notwithstanding the Prince of Orange carried all the vogue amongst the popular, by his fine and politicke government; and wanne a number of men of qualitie with great courtesies and affable discourses, insomuch, that these two

The Spanish counsaile touching the Lowe Countries.

Duke D'Alvaes commission.

The intelligence of the Prince of Orange.

His policie.

Cardinall Granvill taketh a boxe upon the eare.

Count Egmonds nature.

The Prince of Oranges favour, popular.

chiefes being joyned, would have carried all the country in general to have done what they had listed. After this disgrace, the cardinall very politickly shewed neither choler nor minde to revenge, but rather sought all means under-hand to stay the count from proceeding further with the prince; and both hee and the governesse procured letters from the king, with great speed to that end: In which letters were contained, that nothing should be done in the Netherlands, as wel by Duke D'Alva, as by his base sister the governesse, without the counts consent; and to repose all trust in the count onely for martiall affairs. The king wrote also unto the count, assuring him, that nothing should bee too deare for him; and that his great service should not be forgotten, but recompenced to the highest degree; shewing him, how all these stirres proceeded from the Prince of Orange, and his instruments, to overthrow religion, and to maintaine his estate and greatnesse. Besides, they sent counterfeit letters unto the count, as though the prince or his faction had certified the king often against the count to his disgrace; before these posts arrived, the prince or his instruments had procured the count, and all or most of the nobitity, with a great number of quality, to meet at Tilmount in Brabant; where, after a great banquet, most of them signed a letter to the king, rather to dye than to suffer the government to alter. This letter was written very humbly to perswade his majestie to stay his Duke D'Alva, assuring him to be loyall in all poynts; desiring his majesty to remember their liberties and customes, which his majesty was sworn to maintaine in as ample manner as his ancestors before. At this banquet all signed these letters, saving the count, Peter Ernest of Maunsfelt, [1] governour of Luxenburgh, and the lord of Barlemount, who politickly promised to doe the like the next morning; excusing themselves, that at that instant the wine was their master. But at midnight they stole post towards Luxenburgh, excusing themselves by letters unto the Prince of Orange, that Count Egmond would be deboshed from them by the Spanish instruments; and that they would not believe the contrary, untill they heard that his person and men of warre were in battle against the Spanish. It seemes Peter Ernest was willing to second them, for hee left his sonne, Count Charles, as deepe as the best. They had reason to feare the count, for the next day he began to repent him of his bargaine; taking occasions to murmure, and to stirre factions against the prince. But the prince politickly courtesied him with all favours, in such sort, that all fell in a banquet the next dinner; at which feast, according to their custome, there was great carowsing; where the basest sort came in great multitudes with glasses in their hands, crying to the prince, count, and nobility, *Vive les gueses, vive les gueses,* [2] *le diable emporte les Espanioles:* God save the beggars, and the divell take the Spaniards. After ending the banquet, the prince procured many of the nobility, and of the best sort, to promise to second him in the action he would undertake against the Spanish. This being discovered unto Count Egmond, he commanded his horses and coaches to be made ready; seeming to bee much offended with the Prince of Orange and his faction, and with all departed towards Lovaine.

The kings letters.

Peter Maunsfelt, and the Lord Barlemount will not signe.

Count Egmond repenteth.

Is pacified.

Combination of the nobility with the prince.

Egmond offended.

Charles Maunsfelts councell concerning Egmond;

True it is, all murthers are villanous; but had the prince credited Count Charles Mansfelt, Count Egmond had beene dead. I heard the prince relate his counsaile, which was; "Let us kill Count Egmond, then are we sure all the men of warre will follow you and yours. Also his countenance is such amongst them, as at his reconcilement unto the Spanish, they will al follow him. But for feare of him, my father and all the rest would joyne with you." True it is, this young gentleman was the wilfullest amongst them, but spake the greatest reason to maintaine the Prince of Orange, as it fel out af-

[1] Peter-Ernest, Count of Mansfeldt, third son of Count Ernest, of the most ancient branch of that illustrious house. Notwithstanding his defection from the Spanish cause, he afterwards returned to the allegiance of Philip; and was intended, by the Prince of Parma, to have had the government of the Netherlands in his absence. He died, with the title of Prince of the Empire, in 1604. His son Charles, although at first so *wilful*, as Williams calls it, in the protestant cause, afterwards entered, in 1593, in the service of the League. In 1595, he besieged Gran, or Stregonium, at the head of the emperor's army; and died soon after, defeating the Turks, who had advanced to relieve it.

[2] The first protestants in the Low Countries were called, in derision, *Les Gueux;* the converts to the new doctrine being chiefly of the lower order.

terwards; for without doubt the reconcilement of Count Egmond lost himselfe and all his friends. Long afterwards in France I heard Count Charles speak this, and also how he would have wished the prince afterwards to have marched with all his forces unto the edge of Lovain, there to have kept the streights betwixt Lovain and Luxenburgh, where Duke D'Alva must pass without all doubt. With the favour of God, had the prince and Count Egmond marched thither with their forces, by all reason they might have fought with twice Duke D'Alvaes numbers; for there were foure thousand brave lanciers and light horsemen under their charge, ready, alwayes entertained; besides as many more who would have mounted themselves most willingly, with at least twenty thousand footemen against the Spanish and the prince, had they made away the obstinate count. Besides, the nature of the Neatherlanders is to be very willing to second any novelties; much more against a people they hated so much as the Spanish, whose forces and policies were unknowen to them at their beginning; being as high as Lovaine, they had bin sure all the countries and townes behind them would have seconded them with all necessaries. For the humour of the nation is to bee unreasonable prowde with the least victorie, or advancement with a reasonable armie; and deadly fearefull with the least overthrow, or at the retreit of their men of warre from their enemie. The posts being arrived with the governesse and cardinall, (who received expresse commandment from the king to dissemble his disgrace with the count, assuring him Duke D'Alva should redresse all,) Count Egmond having received the kings letters, fell cleane from the prince unto the governesse, and beganne to make all the faire weather he could unto the cardinall, thinking himselfe sure. This poore count perswaded all the rest to forsake their prince, assuring them that hee would undertake to make all well againe with the king; in such sort, that most of the nobilitie quited the prince. Who fearing that the variable popular would doe the like, resolved to acquaint Count Egmond what the king had passed against them in his Spanish councell; and opening his minde unto divers of the best sort, the prince procured Count Egmond, with most of the rest, to give him audience: whose words I heard the prince himselfe report as followeth.

to take the streights against Duke D'Alva.

The forces of the Lowe Countries.

The disposition of the Neatherlanders.

Egmond draweth all to the Spaniard.

The Prince of Orange seeketh conference with Egmond.

"Cousins and deare countrimen, it greives mee to see you so blinded with the Spanish dissimulation, which is to no other end but to lull you asleepe, untill their tyrant D'Alva arrives amongst us, who hath so large a commission. And this he will not faile to execute to the uttermost; which he can never doe, and suffer us to live, especially you Count Egmond. And resolve your selfe, that they who send him with such directions, know your courage to be too great to endure your countrimen to bee made slaves, and to suffer him to wash his hands in your kinsmens bloud. Beleeve my words, it is true what I tell you; for there you see his hand, whom diverse of you know to be in good credite with the king, especially with his principall secretary." And herewith hee cast his letter with other testimonials amongst them, telling the count; "Cousin, resolve on it, if you take armes, I wil joyne with you; if not, I must leave you and quiet the country."

His advertisement.

After pawsing a while, the count answered: "Cousin, I know the king hath not Spaniards enow to employ in all his dominions; wherefore you must think he must be served by others more then Spaniards. You are deceived to judge the king a tyrant, without proofe of cruelty; he cannot be so ungratefull to recompence our services with such payments. Touching Duke D'Alva, if it be the kings pleasure to make him Governour of these countries, we must obay him as we did the Duke of Savoy, and others. Touching our government, resolve your selfe, he will not, neither shall alter it more than the rest of his predecessors before him have done. For your selfe, if it please you to stay, I dare adventure my credit to make all wel with the king. And assure you, doth Duke D'Alva lay hands on you, I will not endure it." Withall he hurled before the prince and the rest of the kings letters; wherein was no want of dissimulation, nor of promise of forgivenesse, onely to be assured to bring them sound asleepe untill Duke D'Alva should awake them. Herewith the count told the prince resolutely, that he would not quite the king. If he would not stay, it would grieve him to see his house overthrowne

Egmonds answere.

The kings dissembling letters.

The princes reply.

The prince answered: "Cousin, I have been too long by his fathers chamber, and doe know the kings humors too well, and their Spanish government, to conceive that they will pardon such persons as a number of us here be, after entring into such actions as we have done against them. Good cousin, doe you forget how Duke D'Alva was wont to say unto Charles the Fift: *Hombres muertos nò hazen guerra*; dead men make no warre. For these reasons, and divers other, farewell; I will not stay their justice, nor trust to their courtesies; for house it makes no matter; I had rather be a prince without houses, then a count without a head." During these treaties and delayes, divers brawles

The protestants at Antwerpe.

and bickerings fell out in Antwerpe, betwixt them of the religion, the Martinists, and Papists. Twice or thrice a weeke great numbers would be in armes, sometimes before the governesse court, sometimes before the Prince of Oranges house, but often or continually in places of greatest note. Although the prince was most politicke; yet his courage was nothing comparable to a number of others; if it had, without doubt hee might have hazarded to have surprised Antwerpe; having done it, he might have engaged the rest of the country. For in Gant and in the great townes was faction for religion, especially throughout the most of the villages and countries, where was preaching and defacing of images in many places; insomuch, that the Papists and Martinists drew them of the religion out of Antwerpe. Notwithstanding, they gathered together

Their overthrow at Osterwell.

at a village hard by Antwerpe, called Osterwell; where they preached in great numbers in such sort, that the governesse and all hers stood in doubt, whether it were best to hazard their defeate there, or to stay for more forces; being considered how they encreased daily, resolution was taken to charge them where they were; intelligence being brought them, that the Papists and Martinists, with a number of souldiers, did salie to defeat them; notwithstanding they were voyde of any men of conduct, or souldiers gaged under ensignes, or cornets; and all, or the most, craftesmen, mechanicks, or poore peasants; yet they resolved to fight, making head with good courage against their ene-

The Prince of Orange his oversight.

mies. But for want of heads to direct them, default of armes and munition, they were defeated in plaine field. Judge you what they would have done being in the towne of Antwerpe, having with them a Prince of Orange, who had with him continually two or three hundred gentlemen, divers of charge and conduct. Besides, he was governor of the towne, never without a good partie, so as the governesse and hers durst not lay

He openly taketh part with the papists.

hands on him, although they knew him an enemy and a favourer of the religion: to say truth, he cloaked it what he could; insomuch, as all their parties being often in armes in the great places, himselfe went to the strongest, which were the Papists and Martinists; protesting to them to live and dye with the governesse, and religion. Without doubt his meaning was, touching the governesse, to be true to his country, and to live and dye with the religion. For amongst them of the religion hee had divers instruments, some of his best gentlemen and captaines, who (God knowes) at that time had but little skill in warres; notwithstanding they were assured by them of his good will, in such sort that they would have marched often against the others, but for the princes

Perswadeth the protestants to quietnesse.

perswasions to the contrary. Sometimes he would tell them their enemies were more in number, and in charging them they should ingage their towne, wives, children, and goods; assuring them, if they would goe forward, the basest sort would ransacke their houses. Since I heard the prince say, that if hee had knowne the warres then so well, as he did since, he would have ranged on their sides; wishing then his valiant brother Count Lodowicke in his place. Pitie or feare overthrew the prince often, as I will shew

A pitifull captaine.

hereafter. Great warriers account the pitifull captaine a foole in warres, and never cruell untill hee masters his enemie; then hee must bee bloudy to execute, if hee cannot live in safetie. This order continued untill the news came that Duke D'Alva was

The Prince of Orange into Germany.

marching: then it was high time for the prince to shift for himselfe. Before he arrived, the prince was in Germanie. After moving the whole state of the empire, except the house of Austria, hee found little comfort at their hands; saving the Count Pala-

tine of the Rheine, and his owne house of Nassau. Not without mervaile; for those flegmatique people will second no body without money before hand, and assurance to be payd monthly, especially being gaged to serve the weakest partie. When they come into the field, they will endure neither hardnes nor wants without their due guilt. When they have joyned battaile, they have often cryed guilt,[1] hurled their weapons from them, and suffered their enemies to cut them in pieces. I doe perswade my selfe all potentates and estates hyre them, onely fearing their enemies would have them. Without doubt, if one side hath them, and not the other, likely it is master of the field; they come in such multitudes of horsemen, as no christian nation besides is able to furnish. Else perswade your selfe 500, of either English, Scottish, Burgundians, Wallones, French, Italians, Albaneses, Hungarians, Poles, or Spanish, is worth 1500 Almaines.

Duke d'Alva arriveth in Loraine.

Duke D'Alva being arrived in Lorraine, Count Peter Ernest, governor of Luxemburgh, feared him; but like a wise politicke man, sent unto him to offer him all service. Notwithstanding, hee kept himselfe in his strong townes of Luxenburgh and Tyonvill, having garrisons at his devotion; the governors and captaines either his kinsmen or assured friends. Neither would hee suffer Duke D'Alva to enter those townes, or any other under his government, of any strength, except onely his owne person, with so many more as the governors could dispose of at their pleasures. Duke D'Alva knowing this man to be a very expert valiant captaine, would not offend him, but rather pleased him all that hee might. Insomuch as hee procured divers favourable letters from the king, to encourage him of their good meaning towards him; fearing otherwise that it lay in him to give the dutchie of Luxenburgh to whom hee listed; which might have beene a good present to the French king, being joyned with Mets in Loreine. Duke D'Alva remained quiet in the king's state at Brussels, with some tyrannous Spaniards about him; who, from the highest to the lowest, gaped for the spoyles and confusion of the poore Netherlanders. These (God knows), at that instant, were better fed than taught in marshall discipline, (except a few of their nobility and men of war, who were all at the devotion of Duke d'Alva, by means of the ignorance and obstinacy of Count Egmond, who was deceived and lulled asleep in his vaine glory, by certaine treacherous, tyrannous, and ungrateful Spaniards). Insomuch as they refused neither the tenth pennie, nor any other demands that pleased Duke d'Alva to charge upon them. Duke d'Alva having intrapt the Counts of Egmond and Horne, with divers others of great qualitie, sent for them to counsaile. At their entrie into a chamber where he was, the great provost arrested them of high treason, taking from them their rapiers and armes. You may easily judge their sentences, when they were to be tried by the cardinall Granvill and his friends. So, for the boxe on the eare and other follies, Count Egmond lost his head, with divers others, and principally the men of best quality, whom they feared and mistrusted to have any vogue with the popular, or meanes to annoy them, either with forces or councell. At this instant, Count Charles Maunsfelt had with him a vigilant politicke companion, which his father (the olde foxe) had foysted into the service of Duke d'Alva, onely to advertise him and his sonne of their proceedings. This espy-all ranne to Charles into a tennis-court, and brought him presently into his lodging, where they mounted themselves speedily to recover Luxenburgh; which they did, although Duke d'Alva sent divers others on the spurre, to bring them to him dead or alive. These mist them narrowly; for they had not passed the bridge of Namurs, but the others were in the place within one houre. Returning to Duke d'Alva, he was in great choler for not intrapping Count Charles, and not without reason; for, having him, he might have held him prisoner for the better assurance of his father. Duke d'Alva dispatched present posts to the Great-Provost of Arden, who was altogether at his devotion, by reason of a picke betwixt Count Maunsfelt and him. By good espy-all, Count Maunsfelt was advertized of their practise; which was, that the provost should use all diligence and meanes to

Count Maunsfelt upon his guarde.

Duke d'Alva courteth him.

Duke d'Alva surpriseth the chiefe of the nobility.

Count Charles Maunsfelt flyeth.

Duke d'Alva pursueth him.

Duke d'Alva's treachery against Count Maunsfelt.

The Provost of Arden the instrument.

[1] *Geld.*—Money, or pay.

intrappe the father or the sonne. If both, hee should doe the king and him great service. Count Charles being advertised of the match, used all meanes possible to meet the provost at equall handes. This count was rather desperate than valiant in all his quarrels, but politicke and full of wit in all his affaires. By good espy-alls he met this provost, having with him about twenty horsemen, all or the most his owne servants. The count had about twelve, the most or all captaines and souldiers. This encounter (God knows) was farre against the provost's will, considering the match; for most men of judgement in those affaires value sixe chosen men, well mounted, worth twenty ramassets, as the French tearme them. The count (as of greatest courage) beganne to speake as followeth. Master Provost, I doe understand Duke d'Alva commands you to bring my father or my selfe unto him, and that you gave your word you would do it. All honest men ought to maintaine their words and promises, especially great officers of qualitie like yourselfe. I must confess you ought to obey the king's lieutenant, but not to make promise of more than you are able to performe. You know my father, myself, and you, are neighbours children and kinsmen afare of; wherefore, for all your small picke, you might have used the duke with lesse assurance. But to give him and all his proude Spaniards to understand, that a Netherlander carrieth as good resolution as any Spaniard, and to terrifie such base fellowes as thou art from the like attempt, there is for thee. And withall strooke him with a pistoll in his bosome, downe from his horse. Himselfe and his company mastering the rest, executed no more, all yeelding to his mercy. The count told them, upon condition that some of you will tell Duke d'Alva that I wished him here with his provost, I give you all your lives, and leave to goe where you list. Tell him also, I am gone to the French king, and from him to the Turke, rather than to yeeld to his mercie. The count being in France, was greatly favoured, and well used by the French King, and remained there until Don John d'Austria came into the Lowe Countries, to be governor and captaine-generall. As I sayd before, Count Peter Ernest would never hazard himselfe at the mercy of Duke d'Alva; notwithstanding there passed courteous letters of dissimulation betwixt them. Duke d'Alva all this while plaied *gloria patri* as pleased him, thinking his worke at an end in the Lowe Countries, saving the finishing of two citadels, the one at Antwerpe, and the other at Flushing. In the meane time, he, the cardinal, and others, persuaded the king all they might, to undertake the conquest of England; thinking thereby to oppresse religion in all other places. Being resolved both in Spaine and Flanders, he dispatched his great captain and marshall Chiapine Vitelly unto her majesty, with some fained message; but by all likelyhood they had intelligence of our discontents; for immediately after Vitelly's retreit out of England, the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland were in armes in the north countrie; and the Duke of Norfolke was charged as faulty, presently after. At which time, Duke d'Alva had ready in Zealand some ten regiments to embarke for England; but by God's providence our stirs were quieted before they could embarke. Also God blinded his affaires in such sort, that he undertooke to finish the citadel of Antwerpe before that of Flushing, to his undoing, as I will shew in this discourse.

Charles Maunsfelt meets the Provost.

Killeth him.

Goeth into Fraunce.

Count Lodowick's entry into Frizeland, and the Defeat of the Count of Arembergue.

Count Lodowicke into Frizeland.

I can speake little touching the first journy Count Lodowick made into Frizeland; but I heard the Prince report, that Count Lodowick marched into Frizeland with some two thousand and five hundred horsemen, and seven thousand footmen, all Germanes. And having intelligence with the counts of Schowenburgh, and his brother-in-law, the Count Vanderbergue, hee tooke the castle of Wedle, with divers other places in Frizeland. Having ingaged Groining, the counts of Arenbergue and Meguen were dispatched from Duke d'Alva to stop his courses, having with them the master of the campe, Don Gonsalvo de Bracamount, with his *Tertia* of Sardinia, and some companies of Wal-

Count Arenbergue and Count Meguen sent against him.

lons, Geldrois and Almans, with the two bands of ordinance of the counts, and about five other cornets, launciers, and hergoletters, Albaneseis and Wallons. Count Arenbergue carried the commission, and marched before, with Bracamount and other bands of footmen; giving charge to Count Meguen to follow him speedily with the rest. Count Arembergue being arrived within two leagues of Count Lodowick, and understanding his forces, would have staid from Count Meguen, who would have been with him that night. The pride of Bracamount, and divers of his Spaniards, was such, as valuing Lodowick and his forces as nothing, they urged Count Arembergue with hainous words; insomuch that a number of the basest sort of the Spaniards began to call him cowardly traitour, although Count Arembergue was a valiant expert captain, and onely would have staied for more forces; for he knew, and all the world with him, that Lodowicke was a most valiant obstinate executioner, who alwaies directed his troupes to fight in good order; and so resolutely, that at an encounter with the French, he and Count Maunsfelt made a discreet valiant retreit. The admirall and his Frenchmen being defeated, Bracamount and his Spaniards urged the count to approach Lodowicke, who was lodged in a village by Groning, having on both sides broad high waies, both towards Groning and his enemies. At the end of the lane towards the enemie there was a great heath, with three high waies entering unto it. True it is, Lodowicke's companions were Germans, but of the best sort; for five hundred of his horsemen were gentlemen that accompanied him and his brother Count Adolfe of Nassau, for good will; all his rest were a thousand horsemen, which he led himselfe. Count Arembergue being approached Count Lodowicke's quarters, divided his horsemen on both sides of his footmen, which marched in one squadron, conducted by Bracamont. Hee placed some five hundred shot before his squadron, the rest on both his sides. Count Arembergue himself led the right wing of the horsemen, his lieutenant of Frizeland the left wing. He commanded the herguleters to march before the forlorne shot of his battell, on foote, and with some fiftie herguleters, to keepe as nigh Lodowicke's quarters as they could, and to keepe centinell at the entrie of the lane into the plaine. Count Lodowicke's curriers having discovered them at the Nuse, Lodowicke advanced out of the village, commanding two hundred reysters to displace Arenbergue's curriers, and to stand in the mouth of the streight. Lodowick came with all his forces; placed his lieutenant, Henrick Vausican, with a squadron of pikes, some thirtie score, in the plaine, halfe of his shot on both sides of his squadron; advanced the two hundred reysters, thirty score, before his battaile; placed his brother, Count Adolfe, with 600 reysters on the right wing of his battaile, and so many more with one of his best captaines on the left wing; the rest hee hid in two squadrons in both the out-lanes, leaving in the middle lane a good squadron of pikes, with some three hundred shot in the hedges on both sides. He gave charge to the two hundred reysters to skirmish with all courage; gave directions to his brother to retire softly as the enemie approached, himselfe standing with some seven hundred of the best horsemen, hidden in the right lane from the enemie; and gave order to the other wing to run through the pikes which stood in the middlemost lane, who had directions to shift themselves over the hedge, as though they were defeated. His directions were no sooner given, but Arembergue's curriers and his were together by the eares, and the Nassauians forced to retire under their battels of pikes. Arenbergue advanced with all speed, both horse and foote. Being neere, Bracamount and his Spanish cried to Count Arenbergue to charge; withal, Arenbergue and his lieutenant charged at once. According to direction, Count Adolfe retyred, bringing Count Arenbergue (who had by far the greatest wing) on Count Lodowicke. So did the other bring Arenbergue's lieutenant through the lane where the pikes were. Lodowicke giving signe to his reysters in the third lane to charge, withall chargeth himselfe, and found Count Arenbergue and his lieutenant good cheape; by reason they were out of order in running after Adolfe's troupes. His lieutenant, Henrick Vausichan, was broken by the

Bracamount, master of the campe.

The pride and insolency of certaine Spaniards.

Lodowicke, a brave commander.

Lodowicke's forces.

The order of the Spaniards.

Lodowicke's order to traine out the enemy.

Spanish and Wallons; but at the sight of their horsemen, which were in route, their courage quailed in such sort, that valiant Lodowicke ranne thorow them cheape. In this place the count of Arenbergue was slaine, all or most of the Tertia de Sardinia slaine or taken prisoners, with a number of Wallons and Geldreis. Divers Spanish captaines escaped by recovering their horses, which were led not far from them; so did divers Wallons, and many of their horsemen, by reason Lodowicke executed the most of his furie on the Spanish footemen. At the returne of the Spanish captains that escaped, Duke D'Alva executed them, as I shewed in my discourse of their discipline, for urging their generall to their overthrow.

The Spanish discipline.

Count Lodowicke assayes Groning, and the Duke d'Alva overthrowes him at Dam, in Frizeland.

Lodowicke besiegeth Groning.

Vitelli in ayde of Groning.

Is dared to battaile by Lodowicke.

Refuseth, and yet giveth hope thereof.

D'Alva approacheth.

Lodowicke retyreth.

Fortifieth himselfe at Jemming.

Seeketh to stop the enemy.

Relieveth his curriers.

AFTER this, Count Lodowicke ransacked Frizeland at his pleasure, insomuch that he besieged the faire and rich towne of Groning. Duke d'Alva hearing this, dispatched his Martiall, otherwise called Master of the Campe, Generall Chiapin Vitelli, with sufficient troupes of horsmen and footmen, being joyned with Count de Meguen, to stop Lodowicke's course. Duke d'Alva used all diligence to gather his whole forces, who marched with all speed after Vitelly. Vitelly being arrived by Groning, Lodowicke retired his siege into one quarter, resolving to give Vitelly battaile; to which end he sent his trumpets to Vitelly to dare him, a small river being betwixt both. Vitelly kept the passages, brake the bridges, answered Count Lodowicke hee had no order to give battaile, but to discharge the towne of Groning, delaying the count politickely, and telling his messengers, "I will send unto my generall, to obtaine his good will; your master may be assured, having leave, a battaile will be my first businesse." Duke d'Alva being arrived with his faire armie within a daies journey of Vitelli, Count Lodowicke retyred into Jemming, a village by Nuse-heile, towards Emden, breaking the bridges after him. At the end of the village towards the enemie, he left Henrick Vausichan, his lieutenant, with all his infanterie, being some eight thousand, which were increased by reason of his good successe at the last battaile. This Jemming was a place environed with waters, saving two or three large wayes which came into it from Groning. On every way Count Lodowick made trenches, placed strong guards, ranged his horsemen in foure squadrons, making what meanes he could to fill ditches, to enlarge grounds, to make waies for his horse to fight out of the high waies, in divers of the meadowes towards Nuse-heile. By reason of the streights, his horsemen stood behinde the footmen in the great wayes. Henrick Vausichan having intrenched himselfe reasonably strong, with five thousand men to defend the place against the enemie, planted divers field-pieces, which flanked the quarter where the enemie must attempt. Hearing Duke d'Alva's curriers advanced within the sight of the Nassawians guardes, Lodowicke sent two hundred reysters to reencounter them, giving them charge to stoppe their course what they could, to winne time to strengthen his trenches, which were in working with all his hands. Being reencountered, both these curriers fell into a hot skirmish. Julian Romero having the vantguarde with Robelos, seconded their curriers with some four or five hundred horguleters, in such sort, that the Nassauians were forced to retire on the spurre. At the sight whereof Lodowicke passed some four hundred reysters, commanded by a valiant man, who charged the Spaniards into the squadrons which Julian and the other led, being foure regiments of Spaniards and Wallons. The grand prior, Duke d'Alva's sonne, commanded the battaile, having with him Don John de Mendosa, general of the horsemen, with Vitelly. They passed with all speed through the vauntgarde, some seven hundred anciers, which chaced the Nassawians into their infantrie; and withall Julian and Robe-

los advanced with all speed; so did the grand prior with his battaile; and Duke d'Alva, with his sonne Don Frederico, accompanied with diverse others of great quality, seconded the battaile in great march. Lodowicke giving courage to his infantry, the base villaines (as I shewed you before) cryed *Gilt, gilt,* according to their simple and olde base customes. Julian and Robelos being pell mell with them, they hurled downe their weapons, crying, *Live Spaniard, bone Papists moy.* Notwithstanding Lodowicke recovered his horsemen, who beganne also to shake and to crye for money. True it is, at the first approach of Duke d'Alva in Frizeland, foure dayes before, the horsemen beganne to murmure, and to counsaile Lodowicke to returne to Emden. Lodowicke seeing this disaster, pulled off his caske, desiring his horsemen to follow him, or to stand to beare witnesse how honestly his brother stoode with some five hundred horsemen, desiring him to charge those launces which advanced hard before them. Count Adolfe did it with great courage, although halfe his squadron quitted him. At which instant Lodowicke cryed to his horsemen, "All you that have a humour to live, follow mee." Withall he gave the spurres; some three hundred horsemen followed him; the rest ranne away. Notwithstanding, his brother and himselfe, with lesse than six hundred reysters, drave above eight hundred launciers, besides herguleters, into their vanguarde of foote. By that time the Spanish generall of horsemen was arrived with great troopes, which soone mastered the Nassawians; in which place Lodowicke was hurt very sore in two or three places, and his horse also. Notwithstanding hee escaped with wonderful hazard, by swimming a river, and recovered Emden. His brother, Count Adolfe, with the most or all the gentlemen that followed him, were slaine, or taken; so that scarce fortie escaped of both their troupes. All or the most of his infantrie were taken and slaine, saving a troupe which made a composition, being strongly entrenched with Henrick Vausichan. Notwithstanding, the Spanish used them cruelly, according to their cowardly deserts; putting all or the most to the sword, and winning all their artillerie, munition, and baggage. This overthrow recompensed double Lodowick's victorie; but without doubt, had the base people fought, and followed Lodowicke's directions, the losse had bin the Spaniards, the feate of the Nassauians was such. Besides, I forget to speake of a ditch which Lodowicke commanded to bee cut, in such sort, that the water could have assured their quarter within lesse then tenne howers. This valiant count had reason to draw Vitelli to battaile; knowing, in retyring before greater forces, the courage of his base souldiers would quaile. But having intelligence of Duke d'Alva's approach, and finding the mindes of his men failing, hee had greater reason either to retire without ingaging a fight, or to have fortified a strong passage, where hee might have made head safely, until the prince his brother would have succoured him with more supplies. This hee might have done, considering the time and warning hee had since the arrival of Vitelli, until the coming of Duke d'Alva; principally since the overthrow of Arenbergue, finding Groning not to bee taken, and seeing forces encreasing daily against him; but give him his worthy right, to correct his deedes I may be compared unto a counterfeit Alexander on a stage, better then to the valiant and discrete count.

His Germans cried for guilt, and are payed by the Spaniards.

His brave resolution in greatest distresse.

The valour of Count Adolfe.

Count Lodowicke defeated.

Adolfe slaine.

The cause of Lodowicke's daring Vitelli.

The Prince of Orange's first Journey into Brabant.

TOUCHING the prince of Oranges journey into Brabant, I can speake no more than this. By the ayde of the count Palatine of the Rhyne, and his own house of Nassau, which ingaging the greatest part of his owne countrey of Nassau, he leavied some tenne thousand Reisters, and twelve thousand launce-knights. With those, and some two thousand Ramassees, of Wallons, French, and Flemmings, fugitives; but a number of them brave gentlemen of good quality, especially the count of Holdestocke, being entred Cleveland, the prince bent his course towards the river of Mase; resolving to passe the

The Prince of Orange towards Brabant.

said river by the great and rich towne of Leige, making account to finde some good partie in that towne. Besides, divers of the other townes of Brabant, Flanders and other provinces, promissed him assistance, in case hee would encounter D. d'Alva in the field. Having passed the Mase, and being encamped by Leige, D. d'Alva understanding his meaning by good espy-alls before his arrivall, sent some captaines of quality, who were expert in those affaires, both to the bishops and to the clergie; to advertise and direct them to defend themselves; assuring them (if neede required) hee would hazard battaile for them. This towne being neuter, and of the empire, onely governed by priests and such men, with the assistance and counsaile of Duke d'Alvaes instruments, beganne to shew themselves rather enemies than well-willers unto the prince; insomuch that divers sacked and spoyled some baggage and victuals loosely guarded, which passed under their favours. The poore prince seeing himself so used by the Liegrois, was uncertaine what to imagine, fearing the rest of the townes would doe the like; having but small store of munition of his owne, and little hope to procure from others. Also Duke d'Alva fronted him with a faire armie, but not comparable to his, especially in horsemen; for the prince had more then double his numbers. Notwithstanding, Duke d'Alva was on the surest hand, by reason all the townes and passages were at his devotion. Divers skirmishes passed betwixt both parties; but the prince could never engage Duke d'Alva to battaile, by reason he would bee sure to be strongly entrenched (especially being in the field) and lodged often under the favour of his townes. Having intelligence that the prince meant to enter Lovaine, to front him in his passage, he sent his great Captaine Robelos and Mondragon, with some twentie ensignes of footemen, Spanish and Wallons, and five cornets of horsemen into Tylmount. This Tylmount is within three leagues of Lovaine; a place of no strength, but sufficient to withstand the princes forces, having an armie hard by to countenance them, for D. d'Alva was encamped within three leagues. In the princes march the garrison of Tylmount annoyed him greatly: so that all his forces were constrained to stand in battaile before Tylmount, until his rere-gard and baggage were past. Insomuch that Duke d'Alva had the better meanes to looke to Lovaine; but offering them garrison, they refused it; assuring him they would be loyall unto the king, and him. Duke d'Alva politickely contented himselfe, fearing by despaire to enforce them to revolt to the prince. Notwithstanding, he used them with threatnings, that he would looke unto their doings; assuring them that he would account them rebells, if they would assist the prince with any necessaries. But he doubted not their loyalties in defending the towne.

Commeth to Leige.

D'Alva sendeth to Leige.

Leige enemy to the prince.

Sendeth forces to affront the prince.

The garrison there annoyeth the prince.

Lovaine refuseth a Spanish garrison.

To be the better assured, he sent divers of good judgement to assist and counsaile them, as he did to Leige. Himselfe retired with his armie near unto Brussels, to assure both Brusssels and Monts in Henault; the prince being encamped under Lovaine, found not them so angrie as the priests of Leige; for Lovaine was an university governed by good natured people, and a number of nobilitie (as strangers tearme all gentlemen) were allyed to the prince, or to divers of his followers. Besides, at that time the people in generall hated the Spanish deadly; in such sort, that for all Duke d'Alvaes instruments (but for their buttered hearts and flegmatique livers) they would have opened their gates; the prince perceiving their peevishnesse, seeing his orators could not prevaile to make him enter, he burnt their barriers, and terrified them in such sort, that either fear or love made them to give a great piece of money, with much victuals. Perceiving his fortune that no place would accept him, and that Duke d'Alva would adventure no battel, he thought it his best to retire. But politickly he and his instruments persuaded their armie, that the admirall Chastilion was arrived in the frontiers of Artois with a mighty armie of Frenchmen, and that they would joyne with them. They gave out also, that the queene of England had sent a great treasure unto the admirall to pay both their forces. Hereby they encouraged the mechanick mercenary reysters to march; having intelligence at

But yet yeeld him money and victuals.

The prince retyreth.

His policy to keepe his army from mutinie.

Valentia, a towne in Henault, neere unto the frontiers. Being arrived there, the prince and his armie beganne to take courage, partly because they knew Duke d'Alva would follow them no farther, but chiefly because they might bee presently in France. And although the army should mutinie, according to their custome, as I said before, the prince and his commanders might easily escape and shift for themselves, who otherwise should be in great danger; for being engaged amongst their enemies, they might have beene delivered by their owne soldiers to Duke d'Alva, either for passage or for money. In this place the prince finding his rutters alert, (as the Italians say) with advise of his valiant brother, hee sent his trumpets to D. d'Alva to tell him that hee would be the next day fower leagues towards him, with fewer in number then himselfe did lead, where hee would stay his answere, and dare him battaile. The duke lay entrenched within six leagues of the prince, having with him some twenty thousand. True it is, his horsemen did not amount to fower thousand; but they were Italians, Wallons, and Albaneses, who in troth were to be valued with thrice as many reisters; yea, in my judgement, with six times so many, being not accompanied with such chiefs as Count Lodowicke. The trumpets being arrived, Duke d'Alva hanged one, and answered the other: "Well, tell thy master, my master will maintaine his armie continually; and thy master (I am assured) will breake his within few days upon wants. Therefore I have no reason to fight, were I sure to winne the battaile. And although I know the valure of my men farre surmounting his, yet notwithstanding no battaile can be fought without some losses on both sides. For these causes I will not fight." Vitelly perswaded him all he could to accept the offer, and to fight; alleaging the danger not to be great, considering the difference betwixt the men. Alleaging also, that in defeating the prince, and leaving his person dead in the field, their warres would be ended by all reason. For my part, I am of Vitellyes mind; but the wisest and of best judgement will be of Duke d'Alvaes, for all battailes end as pleaseth the great God. Had Duke d'Alva beene defeated, he had not onely lost his forces, but all his masters countries. The next day the prince rose from Valentia according to promise, leaving all his baggage and worst disposed soldiers in safety by Valentia. Hee marched with all, or the most of his horsemen and footemen, triumphing with drums and trumpets towards Duke d'Alva, to the place his trumpets did assigne. Duke d'Alva was also in order of battaile, but kept all his footmen in trenches with his horsmen; saving the guards which were beaten in by the valiant Count Lodowicke, who led the van-guarde with three thousand of the best sort of reisters. But the prince and Manderslo his marshall, with divers others, would not march so fast as Lodowicke, with the battaile and rereguard; wherefore Lodowicke was forced to retyre, being within sight of Duke d'Alvaes trenches; raging with the prince and the rest, for not marching to force the trenches. Alleaging unto them, as it was very true, it were better to bee defeated in fighting, then for wants; as they were sure in a short time to be. Being retyred, they resolved to follow their first determination, the sooner the better, seeing Valentia would doe nothing for them. Duke d'Alva having news of their retreit and resolution, rose also, following them a farre off like a fox, in such sort that he would be surely lodged, and march safely from hazarding battaile, by Peronne on the French frontiers. Vitelly overtooke divers baggages and straglers, in such sort, that he put a number of them to the sword, who were not guarded by reason of their owne negligence, in stragling behinde and aside the rereguard, unknowne to Count Lodowicke, who made the retreit. But so soone as Lodowicke had knowledge hereof, he returned in such sort, that Vitelly and his van-guarde of horsemen were forced to runne till he met Duke d'Alva, to his disgrace, considering his speeches fower dayes before. After this the duke pursued no further, and the prince and his armie entred France, having no means to content his armie but with spoyles of the French; which they did not spare (as the provinces of Champaine and Picardy can witnesse) in their retriet to Germanie.

He cometh to Valentia.

Avoydeth the danger of his mutinous souldiers.

Biddeth d'Alva battaile.

Hee hanged one of the trumpetters. Refuseth to fight.

Vitelly perswadeth to fight.

The danger of the losse of the battaile to the Spaniards.

The prince marched to the place assigned. Count Lodowicke hath the vantguard and beats in the Dukes guards.

Counselleth to force his tents.

D'Alva followeth.

Vitelly cutteth off stragglers.

Is forced to run, by Lodowicke.

D'Alva retyreth.

The prince in Fraunce.

The causes of the princes bad successe.

This was the fortune of the poore prince, for want of meanes to nourish his men of warre: and will bee of all others, unlesse their chiefes provide in time either money or spoyles. To say troth, the princes fortune might easily have been judged when he feared to enter Leige; for all voluntary armies, I meane that are not payed, are gone and defeated in short time, in case they misse rich spoyles at their first entry into the enemies countries. In my time I remember fower came to ruine with those fortunes. Besides this, they did some other matters about Zutphen, Ruremond, aud those parts, by meanes of the princes brother-in-law the Count of Bergues; but it proved to small effect. For alwaies the masters of the field command all weake places in a short time; wherefore (as I said before) a voluntary armie must either be enriched presently with spoyles, or else assured by strong seats. But let the seat be never so strong, the master of the field will command it in time, unlesse it be some strong port like Flushing, Rochell, Callice, Marsillis, Brouage, Graveling; or at the least some frontier strong place, that a state or potentate dares not asseige, having no hope to despaire the governor to deliver it into their enemies hands. For example, Goordon of Callice being wooed and desired by his master the French king, to deliver Callice unto his favourite Espernon; for all his faire words and large offers hee would bee governor still. So likewise S. Luke held Brouage, also Lamote kept Graveling; making his peace as pleased him with the Spanish king, and after offending to the highest degree. Wherefore in a troubled estate, there can be no surety comparable to a strong government.

What townes are defensible.

Duke d'Alva abuseth his Masters service in not finishing the Cittadle of Flushing before that of Antwerpe, and in neglecting to place sure Garrisons in the Sea Ports.

After this, the poore prince remained in Germanie (God knows) almost despairing to doe any more good against the Spanish; but that the Almighty stirred new instruments to maintaine his cause, and blinded the Spanish in their affaires. As I said before, they left the Cittadle of Flushing, being the onely port and key of the Neatherlands unfinished, and ended that of Antwerpe; all men of warre of any judgement may easily conceive, had they finished first the cittadle of Flushing, Zealand had never revolted. Yea, had they placed some 2000 souldiers in garrison in their ports of Brill, Medenblake, and Harlem, with some five hundred in the cittadle of Flushing, Holland, and Frizeland, with the rest of the province had been sure: for the Spanish, with their infinite Indian treasure, beside the rich Netherlands and other places, were sure to be master of the field; having none to feare or to annoy them, but England, Scotland, Germanie, and France. Touching England, we had neither reason nor surety to have meddled with their actions; without being assured of some of their best ports, the mutability of the people is such. Touching Scotland, I perswade myselfe they would not have meddled with them, in case they had not bin joyned with England. Touching France, you saw the Spaniards meanes so great in those parts, that his faction was to be compared to the kings, or any other; and would have beene farre greater if the Guyse had lived. Touching Germany, their house of Austria compassed the contrary of the best sort in those parts. As for mercenaries, we know it by good experience, commonly they follow the best purse; and by that reason the multitude of that nation and Swizers had beene theirs! Touching the state of Italy, either it is his, or dare not offend him. For the Venecians are no body without mercenaries; the Genevois are all or the most part at his devotions; the great houses of Mantua, Ferrara, Parma, Urbin, Graftino, with all the rest of any qualitie of those stirring spirits, are either his servants or pensioners. Touching the clergie, either his love or feare makes popes and cardinals as pleaseth him. Portugall is his. Touching Denmarke, Sweden, the Hauns townes, Poland, and such like, they are either mercenaries

The Duke d'Alvaes error in not building and fortifying the cittadle of Flushing.

England.

Scotland.

France.

Germany.

Mercenaries.

Italie: Venice. Genoa.

The great houses.

Clergy.

Portugall

Denmarke.

too farre off to annoy them, or the most of them mechanicks, without chiefes of any conduct. Being assured (as they thought) of the Neatherlanders affaires, Duke d'Alva made his statue in brasse, placed it in the middest of the castle of antwerpe, treading on the Counts of Egmond and Horne; with the prince of Orange looking under him for wayes to escape. Hee made also peeces of arras, wherein were represented his sieges, battailes, and actions of armes, in one peece; his owne portraiture standing like the picture of the sunne, with all the ensignes and cornets which ever he wanne placed round about him. D'Alva's pride.

Count Lodowicke surprizeth Mounts in Henault, which is besieged and taken by Duke d'Alva.

At this time the French king and they of the religion were at peace, so that the Admirall Chastilion thought himselfe assured of the king; but, poore lord, himselfe, and many others were treacherously handled, as the massacre of Paris can witnesse. At this time Count Lodowicke was in Paris; and finding accesse to the king by the admiral's meanes, procured divers principals of the religion to promise to succour the prince, his brother, and him against the Spanish. To whose demaunds the king agreed most willingly, by his Machiavell mother's counsaile, who never cared what became of any estate or world to come, so shee might serve the present purpose, and maintaine her owne greatnesse. Considering her Machiavell humours, she was much to blame in this, knowing the French disposition, rather than to live long in peace, to fall into fight one with another. In going with Count Lodowicke, shee was assured, that most or all which would goe with him, would bee of the religion; if they prospered, Lodowicke promised some frontier townes to the French for the king's use; if not, they might be glad to lose so many enemies. By reason of the king's and his mother's dissembling leave, and master Secretarie Walsingham's true and honest meaning to the cause in generall, and to Count Lodowicke in particular, the count esteemed his affaires in good estate. Master Secretarie then beeing embassadour for the queen's majestie in Paris, furnished the count all hee could with countenance and crownes; in such sort, that the count resolved to depart into the Lowe Countries, having the admiral's assurance to second him, if his journey prospered. But presently there went with him Mounsieur De la Noue, Mounsieur de Poiet, Mounsieur de Roueres, Sir William Morgan, Mounsieur Ianlis, Mounsieur de Mouie, with divers other French gentlemen of qualitie. These, by the admiral's meanes, were to second him presently with sixe thousand footemen, and some foure hundred horse, all Frenchmen. Count Lodowicke sent sundry gentlemen, Netherlanders, some known in Mounts in Henault, some strangers unknowne, appareled like merchants; who, with their practise and meanes, used the matter well with divers of the religion, which were well knowne unto them; besides a number of Papists, honest patriots, who loved the Prince of Orange, principally because they knew that he and his hated the Spaniards. And although the prince were of the religion, his promise was to grant liberty of conscience being victorious; for which cause he carried many thousand hearts more than he should have done otherwise. In those dayes few of the popular were of the religion, but all in generall hated the Spanish deadly. Count Lodowicke's instruments behaved themselves so well, that promise was made unto them, when they would devise any meanes, they should be seconded to doe the prince service, or any of his. This message being declared to the prince, hee returned the one partie presently to their fellowes, whom they had left behinde them in the towne, giving them charge in the breake of morning the third day, to use the matter so, that the porter should let them out at the Ports of Hauery. That being out, they should give the watch some bribe, and shoote off a peece, appoynting that hee would be in person hard by, ready to enter. Accor-

The massacre of Paris.

Lodowicke craveth ayde in France.

Obtayneth the king's consent.

The French humors.

M. Secretary Walsingham.

Lodowicke dispatcheth his instruments to Mounts.

The stratagem for gaining the towne.

ding to promise, the parties executed his commandement, acquainting therewith an honest inne-keeper of the religion. The count, giving order unto some seven hundred footmen to march with all speed possible towards Mounts, departed with the chiefs named before, accompanied with some foure hundred brave horsemen; all or the most gentlemen and officers who had commanded before. The worst of these three, either la Noue, Poiet, or Roueres, deserved to command twenty thousand men. The worthy count, having made a great cavalcadoe (as they tearm it) from his last lodging, arrived three howers before day at the place appointed; after leaving Mesieurs de Poiet, and Roueres in ambush within foure hundred passes of the port, himself, Mounsieur de la Noue, Sir William Morgan, and some fiftie horsemen, approached as neere unto the port as they could be covert. According unto promise, the merchants were let out, and withall a peece went off; at which noyse the count and his troupe rushed in, divers peeces and pettronels going off. The watchmen ranne away at the noyse, Mesieurs de Poiet and Rowers dislodged on the spurre, and entered also. The count entering the market-place, and there setting his men in order, caused all the magistrates to be assembled. Being together, hee used these speeches:

The surprizing of Mounts.

Lodowicke entreth the town.

Assembleth the magistrates.

He speaketh to them.

"Deare countrimen, my coming is not against you, but against the tyrannous Spaniards, who have undone the prince, my brother, and all his house, and will make you slaves if you doe not resolve to prevent them; which you may, if it please you. Joyne with mee, and I assure you, I come not hither of my selfe, but am promised by the French king, and other potentates, to bee seconded presently. In the meane time, you shall see Lodowicke and his troupes sufficient to answer the furie of Duke d'Alva. Assure your selves without the ayde of mighty strangers, and assurance that my brother the prince will march with all speed to our succours with a puissant army, I and these gentlemen had never engaged ourselves upon any land towne as this is. Although we neede not to feare, knowing the strength of the place to be sufficient to withstand any forces that shall present themselves before it, being manned with a reasonable troupe; much more having so many chiefs as you see here;" naming unto him the great captains that accompanyed him, whose names were well knowne unto most of the burgesses.

His speeches gave great courage unto the burgesses, who were soone perswaded to depart peaceably to their houses, and to deliver the keyes of their gates to the count. Although the people hated the Spanish deadly, they knew not what to make of this surprize, whereat great murmuring was in corners. Some feared Lodowick would alter their masse, which they most esteemed, (for all or the most part were Romane Catholickes;) others feared Duke d'Alvaes furie, in such sort, that many presented supplications to the count, that hee would permit them to depart the towne, with their wealth and baggage. Some had leave, especially such as were known to be obstinately Spaniolized; who eased the rest greatly that stayed. For in their houses the count lodged divers of his troupes, and were for the most part the wealthiest of the towne. Duke d'Alva hearing this, was greatly amazed, although the French king advertised him how all promises passed in Fraunce, and that he had made a draught for his master and himselfe, to be quit of a great number of enemies, thinking indeed that Lodowicke and all his followers should fall into his hands. But the count himselfe, and his vigilant followers, deceived both king and duke, who (as you heard) surprized Mounts sodainly, and unlooked for at both their hands. This made Duke d'Alva amazed, thinking the French king doubled with him and his master, as King Henrie, and his constable Mountmorency, did for Mets, in Loraine, with Charles the Fift. Count Lodowicke's footmen (named before) being arrived, and the count perceiving the murmure of the greatest part of the townesmen, who were very well armed, strong, and in good order, (in such sort that Duke d'Alva using before all the policie hee could, never could place garrison in this towne, by reason of their strong seate well fortified, and above three thousand men bearing armes; besides as many or more able to carrie armes, all obstinate, mutinous Wallons,

The Papists perplexed.

The spaniolized Mountois depart with good leave.

The king of France, his advertisement to Duke d'Alva.

d'Alva distrusteth the French.

wanting neither victuals, artillery, nor munition,) he sought to make his partie and himselfe as strong as he could. And hearing how Duke d'Alva gathered all the forces he could, with great speed and preparations to besiege him presently, he acquainted therewith them of the religion, and such burgesses as he thought assured unto him. After placing his men in order in the market place, and seising on the best in Mounts, hee made proclamation upon pain of death, that all townesmen should bring their armes into the towne-house within six howres, which was obayed with all possible speed. This done, he gave armes unto some five hundred of the religion, and assured unto him; the rest he fed with faire words, assuring them on his honour, that neither himselfe nor any of his companies should abuse them, but what he did was for the suretie of himselfe and his companie; assuring them, if the siege presented not, to deliver them their armes againe: if it presented, and it pleased the Almighty to favour him, at the enemies retreit he would leave them as hee found them; conditionally, to accept a small garrison during the Spanish government. As for such (said hee) as will not endure my government and orders, let them come unto me, they shall have free leave to depart with all their goods, leaving behinde them victuals and such necessaries as may pleasure their besieged friends. They seeing their fellowes houses who departed before, used with havocke, which happened (as they thought) for want of masters to keepe them, and to complaine of their guests abuses; seeing also they could not carrie away the one quarter of their goods, the most part resolved to stay; desiring the count's leave to signifie unto their friends in Antwerpe and Brussels, how they were constrained to stay per force in the towne, meaning by that meanes to excuse themselves unto Duke d'Alva, whom they feared above all the world. Every day some of Lodowicke's horsemen ranne unto the ports of Brussels, and up and downe the countries as pleased them, spoiling and wasting what they listed. Often they had great skirmishes, but alwaies they defeated their enemies with halfe their numbers, in such sort that d' Alvaes captaines made ambushes for them, five hundred at a time, and the others would passe through them, being scarse halfe their numbers. This continued some time, but d'Alva having gathered his forces, dispatched Chiapin Vitelly with the most of his cavalrie, and certaine regiments of footmen; giving him charge to inclose the towne in such sort, as the garrison could not sally forth. Being approached Mounts, Lodowicke sallied, accompanied with the Lord of la Noue, and Poyet, Sir William Morgan, and divers other adventurers of good qualitie, with all his horsmen, and halfe his footmen, leaving Mounsier de Roueres in the towne, well acompanied with the rest. Being past his counter scarfe, he left Mounsieur de la Noue, who gave order unto five hundred harquebusiers to hide themselves close in the high wayes, some hundred score from the gates; Poyet and la Noue stood with two squadrons of horses a little before them, either squadron being of an hundred and fiftie, the rest the count commanded to go to ingage the enemy to skirmish. Mounsieur de Roueres caused divers pieces of artillerie to be transported from other mounts unto the mounts that commanded the field towards the enemie. The enemie advanced bravely both horse and foote, at which sight Lodowickes curriers encountered theirs with sundry cornets. But they forced the Nassawians to retire, and double their pases towards la Noue and Poyet. At this sight la Noue advanced, desiring the count to give order to Poyet to stand, and the harquebusiers to keepe close, telling him, "I know the enemy will repulse mee, notwithstanding I will charge with your leave; in my retreit, let the ambush of shot discharge their voles, then Poyet may charge the better cheap." The curriers being hard at hand, la Noue advanced, crying to his company, "Courage, turn bridle." And withall charging some 400 launciers, and herguleters, gave them the retreit into our squadrons, which advanced to re-encounter la Noue; at whose sight la Noue retired, bringing the enemies full upon the ambush of shot, which gave them such a salue of harquebushes, that happie was hee that retired first. Withall Poyet charged very couragiously, in such sort, that the enemies doubled their pases towards their battell, at

Lodowicke disarmeth such as he distrusted.

Hee giveth them leave to depart.

They choose to stay, and for what causes.

Lodowick's horsemen spoyle the country.

Chiapin Vitelly encloseth Mounts.

Lodowicke sallieth, and in what order.

Poyet and la Noue in ambush.

Roueres left in the towne.

The first medley.

La Noue chargeth.

Retyreth to draw the enemy to the ambush.

The ambush sheweth itselfe.

Poyet chargeth.

Lodowicke retyreth his footemen into the towne.

The enemies order for entrenchments.

The holding of an abbey without the towne.

For what cause.

Fortifieth the place.

Vitelly finisheth his worke begunne.

Maketh a new fort.

D'Alva setteth forth.

Roueres salyeth upon Vitellyes quarter.

Mendoza succoureth the quarter.

Roueres order for retreit.

Roueres retyreth.

whose retreite, the count wisely retyred his footmen into the towne, with his horsemen, in good order. In the mean time Mounsieur de Roueres forgot not to plague them with his artillery; the general of the horsemen and Vitelly advanced, their battaile remained halfe of horse and foot in armes, untill their quarters were entrenched, which they did in a short time, for they were furnished with a great number of pioners, and all necessaries; in such sort, that in lesse then fortie howers they assured the one halfe of the towne from salying forth, notwithstanding the ports towards Valentia and Hauery were cleare. There stood an abbey or cloyster some halfe an English mile from the towne, on a little river which ran from the towne to the cloister. The place was not strong, nor able to abide the cannon; neverthelesse, it was necessarie to be kept; for betwixt it and the towne there was good store of grasse and corne, with other necessaries to feed horses and cattel; besides, they were assured the enemie would attempt this place first. Therefore to winne time, it was most necessarie to be kept. Into this cloister Mounsieur de Poyet desired to goe with some eight hundred harquebusiers; although the count and the rest were loath to hazard his person. Notwithstanding the other alleaging himselfe to be but the third person in the towne, desired and perswaded them that halfe their footemen should not goe to keepe any place, without the company of a principall chiefe. To fulfill his desire it was granted him, referring all unto himselfe; being entreated not to engage himselfe further then he might well retyre, and assured that Lodowick and the rest would quite the towne and all to follow him, although they were sure to perish. Mounsieur de Poyet having possest the place, and furnished with about tenne dayes victuals, used all meanes to strengthen himselfe. By this time Vitelly had made the quarters towards Brussels very strong; in such sort, that two thousand were sufficient to guard it against tenne thousand; for he made there good forts about a quarter of a league one from another, with strong trenches that ranne from fort to fort, that no horseman could sally over them; and their footemen durst not passe those guardes, for feare of the counts horsemen. Vitelly dislodged with all his horse and foote, saving the guards which he left in his forts, and remained in battaile betwixt the ports of Valentia and Hauery, untill he erected a large fort like unto the others. Having left two regiments of footmen in it, hee retyred with his cavalrie and the rest of his footemen unto the next village, some halfe a league off, leaving neere halfe his troupes in guard, that they might be sure untill the arrival of Duke d'Alva; who beganne to set out from Brussels with the rest of his armie, artillerie, munition, and baggage, that night, about two howers before day. The towne and cloyster having intelligence, sallied out from both quarters some eight hundred footemen, with all their horsemen, to give a camisado under the conduct of Mounsieur de Roueres. Being met in one place, they gave furiously into Vitellies quarter, and forced his guardes into their place of armes. Mendoza being lodged apart with most of the cavalrie, gathered presently his horsemen in order, and gave resolutely into Vitellies quarter, which was in danger to be runne through with this camizado. Mounsieur Roueres, like a discreete souldier, had left one of his best captaines short of the enemies quarter, with some three hundred of his best shot, and a hundred and fiftie horsemen for his retreit, which saved him and the most of his troupes. Mendoza charged Roueres in such sort, that happie was he who could returne first. Comming unto his ambush, they peppered Mendoza and his horsemen with a salue of harquebushes, that turned them backe upon the other, at which instant the hundred and fiftie horsemen charged them on their backes. By that time, Vitelly and the most of his troupes were in order, advancing with all speed towards Roueres. Notwithstanding Roueres and his brave captaines (especially his cavalrie) retyred with small losse into the cloyster, where Poyet was readie to receive them in order without, in such sort, that Vitelly pursued no further. At this camisado the enemie lost six for one of the Nassawians, by reason Roueres had forced their guardes before the rest were in armes. The next day toward night Duke d'Alvaes vanguard was in sight of the towne; but before his rereguard

came to their quarter, it was nine of the clocke the next morning, by reason they marched very slowly, and not without reason; for they haled with them two and twentie pieces of batterie, besides some other field pieces, with all the munition belonging unto them. Duke d'Alva being arrived, incamped on the river side betwixt the meadowes and the hills, from the wayes towarde Valentia downe to the cloyster. Along this river he made strong trenches, which assured his armie towards the fields; towards the towne he made large deepe trenches, impossible to be entred. This man would commonly assure himselfe with trenches, although the enemies were lodged three days journey from him. Now before Mounts hee entrenched all his quarters, as though he meant to bee besieged, and not without reason, having intelligence how Mounsieur Ianlis marched for their succours with seven thousand Frenchmen, and the Prince of Orange making ready a mighty armie in Germany. After his arrivall, the next day he prepared to beate the cloyster, unto which place hee brought sixe pieces of cannon. Mounsieur de Poyet resolved before not to keep the place, but to winne time in forcing them to place the cannon. This cloyster was so neere the towne, that none could encampe betwixt it and the towne, by reason of the townes artillerie, and of wet meadow grounds, which could not be entrenched. Wherefore Mounsieur de Poyet did most bravely abide this whole dayes batterie, and in the night set the cloyster on fire with a traine; and so retired himselfe and his troupes safely into the towne, leaving nothing behinde. Within few dayes Duke d'Alva beganne to make his approaches, in such sort that hee assured the towne from sallying (saving their secret sallies through the rampier and bulworkes) before he mounted his pieces to beate the forts and defences. The towne plagued him greatly with their counter-battery: and besides they often sallyed, and annoyed them with sundry attempts on their artillery and trenches. With much ado, after receiving great losses, he made three platformes: the middest did batter the port of Hauery; the two others the flanks and parts of the curtaines on both sides. On these three platformes hee placed two and twentie cannons, with which, and with his culverins that did beate the defences, he discharged during his siege above 24,000 shot. The furie of all batteries are past at the first, I meane within two dayes, yea commonly in one; for the defendants knowing the place, and the successe of the furie, will re-enforce their breaches, and re-entrench themselves in such sort, that the assailants can doe small hurt with their approaches. The second day they battered, and having made their breach reasonable (as they thought) they prepared to the assault. The poynt fell by lot to the Tertia of Lumbardy, led by the valiant Mounsieur of the campe Julian Romero, who was seconded by the master of the campe Don Francisco de Baldesso and his Tertia de la Ligue; after him the regiments of Wallons, of the Marquesse of Hauery, Count Barlemount, Messieurs de Ligues, and of Capers. So were all the rest of the armie in battaile ready to second one another, according to their direction, with their whole cavalry in order of battaile, some quarter of a league from their trenches. Divers had leave to dismount themselves, who accompanied Julian at the poynt. The count re-entrenched himselfe overthwart the breach with a halfe moone. Himselfe and some two hundred horsemen stoode at the mouth of the great lane towards the breach; the rest of his horsemen were in three troupes, making patroiles (rounds we call it) from place to place round about the towne. As one troupe came unto him, hee sent another out. Mounsieur de la Noue stood with the armed men in the midst of the halfe moone. Mounsieur de Poyet stood on the one quarter of the moone, with halfe the shot; Mounsieur de Roueres on the other with the rest. At every corner of the moone they placed divers pieces of ordinance, laden with nayles, small bullets, and stones, which flanked the mouth of the breach. Julians captaines would not give place one to another, more then the collonells, but by lot. After knowing who should lead, and the breach discovered saultable, Julian commanded the poynt to the assault, which were suffered to enter; but being in the middest of the moone, they were murdered like dogs, in such sort, that happie was hee that could retyre first,

Duke d'Alva arriveth.

Entrencheth himselfe.

Battereth the cloyester.

Poyet abydeth one dayes battery, and retyreth by night.

Battereth the towne.

The furie of the battarie.

A breach made.

Preparation to the assault.

Julian Romero hath the poynt.

Preparation of the defendants.

The assault.

The retreit.

notwithstanding Julian advanced with all courage with his seconds; but being on the breach, and having discovered their trenches and workes within, he caused his toupes to retire, not without losse; for all their small shot playd incessantly upon his troupes.

Julian Romeroes danger and losse.

At this assault the Spaniards courage was quailed from assaulting any more. Julian escaped with great danger, having sundry harquebushes on his armes. His lieutenant collonell was slaine, with five of his principall captaines, and the bravest part of his souldiers, besides many adventurers, as well horsemen as footemen, which were not of his regiment.

The counts losse.

Roueres slaine.

The count escaped not freely; for divers of his best men were slaine, especially Mounsieur de Roueres shot in the head with a musket.

D'Alva wil no more assault.

Duke d'Alva perceiving the valure and conduct of Lodowicke and his men, resolved not to force his breach, but cunningly attempted them often with alarmes and counterfeit assaults; in such sort that hee spoyled many of the defendants with his artillerie, in presenting themselves on the breach.

The overthrow of Ianlis.

Duke d'Alvaes forces.

At this instant Mounsieur Ianlis was marching with his succours, in number (as I said before,) seven thousand French, all footmen, saving some foure hundred horsemen. Being arrived hard by Valentia, Duke d'Alva sent Don Frederico with his martiall Chiapine Vitelly, accompanied with one thousand five hundred horsemen, and foure thousand footemen; himselfe remained in strong trenches with all the rest in armes, who being all together were about one and twenty thousand footemen, and three thousand horsemen. Mounsieur Ianlis, although he was a most gallant souldier, at this re-encounter shewed small discipline; Vitelly having intelligence of his march and order.

Chiapine Vitellies ambush o intrap Ianlis.

His order to traine him to it.

Don Frederico being arrived at Saint Gellane, some two leagues from Mounts, hearing Ianlis was in march, and that he meant to passe that way within tenne howers, Vitelly desired him to leave all his men in ambush in that place in troupes, on both sides of the high waies. Having finished his orders, he commanded his nephew John Batisto del Mounte, lieutenant generall of the horsemen, to march with five hundred horsemen halfe launciers, the rest herguleters, giving him in charge to march in three troupes softly, untill his curriers should meete his enemies; then to returne one troupe after another without ingaging himselfe to fight, unlesse the enemie would enforce him; but to use all meanes to bring them engaged unto the ambush; then to run with his troupes as though hee were afraid, aside

The order put in execution.

of the ambush. He was not two leagues from Vitelly, but his curriers met the French; who according to their accustomed furie charged the Spanish curriers, and they according to their direction retyred before them; so did their second, and Battisto himselfe with the third; bringing them in his taile unto the place directed. By this time all or the most of the French horsemen were arrived, charging Battisto his troupes who could first, perswading themselves all to be theirs Vitelly like a discreet captaine, desired Don Frederico to suffer them to runne untill they were entred into the ambush of five

The French fall into the ambush.

hundred musketiers, which stood under a hedge where they must passe; and being entred, to charge them with halfe the horsemen, which stood equally divided on both sides of the way. By that time the French were entred the ambush of musketiers, and perceiving the squadrons of launciers advancing towards them, they beganne to retyré and to double their pases backe; but withall Don Frederico charged. John Battisto being

The disorder of the French march.

on the other side, turned also; so did Vitelly second with the rest, in such sort, that presently their few horsemen were forced to runne through their owne footemen, which brake in a short time, for they marched farre asunder, (as they said,) two leagues from their first troupes unto their last. Besides, they had no companies of pikes to make any stand, especially their horsemen being broken. Mounsieur de Mouie escaped into Mounts

Monie escapeth.

by reason of the woodland countries. Few returned into France, because the peasants murdered them in cold bloud. After the overthrow, the greatest part of them were exe-

Ianlis prisoner.

cuted. M. Ianlis, with divers gentlemen, resisted valiantly; but at the last he was mastered,

and carried prisoner into the castle of Antwerpe; where himselfe and an English gentleman taken with him, named Master John Winkfield, were executed long afterwards. Duke d'Alva hearing that the prince of Orange was readie to march with tenne thousand reysters, and twelve thousand launce-knights, besides divers fugitive Netherlanders, commanded his officers to strengthen his trenches with all speed, as well towards the towne as the field; giving order that all the munition and victuals that might be gotten should be brought into his campe, and that his horsemen should bring in all the forage they could, and spoyle the rest; for he resolved to stay in the field, and at least to famish either the prince or the towne, giving charge unto all men not to engage any skirmish or fight, but to make the town from sallying forth. The prince arrived with his armie mentioned before, without any let to speake of, until he encamped on the top of the hills toward Valentia, within halfe a league of Duke d'Alvaes trenches; at whose sight the duke gave straight charge that none should sally out of his trenches, giving the prince leave to encampe quietly without skirmishing. That night the prince sent often divers troupes unto the dukes trenches, thinking to keepe his armie in armes, but none seemed to stirre, or to take an alarme. The next morning the prince sent great troupes of horse and foot to procure the enemy to sally; standing himselfe with the rest in order of battaile in sight of the towne and of Duke d'Alva; but none would sally out of the trenches, in such sort, that the prince disloged with his whole forces, resolving to force their trenches, or to lose not a few of his best men. Being in order of battaile neere unto Duke d'Alva, hee sent his martiall Manderslo with three thousand lance-knights, and three thousand reysters, giving them order to charge the trenches with all resolution. Being approached within musket shot of the Spanish and Wallons, the poore Almans courage beganne to quaile, not without reason; finding better shot then themselves within the trenches, and their horsemen not serviceable, upon whom all their glory did rest. Notwithstanding that Manderslo and his troupes beganne to retire, the Lord of Drume the princes lieutenant, and Count Holhocke, with divers others of quality, accompanied with many troupes of horse and foote, marched resolutely and attempted the trenches against reason, for receiving hot salues of musketadoes, they were forced to retyre, at which attempt the Lord of Drume was slaine, with divers others of quality, and a great number of the souldiers both horse and foote.

Executed at Antwerpe.

D'Alva's orde against his arrivall.

Attempt to Duke d'Alva's trenches.

The Almans forced to retire.

A second attempt with great losse.

The prince being retyred into his campe, Julian Romero with earnest perswasions procured licence of Duke d'Alva, to hazard a camisado that night upon the prince. At midnight Julian sallyed out of the trenches with a thousand musketiers, and two thousand armed men, most pikes; all the rest stood in armes in the trenches, their horsemen ready without the trenches to second Julian, principally for his retreite if need were. Julian divided his forces into three troupes; the first two hundred olde shot, which could keepe their matches close, led by a desperate captaine named Munchecho; the second one thousand armed men and shot, led by Julian himselfe, the third led by his lieutenant-collonell and sergeant-major, whom he commanded to stand fast in the midst of their way betwixt the two campes for his retreite, and not to stir unlesse some of credit came from him to command the contrare. Presently after his directions, he commanded Muncheco to charge, who resolutely forced two guards, being at the least a regiment of Almaines. Julian seconded with all resolution, in such sort, that hee forced all the guards that he found in his way into the place of armes before the princes tent Here he entered divers tents; amongst the rest his men killed two of the princes secretaries hard by the princes tent, and the prince himselfe escaped very narrowly.

A camisado on the prince's army, by Julian Romero.

Julian Romero's order for the camisado.

He chargeth.

Only not seizeth upon the prince's person.

For I heard the prince say often, that he thought, but for a dog he had been taken. The camisado was given with such resolution, that the place of armes tooke no alarme, until their fellowes were running in with the enemies in their tailes; whereupon this dogge hearing a great noyse, fell to scratching and crying, and withall leapt on the

A dog saveth the prince.

The prince's care of himselfe.

He recovereth his horse hardly.

princes face, awaking him being asleepe, before any of his men. And albeit the prince lay in his armes, with a lackey alwaies holding one of his horse ready bridled, yet at the going out of his tent, with much adoe hee recovered his horse before the enemie arrived. Neverthelesse one of his quiries was slain taking horse presently after him, and divers of his servants were forced to escape amongst the guards of foote, which could not recover their horses; for troth, ever since, untill the princes dying day, he kept one of that dogs race; so did many of his friends and followers. The most or all of these dogs were white

Julian retireth,

little hounds, with crooked noses, called camuses. The campe being in armes and in some order, made head towards Julian in such sort, that he commanded the retreit. Before he

As hardly bestead;

could recover his stand with his lieutenant, the armie beganne to charge him in great troupes; in such sort, that with much adoe he could arrive with his troupes; and for all

yet he saved himself and his troupes.

his good order, hee lost many of his men, as well taken as slaine. Having recovered his stand, with the presence of the two thousand horsemen, which came for his retreit, the Nassawians followed no further.

Julian's councell, to defeat the prince's army.

Without doubt, had Duke d'Alva followed Julian's counsell, the prince had beene defeated in that place. Julian advised, that all their horsemen, and halfe their footemen, should have beene in a stand, where he left his lieutenant, and himselfe with his three thousand to enter the prince's campe; that, having good successe, the stand should have

The danger of following it.

entred also. For my part I am of Julian's mind; but the wisest sort are of Duke d'Alva's. Although Julian's courage assured him victory, Duke d'Alva had reason not to hazard his forces in battaile, being assured the prince would be forced to retire with wants. For if the prince and his armie had beene in armes and in order, it must have sorted to a battaile, having made halfe his armie to runne; and perhaps, by that meanes, the prince might have succoured the towne: For without doubt, let two armies incampe

The retreite of the Prince of Orange, and his fine stratageme and speeches to escape from his mutinous army.

one hard by another, the first that discountenanceth his fellow, is in great hope of victorie; or at least by all reasons to make his adversarie to retire. This camisado quailed the poore Almaines in such sort, that the prince was glad to use all the policie he could to retire, thinking the sooner the better, for feare least his reisters would grow to their olde custome, to cry for gilt, which he had not. To prevent all mutinies, he caused his officers, and many of his best instruments, to give forth, that his brother Count John was arrived with five hundred reisters by Ruremount; and with great treasure (sufficient

His retreit.

to pay all his forces for three moneths) from the queene's majestie, the King of Denmarke, and the Germane princes of the religion. His campe being throughly furnished with these speeches, he dislodged the next day; making all the haste he could to recover the Mase. Withall he advertised his brother of his fortune, desiring him to make the best shift for himselfe that hee could.

The prince being arrived by Ruremount, having intelligence with divers townes in Holland, fed his armie with good speeches; assuring them that his brother Count John was at Serenbarke, with his brother-in-law the Count of Bergue; and that hee would

Count Lodowicke's composition for Mounts.

send for them to make his passage over the Mase, where his brother Count Lodowicke would arrive, whom he looked for daily to come from Mounts.

After the prince's retreit, Count Lodowicke finding no remedie, beganne to parle; but stood on most honourable tearmes. Duke d'Alva knowing him to bee a most honour-

He commeth to his brother the prince.

able resolute man, and the towne not to be taken by furie, fearing delayes would grow to disadvantage, accepted his parle, agreeing to such conditions as pleased the count; in such sort, that Lodowicke and his garrison was to passe over the river of Mase, where his brother the prince was staying for him. Being met, resolution was taken that Lodowicke should passe into Germanie, and the prince into Holland. The prince fearing

The prince departeth from his army by night.

the worst, passed the river by night, with a few gentlemen; amongst others Sir William Morgan was one. The prince's sodaine departure gave a great murmuring amongst the reisters. Notwithstanding, he wrote a letter to his brother, to assure him that he

would content them with all speed possible; and that his going into Holland was principally to seeke meanes to pay them; giving to his brother leave and authority to sell all that hee had in Germany, rather then hee should bee disgraced with false promises. This letter being read openly, gave some contentment unto the armie; but principally the person of Count Lodowick stayed them, whom they much honoured and respected, knowing no fault to be in him.

I forgot to write how Malins accepted a garrison of the prince, as some of his forces passed by it in going to Mounts, which afterwards retyred with the prince. Duke d'Alva, for their reward after the taking of Mounts, sent his master of the campe, Julian Romero, with his Tertia of Lumbardy and others, who entred the towne, and sacked it to the uttermost. Malins receiveth the prince's garrison; is sacked by the Duke d'Alva's appointment.

The beginning and ending of this siege was most honourable, although unfortunate. Sometimes great captaines wrong themselves. Had the count left either Mounsieur de la Noue, or Mounsieur de Roueres, or Mounsieur de Poyet, governour in Mounts, and retired himselfe with the other to prepare their succours, by all reason it had been farre better; for the least of the three had been sufficient to command the towne, and the two others would have stood the succours in good stead; I mean the Prince and Mounsieur Ianlis. The only way for the prince had been to have encamped before Brussels, which was a weake rich towne, unfortified; where hee must have forced Duke d'Alva either to leave his siege to fight with him, or else to lose the towne; and not to attempt trenches, which wanted no defence that could be desired. Touching Mounsieur Ianlis, the world may judge there might have beene better order at his defeate. Lodowicke's errour. The prince's errour.

The Revolt of Flushing; the brave Resolution of Vorst the Seaman; and of the Baily, Mounsieur de Barland, in seizing on the Towne, and in executing Signiour Pacheco.

During the siege of Mounts, one Seigniour Pacheco came from Duke d'Alva, with a commission to be governour of Flushing and of the Ramkins. Pacheco had also authoritie to execute divers of the inhabitants in Flushing, principally the baily Mounsieur de Berland, and Vorst the famous seaman. At this instant they beganne the cittadle of Flushing. Pacheco being let in with some of his fellowes, and the rest at the gates; having intelligence with Mounsieur de Beavoir, governour of Middleburgh, thought within three dayes to have placed a garrison of Spaniards and Wallons in Flushing, and then to have finished the rest of his purposes at pleasure. Vorst beganne to mistrust the matter: whereupon hee went to Mounsieur de Berland, telling him, resolutely, that he would not stand to the Spanish government, nor trust to their courtesies. Mounsieur de Berland beganne to leane to his opinion, and to apprehend some feare; because he had received divers letters from his friends in Brabant, that Pacheco would come to bee governour of Flushing, and that Duke d'Alva was informed of some matters against Barland, and the said Vorst, with divers others. Hereupon Mounsieur de Barland and Vorst resolved to lay hands on Pacheco, and to seize upon the towne. Being respected, and greatly beloved of the popular, they made divers acquainted with Duke d'Alva's practises; and how Pacheco was the man that should execute his determination. Presently they gave order to make good watch at the water-port, to prevent the entry of the Spaniards, who were hard by it with their armes in their hands, ready to enter. Withall they assembled all the magistrates and burgesses into their towne-house, whither they sent for Pacheco, making him believe they would obey all his directions, conditionally that hee would shew them his authority. Pacheco being arrived amongst them, Mounsieur de Barland asked him for his commission. Pacheco shewed it. Withall Vorst layd hands on him, saying, Shellum Spaniard, thou hast more directions then Pacheco appointed governor of Flushing. The cittadle begunne. A garrison to be brought in. Barland. Conspire against the Spaniards. Seize upon him.

these. Pacheco striving with Vorst, Vorst and his companions threw him downe, giving him and his followers store of good blowes. Rifling Pacheco, they found about him all his directions; whereby divers of them were to be executed. Presently they carried Seignior Pacheco to the gallowes, where they hung Duke d'Alva's scutchion, at which they hanged Pacheco, with his commission about his necke; although Pacheco offered them assurance of tenne thousand duckets to have his head strucke off. They hanged also some five-and-twenty of his followers, beating them with stones and cudgels all the way as they passed to the gallowes. Mounsieur de Beavoir arrived at the gates towards Middleburgh with some foure hundred Wallons, within two howers after the executing of Pacheco. The Flushingers resolved to resist his entry. Beavoir, being a white-livered souldier, retyred into Middleburgh.

Hang him with Duke d'Alva's commission about his neck, and 15 of his followers.

Beavoir retyred to Middleburgh.

Beavoir's want of resolution.

Without doubt, had he shewed any valour, he might have entred; for at that instant Flushing was nothing fortified to speake of, saving towards the water; the rest was a lowe greene rampier, without flankes, parepet, or ditch, (but such as men of any resolution might have entred), or any pieces mounted towards the land, unlesse it were some paultry rusty olde clinkes, which a man would as readily choose in a maner to stand before as behinde, at their going off. Presently the Flushingers fell to working night and day on their rampier; and drew divers pieces of ordinance out of their ships, and mounted them thereon. They dispatched also letters into England and France for succors, with a few crownes. Flushing was in those daies (God knowes) a poore beggerly towne of fishing, in respect of that it is now; without towne, fort, fortresse, or village to friend, in all that countrey.

Flushing unfortified.

The burgesses fortifie.

Succours into Flushing.

As God would, there were divers followers of the Prince of Orange, and of his brother Count Lodowicke. Some were seamen, named by the enemies freebotters; but some of them were resolute gallant gentlemen; namely, Mounsieur de Lambres, de Skonuall, Batelentia, Ruchable, &c. These were sea-captaines, roving out of their countries, where fortune served them best, in the Prince of Orange's name. There were also divers Wallons and Flemmings, which kept the woodes of Flaunders, not knowing how to escape; namely, the Captaines Barnard, Ely, Ambrose Duke, and others. Hearing of the revolt of Flushing, they marched directly thither; and, at a place named Meerehaven they made a strong trench: In which place they remained not three dayes, but the Flushingers sent their boates to fetch them. The Captaines Barnard, Ely, and Ambrose Duke being entred Flushing, with some foure hundred Wallons and Flemmings well armed, did something assure the towne. Some of these had good understanding in the warres; principally in fortification, they did helpe the townsmen greatly; in such sort that they mounted their pieces in good order, and mended their fortifications.

Wallons and Flemmings 400.

Captaine Thomas Morgan comes to Flushing, which was the first English Band that served the Neatherlanders against the Spanish King.

A muster before the queene at Greenewich.

At this time there was a faire muster of Londoners before the queenes majestie at Greenwich. Amongst the Londoners were divers captaines and souldiers, who had served, some in Scotland, some in Ireland, others in France. And having nothing to doe, with the countenance of some great men who favoured the cause, and the small helpes of the deputies of Flushing, Captaine Thomas Morgan levied a faire company of three hundred strong; amongst whom were divers officers which had commanded before, with many gentlemen, at the least above one hundred, amongst which myselfe was one. This band was the first that served the Neatherlanders; I meane since Duke d'Alva came to be governor and captaine-generall of the Neatherlands. Captaine Morgan and his company arrived in good time; for at his arrivall Flushing was in distresse: For Duke d'Alva had sent forces of Wallones and Spaniards, under the conduct of Don Ruf-

Duke d'Alva sendeth forces against Flushing.

fello, to second Mounsieur de Beavoir; who had commaund to entrench themselves on the dike towards the Rampkins. Had they done it, the towne could not have cut the ditch, as they did afterwards; and Duke d'Alva was to second them with all his whole forces. But hearing how the English were arrived in greater numbers then we were indeed, Duke d'Alva staid, to march in good order, and with great meanes; for he wanted a number of sea provisions. Also Beavoir and Ruffello hearing of our arrivall, made no haste to march. In the meane time there arrived from Rochell three faire companies, ledde by the Captaines Henry, Tristan, and Utiran; of which one was levied for Mounsieur de Saras, who was appointed governour of Flushing, by letters from the Prince of Orange. These troupes beeing arrived, wee thought ourselves assured in the towne. Belike Duke d'Alva was offended with Beavoir and Ruffello, not without reason; for no two captaines could doe their generall worse service then they did; for, without doubt, they might have lodged on the ditch before the arrival of Captaine Morgan; besides the cowardliness of Beavoir, for not forcing the towne when Pacheco arrived. Perceiving Duke d'Alva to be in choler, they (to repaire their fault) resolved to attempt the ditch. And to doe it the better, they thought good to mount certaine culverings on a forced hill (I meane made with mens hands), which stood some halfe a mile from the towne, betwixt the way of Middleburgh and the dike; I meane the fourth dike from Flushing to Middleburgh. Beavoir kept some two hundred Wallones in a strong house, halfe way betwixt Middleburgh and Flushing. This place was guardable without batterie. Into this place Beavoir and Ruffello brought their forces, which might be some 2500 Spaniards and Wallones. Out of that place they advanced at midnight, leaving their great troupe hidden out of the high-way, within a quarter of a mile of the said hill. At the break of day, they sent some 100 shot towards the hill. The garrison perceiving their meaning, salied with about 700 English, French, and Wallones; who were desired and commanded by Saras to digge downe the hill. According to direction, the garrison advanced; and beeing approached, the enemy retired. Our men beeing at work, the enemy advanced some 400 shot, which entered into hot skirmish. Ours followed them so fast, that their ambush was faine to discover themselves for their safe-guard; at whose sight ours retired in good order, by reason halfe our men made a stand, for the retreit of those which charged. After this skirmish, Saras, discovering the number of enemies, retired the garrison into the town; not without reason, for he thought he marched to besiege us; and knew no other, but that the most of their army might be at Middleburgh, or thereabouts. Our men so behaved themselves at this skirmish, that the enemy lost three for one; notwithstanding the enemy tarried in the place, and, after dinner, made as though they would take the hill. The morning skirmish liked our captaines so well, as they desired the governour's leave to sally. Which earnest request was granted, upon condition not to engage themselves too farre. Whereupon the governour and the captaines mounted on the rampier, to direct their fight. Having resolved, Captaine Morgan and our Englishmen had the vantguard. To make the skirmish the more honourable, we sallied with our ensignes; the Frenchmen were to second us; the Wallones and Flemmings last: the whole were in number some 800. Captaine Morgan beeing arrived within a great musket-shot from the enemy, made a stand, and advanced his shot forwards: giving them commandement to stand also, untill hee commanded them, or the enemy forced them. Hee placed his armed men on both sides of the bridge, leaving a ditch betwixt them and the enemy; and stood himselfe, with a troupe of gentlemen, on the causway before the bridge. The two troupes of Frenchmen and Wallons placed themselves in meadowes, on both sides of the causeway; leaving their few armed men right against Captaine Morgan. They placed their shotte in ditches, a little before their armed men; saving some 100, whom they directed to enter into skirmish when the English began. Our order was scarce directed, but the enemy charged our men very hotly; in such sort, that all or the most part of both parties shotte were by the eares.

He pauseth upon the arrivall of the English.

Beavoirs and Ruffello's faintnes.

They endeavour to amend their faults, by attempting the dike.

They lay in ambush.

The garrison sallieth.

Beateth back the shot of the Spaniards.

The losse of the Spaniards.

Another sally to dislodge the enemy.

The English have the vantguard.

Captain Morgan's order for the skirmish.

The enemy chargeth the English very hotly;

Who acquit themselves valiantly. They retire. Captaine Morgan at the push of the pike. The enemie retireth.

Notwithstanding that theirs were twice so many, ours quit themselves very valiantly, untill a great squadron of their armed men advanced, which forced our English shot to retire; by reason that most of the English shot skirmished on the causeway, and hard by it on both sides, where the enemies could joyne with them. At this sight Captaine Morgan and his armed men advanced resolutely to the push of the pike; and so did the French and Wallones shot flank amongst them their vollies, that they plagued them greatly, in such sort that the enemy advanced no further: To say troth, they could not joyne with ours, by reason ours kept the ditches and bridge. Perceiving they could not force our quarter, the enemy retired; but stood fast, within a great musket shot of the place. Saras perceiving the enemies minde, thinking they would charge againe, and fearing wee had lost more than we did, sent unto ours to retire; which they did, with good order, into the towne, with small losse in respect of the skirmish, which endured very hot, and almost the space of two houres; in which time our men came twice to the push of the pike. Once the enemy had holde on Captaine Morgan's ancient, which was rescued bravely by George Browne and divers other young gentlemen. Master Mackwilliams, Bostock, with other gentlemen, were slaine, with some fifty English souldiers; and as many or more hurt of the French and Wallones: So they killed and hurt some 100, of which were many gentlemen and officers. Some prisoners were taken on both sides. By the enemies own confession, they had slaine and hurt above 400, whereof some were of good account.

Captaine Morgan's ensigne rescued. The losse of the garrison. The enemies losse.

The Surprize of the Brill in Holland, by Mounsieur de Lumay, Count de la Marke.

Count de la Marke attempteth the Brill. Landeth his men. The Spanish countenance. The count fiereth the gate. The towne entred. The prince's courtesie to the Hollanders. The count's disorder. Towards women. Towards the papists.

At this instant, Mounsieur de Lumay, otherwise called the Count de la Marke, being on the coast of England with the Prince of Orange's directions, finding the seamen named before, I meane Lambert, Batelentia, Rouchable, and Skonall, they made a partie betwixt them to take the Brill in Holland. True it is, the Prince of Orange had intelligence with most townes in Holland, but not with the Brill, that ever I could learne. At this time there were but few Spaniards in Holland: In the Brill some hundred; in divers other places, so many or fewer. Hereupon this Count de la Marke, and these captaines, gathered into some eight sayles (the most fly-boats) seaven hundred Wallons, Dutch, some English and Scots; all mariners. Arriving at the Brill, they landed, having drummes, trumpets, and ensignes with them, sufficient to have furnished thrice their number. At their sight, the simple Spanish governour thought himselfe betrayed, judging that these troupes would never have come thither without intelligence with the townesmen. The rest of the Spanish made proude faces, as though they meant to abide their furie and siege: Notwithstanding, they signified a feare unto the burgesses, in sending their baggage and women towards Roterdam. The Count and his captaines approched with courage; and withall landed three pieces out of their ships, with straw, pitch, and wood. He approched the gate, and put the same soone on fire. In the meane time the Spaniards escaped towards Roterdam. Thus was the Brill wonne without blows, in such sort that all Holland revolted, saving Amsterdam; but divers townes would accept no garrison. Notwithstanding, the prince politickely wrote unto the count, to use them with all courtesie, agreeing with their humours; suffering them to doe what they listed, as well for religion as for governement; whereby he gained all their hearts; for at that instant the most of the popular were papists. The Count de la Marke had almost marred all with his governement; for albeit hee was valiant and liberall, yet was hee lascivious, wilfull, and obstinate; in such sort, that he would enjoy any wench or woman that pleased him: Also hee called an abbot and his fryers into a chamber, where hee forced them to denie their masse and to preach against it, in case they would not be

hanged. Besides these, he committed many other disorders; so as his insolency had almost thrust the prince and his faction out of Holland.

The Flushingers growe in Jealousie against Saras their Governour, offering his Place unto Captaine Morgan, who refused it for love hee bore unto Saras; otherwise he had small reason in doing it.

The French, Wallons, and Dutch, which were in Flushing, had beene for the most part in the warres before: and divers of the basest sort would take any thing they could carry away; and lived at farre greater charges to the burgesses then the English did; for indeed the English at that time were rawe, and looked for no more then bare victuals, lodging, and promise of pay. Hereupon the burgesses grew in great liking with our nation; insomuch, that for a small suspect they would have made Capt. Morgan their governor, and have cashered Saras; having no occasion, but that he had a brother that dwelt amongst the enemies; whom the enemies forced to write unto the governor, to perswade him to run a course on their sides. Without doubt Saras was honest unto the cause; for his brother's message and letters came no sooner unto him, but he shewed them unto his captaines and the principall burgesses: Also this was hee that commanded afterward chiefly in Harlem. Captaine Morgan, finding this man honest unto him, friended him also unto the popular; refused their offer; and maintained Saras what hee could in his place: Notwithstanding fewe men of warre would have done it, unlesse a man had beene greatly beholding unto him; I meane farre more then hee was to Saras; considering what a rich strong governement Flushing was. To say troth, this captaine had never any great ambition in him; although fortune presented faire unto him often, beside this time. Also immediately he wrote letters into England, which shewed the strength and goodnesse of the place. Withall he procured Sir Humphrey Gilbert to come over, to bee colonell over the English souldiers; which hee might have easily obtained himself. Hereupon Sir Humphrey contracted with the Flushingers, to come unto them with one thousand five hundred English, besides those who were with them before. In the meane time, the Count de la Marke assured the most part of Holland.

The civill behaviour of the English.

The Flushingers affection towards them.

They suspect Saras, and would make Captaine Morgan governour.

Who maintaineth Saras.

Is not ambitious.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert the first English colonel in the Lowe Countries.

Roterdam surprised by the Count of Bossue, by the meere simplicity of the Burgesses; where the Count sheweth great cruelty upon the poore people; which was the occasion that all or the most of the Townes in Holand received either Garrisons or Governours; principally Dort, which was resolved before to the contrarie. But after this cruelty they suffered themselves easily to bee surprized by the Count de la Marke.

Roterdam being without garrison, the Count Bossue approached it with some troupes of Spaniards and Wallons from Utrike. Being arrived within a quarter of a league, he placed his troupes in ambush, at a little castle, in a small woode on the river side towards Dordrecht; leaving with them his lieutenant-governour, and giving him charge at the shooting of pieces, to dislodge with all speed towards the towne. The count being governour of Holland and of Utricke, came to the gates with some two hundred Wallons and Flemmings, and leaving them within tenne score of the port, went himselfe unto the port with some tenne or twelve gentlemen, offering to enter. They shut the wicket against them. He shewed them, how hee was their governour and countryman; advised them not to deale so, and to looke unto themselves; else he would make them know him: Withall he desired some of the burgesses to goe fetch the burgomasters unto the port, that hee might speake with them. In this towne there was no garrison, but burgesses; poore men of warre, as you may judge by their governement. The burgo-

Count Bossue towards Roterdam.

Lyeth in ambush.

Commeth to the gates.

Is refused.

Desireth to speake with the burgomasters.

He speaketh with them. masters being arrived, the count used fine speeches to perswade them to let him enter with those men, to save them from the heretickes, as he tearmed the Prince of Orange's
Their answere. faction. They answered, that they durst doe nothing without the consent of their burgesses in generall; and that they would assemble themselves presently in their towne-house, and use their best meanes to perswade them to follow his directions; promising to returne presently unto him. Being departed, this count, who was a good souldier and of good understanding, knew the multitude would cry against the Spanish; where-
The count sna-reth the guarde with wine. fore he thought the sooner hee beganne his play, the better. And first hee did deliver some pieces of gould unto the guarde, desiring them to fetch him good store of wine and beere; the which was brought presently. Hee and his company beganne to carowse one with another, and with the guarde; in such sort, that they opened the little
They open the wicket; wicket to speake with the count. Beeing armed under his coate, and valiant, hee gave
He rusheth in; signall unto his troupes, and therewith rushed in with some five or sixe gentlemen, giving blowes of pistols and swords on the poore guarde; in such sort, that his two hun-
scizeth the port; dred entred, and kept the port untill the ambush named before entred. Then hee march-
taketh the mar-ket-place; ed unto the market-place, executing all hee could finde in his way; thence through the
Sacketh the towne. towne as pleased him; where hee slue a great number, and sacked what he listed. In this sort (God knowes) he soone mastered the towne. The Prince of Orange hearing
The prince per-swadeth other townes to gar-risons; this, acquainted many of his friends with this action of Count Bossue; shewing, that hee knew he would doe the like in other places, unlesse good guardes were kept, which could never bee without some garrison, or, at the least, governours that understood the warres. In those dayes the names of souldiers were odious unto them. Notwithstanding, they feared the Spaniards so much, that rather then to accompanie with them, they
they accept them. would accept divels. Whereupon divers agreed to accept garrisons; and the most of all, to receive governours, except Dort. But finally, the prince so used the matter with them, that all were content that Dort should be surprized; but not with murder and sacke, as the Spaniards did at Roterdam. After this resolution, the prince wrote unto the Count of Marke, and his captaines, to doe the best they could to surprize Dort:
The prince promiseth re-formation of Count de la Marke. Withall hee wrote unto him, both to desire and to command him, to use the burgesses with all courtesie; assuring them of Holland, to redresse all the count's abuses at their next meeting, which should be before long; sending them the copie of his letters to the count. In the meane time, hee undertooke the count should leave his insolency, and bee guided by the prince's directions. The count made ready a great number of skutes, having placed some thousand souldiers among them, with a great number of trumpets and ensignes; leaving the Brill notwithstanding in good order of defence; for his vic-
The count takes Strine-land. Entreth Dort. tory encreased his forces. He tooke Strineland, right against Dort. The next morning, before day, hee landed his men at the head, before the faire, strong, and rich towne of Dort, invincible without famine or treason; having in it a garrison and munition,
Three more English compa-nies. with a good governour. This fortunate wilfull count, with his shews and lookes, entred the towne without blowes. By this time the count's deputies had sent him three English companies, under the conduct of the captaines Moris, Drise, and Read.

The arrivall of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which was the first Regiment of Englishmen that served the Neatherlanders against the Spanish king; with our follies before Bruges and Sluce.

Collonell Gil-bert at Flush-ing. Also Collonell Gilbert arrived at Flushing with ten English bands; at whose arrivall Flushing was most assured. Hearing that the towne of Mounts was in great distresse, and of the Prince of Orange's retreit, with his successe; Saras and Collonell Gilbert de-
Saras and he entred Flan-ders with 2400 men. vised their best meanes to relieve Count Lodowicke. Having a little intelligence with some burgesses of Bruges, Saras and Sir Humfrey resolved to enter Flanders; and so,

leaving a good garrison in Flushing, they landed at Newhaven, right against Flushing, some 1400 Englishmen, 400 Wallones and Flemmings, with some 600 brave Frenchmen, newly arrived from Rochell, under the conduct of the Captaines Larivere, Gentane, and others. Presently we tooke our marche towards Sluce; and beeing arrived at a village called Ardenburgh, we resolved there to stay; both to proove if wee could doe any good on Sluce, and to have further intelligence from Bruges. This place was a league from Sluce, and three leagues from Bruges. The next night Saras and Sir Humfrey sent some eight hundred English, French, and Wallones; giving them charge to keep themselves close as neare Sluce as they could, untill they heard further from them. Before day wee placed our ambush neere the ports, in such sort, that at the opening of the gates (had our men knowne the warres then, as divers of them did since,) wee might have easily entred the towne. To say troth, those that sent us were as ignorant as ourselves; in such sort, that we did no more than we were commanded, which was to ly close. Notwithstanding divers people came amongst us, some wee tooke, and some wee suffered to goe back againe. The enemie having discovered our numbers and lodging, sallied some 200 shot, where wee fell to hot skirmish. But all we were lodged in three places, not able to succour one another sodainly: Neverthelesse, halfe our troupes charging them resolutely, forced them to run one after another into the ports. At this alarum, Saras and Sir Humfrey hearing the artillery going off, marched with the rest. Beeing arrived, the governour, like an olde souldier, politickly to win time to advertise Duke d'Alva, held Sir Humfrey and Saras in a parley, as though hee meant to deliver both towne and castle unto them. Withall hee requested them to retire unto their lodgings where they were before, or else to lodge nearer, where pleased them. Hereupon they retired to Ardenburgh, leaving their first troupes in a village hard by the towne. The next day our governours were desirous to have the captaine of Sluce his resolution; who, seeing he could not deferre them longer, requested them to take patience that day, and the next morning hee would keep promise with them. The next morning, ours marched with great glory to receive the towne, as wee thought. Beeing hard by the port, the governour welcommed us with a good volley of shot, making us to retire faster than wee came, by discharging their artillery against us. Having received some losse, Saras and Sir Humfrey retired into Ardenburgh, to their griefe. With this stratageme the governour of Sluce wan foure days; in which time he advertised his generall of our meaning; who sent the Count of Reux with certain horsemen into Bruges, and a good troupe of footmen marching after him. Notwithstanding, Saras and Sir Humfrey dislodged with our forces, and marched unto Bruges. At the breake of day, Sir Humfrey sent his trumpet to summon the towne. The trumpeter's horse was kild with a shot from the rampier; and they made answere unto divers gentlemen, who were approached neare the walls, that the Count de Reux desired all our troupes to stay where wee were; assuring us, either within foure-and-twenty houres the count would deliver us the towne, or finde meanes to hang us all, at the least our confederates in the towne. Sir Humfrey was in great choler, swearing divers oathes, that hee would put all to the sword, unlesse they would yeeld. After staying some sixe or eight hours, Saras understanding the warrs better then Sir Humfrey, perswaded him to retire; withall assuring him, unlesse hee would doe it quickly and in good order, hee and his troupes would repent it: For the peasants advertised him there were divers troupes of horsemen entred the towne, and a great number of footmen marched towardes it, which would arrive within foure houres. Beeing in a march, wee doubled our pases in such sort, that wee recovered Ardenburgh that night. To say troth, the Count Reux was either a white-livered souldier, or an ignorant captaine, else hee and his horsemen might have slaine a great number of our men, our march was so disorderly; insomuch, as had the count beene a brave captaine, with three hundred horsemen, hee might have defeated our troupes. After our retreit, the count executed many burgesses, who had intelligence with us. Saras being arrived at

They attempt Sluce with ambush.

Knew not how to take the advantage.

The garrison sallieth.

Is beaten into the towne.

The governor over-reacheth the chiefs of the Flushingers.

Dallieth with them.

They approach the towne.

He plagueth them with his ordinance.

Advertiseth Duke d'Alva with his purpose.

He strengtheneth Bruges.

They summon Bruges.

Count de Reux answer.

Sir Humfrey in a chafe.

The Flushingers retire.

Come to Ardenburgh.

He executeth the burgesses.

The Flushingers stand at Ardenburgh.

Ardenburgh, we resolved to remaine there certain daies. This place was such, that it might have been kept against double our numbers. Besides, betwixt us and Flushing wee had meadowes and wood-land countries, in such wise that horsemen could not hurt us marching in any good order. Resting in Ardenburgh two dayes, wee had intelligence that there was marching, from Gaunt to Bruges, sixteen peeces of artillery, with some munition, conducted with one of the count's captaines like himselfe; whereupon Saras and Sir Humfrey sent 300 English, French, and Wallones, of the best sort, giving the charge unto Rowland Yorke, lieutenant to Captaine Morgan, and unto Tristan and Ambrose Duke, over the French and Wallones. Having received direction, wee marched foure leagues off, and placed our ambush, by the breake of day, in the highway, where the convoy was to passe. We had not staied eight houres, but wee might discover the convoy, which marched as followeth. Before they had some fifty horsemen; behinde as many, with a good band of footmen, Wallones; the artillery and munition in the midst. At their sight, commandement was given unto us to lie very close, untill they were entred our ambush, which was on both sides of a great way, that passed through a small grove of wood. We had gotten some twenty or thirty jades or mares, which wee trimmed up with olde saddles, cushings, and halters, that wee got in boores houses as wee passed. Those wee placed behind the ambush, who had commandement to lie close untill the ambush discharged their volley; then to charge with all resolution. These jades were in the charge of Ambrose Duke, the Wallone, an expert souldier, who had seene service on horseback often before. The convoy beeing entered the ambush, our volley went off in good order, in such sort that their first fifty horsemen ranne on their footmen: withall, Ambrose Duke charged with the mares and jades: So did our footmen enter the high-waies against theirs; in such sort, that their horsemen ranne away, leaving their footmen and convoy to be executed by us; which were for the most part, with small losse, or none at all, to ourselves. Out of this place we arrived at Ardenburgh the next day, with all the artillery and munition, in like order as wee found them. By a bridge we staid, and tooke a great number of boates laden with wolsackes and marchandize, which wee returned all into our quarter. To say troth, these three leaders named before were the minions at all attempts of our troups in those daies. The next day after our arrivall at Ardenburgh, intelligence was brought that Mounts was delivered, and Mallins taken and sacked; and that Julian Romero was marching into Flanders to assist the Count of Reux, with 20 ensignes of footmen, and some cornets of horsemen. This newes made us not to take counsell twice for our retrait; whereupon wee marched with all speed towards Flushing.

Heare of a convoy;

Send, to surprise it, a certaine number of souldiers; Who laid an ambush.

The order of convoy.

It entreth the ambush, which breaketh upon it, and defeateth the Spaniards,

conveying away the munition.

The Flushingers retire to Flushing.

Our first offer to assiege Tergoose, with our sodaine Retrait.

They resolve to assiege Tergoose.

Land their men.

The Tergoosians in ambush.

Being arrived right against Flushing, at Newhaven, wee made stand; where Saras and Sir Humfrey tooke resolution to assiege Tergoose, which stands in an island of Leland, bordering on Brabant and Flanders. Our shipping being arrived from Flushing, wee embarked, and arrived the next day, at night, by Beereland, a village of the said iland. After anchoring and giving directions, Rowland York, Utran, and Ambrose Duke, landed with their accustomed troupes, or more; albeit divers were slaine at the exploit of Sluce and the convoy. The bravest youthes desired to goe alwaies with the first, in such sort that these were alwaies well accompanied. Beeing landed upon the ditch which environs the iland, the enemy perceiving (as it is like) our navy long before wee anchored, sallied the most of the souldiers out of the towne, and placed themselves in ambush in a village hard by the place wee landed at, through which we must passe to goe to the towne. After Saras and Sir Humfrey were landed, the vantguard was given to Captaine Morgan; and commandement to York, Utran, and Ambrose Duke, to en-

ter the village. The enemies having with them their governour, a brave captaine, named Pedro Pacheco, kept themselves close in the village untill Yorke and we entred the ambush; then they delivered a hotte volley of shot upon us, and withall charged with some 100 pikes, in such sort, that with much adoe the one halfe of our troupes could recover the place where Captaine Morgan stood with our seconds: True it is, the enemy stood in the village round about the way where wee marched, and received us at the entry of some 100 of ours into the village, out of the narrow way where wee passed, and could not march above five in a rank; wherefore they found us good cheape. Our retrait was so fast, that the enemy followed us, upon the heeles, into the troupes which Captaine Morgan led, who charged them resolutely with his armed men, in such sort that the enemies ran back. But wisely hee had placed halfe his men in the village for his retreit, who delivered their volley on Captaine Morgan, in such sort, that hee staied for Saras and Sir Humfrey, who were not within a mile, by reason they stood at the first alarum, and not without marvell; for I perswade myselfe the most of them were afraid. I am to blame to judge their minds; but let mee speake troth. I doe assure you it was not without reason, for the most of us who entred with Yorke were slaine; such as escaped swam, and struggled through muddy ditches. Amongst other gentlemen, Edward Argoll was slain by Sir Humfrey his standard. The enemy recovered their towne; and all our troupes entred Barland some two houres after their retreit. The next morning wee dislodged towards Tergoose. Our vantguard beeing arrived within halfe a mile of the towne, wee made a stand untill the rest arrived. In the meane time the enemies sallied, and gave furiously into our guards; forced our first guards to runne amongst our battels of pikes, which stood in a large place, by the house of the Count Egmond, having a bridge betwixt them and the enemy. Notwithstanding, Captaine Morgan, with his brave shot, entered an orchard, and flanked the enemy which stood on the high ditch, beating on our pikes with volleyes of shot. Withall, Sir Humfrey and his armed men passed the bridge, and charged the enemy with great resolution; in such sort, that the enemy fell to running: Notwithstanding, our men executed a great number, and, amongst others, three Spanish captaines, with diverse other officers. We lost also diverse of our men. You must thinke that in those daies few of us, or of the enemy, knew the warres so well as since; for this Pacheco and his men quited Zericksea, some seven days before, as a place not guardable. Also, being governour of a towne, hee was to blame to sally with his garrison so farre as Barland, especially himselfe; for without doubt, had Saras and Sir Humfrey knowne of his being there with most of his troupes, and therewith given a right direction, it had cost him his towne, besides his defeat. Sir Humfrey should have directed at least halfe his troupes to cut betwixt them and the towne, at the first allarum. Some may say, perhappes, there were no waies, or he knew of none. There were other waies, although not so neer. Besides, a commander that enters the enemies countries, ought to know the places that he doth attempt; if not, he ought to be furnished with guides, especially in coming to besiege a towne. But we were so ignorant, that we knew not our owne estate, much lesse the enemies; for the next day after our arrivall and skirmish, we marched to imbarke our troupes; alleaging we wanted artillery and munition, with all other necessaries that belonged to a siege. Before our imbarking, the olde souldiers, Captain Gentoine, and Henrie the Frenchman, used a fine stratageme. They requested Saras and Sir Humfrey to cause all their ensignes to imbarke, with the baggage, and a good number of souldiers; and to leave, in a church, and in a church-yard, and in a great close adjoyning, the most of their ablest men; and they to keepe close that day, to see if the enemy would sally, to cut off their rere-guard and straglers. As they directed, Saras and Sir Humfrey placed one thousand two hundred of their best men in that place, which was halfe wayes betwixt our quarter and the imbarking place, about a great league from the towne. Our ensignes were not all aboard, but Pacheco salied with the most of his garrison; which might be some

Pacheco governor of Tergoose.

The ambush breaketh upon the English.

Forced to retire.

Captaine Morgan chargeth them.

They retire.

The losse of the English.

The Flushingers enter Barland.

Before Tergoose.

The enemy sallieth.

Is repulsed.

The order of Pacheco.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert's order.

The Flushingers retire to their ships.

The ambush by the French captaines.

Disappoynted by a foolish officer.

foure hundred. Being approached our first ambush, who were Wallons, a foolish officer, contrary to direction, discharged a volley of shot on the enemies, who were some quarter of a mile before their troupes, whereby all was marred. Belike our armed men gave them such sound blowes in the last re-encounter, that they desired no more. So upon this volley the enemie retired into their towne; and we embarked presently, not unwilling for any thing I could perceive. To say troth, our losses might bee in a manner compared equal, from our landing to our embarking. Let me not wrong our governours too much. They said they were advertized that Tergoose was voyd of garrison, saving some hundred; and that they knew nothing of Pacheco's arrivall. Being embarked, we arrived at our towne of Flushing, where we landed under our towne, and marched to a village named Southland, three leagues from Flushing, in the same island. Before this time, Camfier revolted also unto the Prince of Orange, by reason of their governour Mounsieur de Rouse.

The Flushingers embarke.

Land under their towne.

March to Southland.

Camfier revolteth.

The Camisado given, our Troupes being lodged in Southland, by Mounsieur de Beavoir and Don Ruffello; where our men defended themselves, and overthrew the Enemie most valiantly: With our second Siege of Tergoose, where we were defeated shamefully by the negligence and ignorance of our Governour.

Mounsieur de Beavoir, governour of Middleburgh, and Don Rufello, hearing of our arrivall in Southland, (belike Pacheco advertized them that we had received greater losse then we did before Tergoose), thinking our courage qualified, prepared all their forces to defeat us with a camisado. To doe it the more terribly, they prepared a great number of haulters, giving them to their souldiers, with a commandement, to hang all the prisoners they should take. The olde saying is true, It is no surety to reckon without an host. Being ready, after directions given, they salied out of Middleburgh, some two thousand Spaniards and Wallons, at the shutting of their gates; and tooke the next way towards the sandy hils betwixt Flushing and Southland. As God would, certaine of the victualers discovering their march, cut their mares out of their waggons, by which meanes they recovered Southland an hower before the enemie arrived; which, next unto the Almightie's will, saved all our troupes. Having the alarme, the enemies vanguarde was in sight, which presently chargeth our guards, making them to run into the campe, and to quite the sandy hils. All their forces seconded with all speede very resolutely, forcing our first and second troupes to runne into our place of armes, which was neere unto the other side of the towne in a church-yard, and a large streete before it; so as they wanne our artillery, turning the same towards us. But resolutely our officers gathered a sufficient number of armed men into the market-place, who, being ledde valiantly with brave captains, charged the enemy, giving them a retreit and defeat beyond our field-pieces. Here they came againe with a fresh charge; but our armed men re-encountred them at the push of pike most valiantly; in such sort that the ensigne-bearers, Philip Watkins, Thomas Lovet, John Hamon, with divers others, brake their ensigne-staves at the push of pike: So our men gave the enemie a full overthrow, driving them cleane out of the campe, and following them in defeate halfe way to Middleburgh. After, our men hung a number of them with their owne haulters. This piece of service was one of the best and worthiest encounters that our men had from that time to this hower, in all their warres of the Lowe Countries. The enemies were all overthrowne: notwithstanding many escaped, by reason of the ditches and narrow wayes, especially the most of their officers and leaders, by reason of their horses and jades. Ours scaped not scot-free; for wee had slaine and hurt about two hundred and fifty, many of them officers, and, amongst others, the Captaines Bouser, Bedes, and Bostocke, English; besides Wallons and French, which served most valiant-

The victualers give advertisement.

Beavoir chargeth the guard.

Forceth them to runne.

Winneth the artillery.

Is beaten back.

Rechargeth.

Is overthrowne.

The losse of the enemie,

and of the Flushingers.

ly. But the chiefe praise, next unto God, ought to bee given to the English ensignes and armed men. Captaine Walter Morgan served very well, who was overthrowne with a musket-shot in the head of the armed men. All the rest did most valiantly. Some will blame me for the naming of our owne losses; but it is a shame for a souldier to write lesse then truth. There can bee no brave encounter without men slaine on both sides. True it is, the fewer the better conduct; but the more dyes, the more honour to the fight. This encounter so encouraged our men, that Saras and Sir Humphrey resolved to returne to Tergoose. After finishing their preparations and orders, we landed at the same village we did before, in number above three thousand, English, French, and Wallons; for our troupes were encreased with Rowley and his garrison of Camfier. Our second landing was in better order then the first, by reason our ships attempted the island in two places; but all, or the most part, that carried souldiers, were at the landing place. The other being so many vessels in number, approached the shore, in such sort that the enemy durst not separate their forces to attempt both, fearing that the other would cut betwixt them and the towne. Beeing all on the shore, we marched unto a faire village named Bifling, some league from Tergoose, where we lodged that night and the next day. The second night, at midnight, we marched towards Tergoose: before sixe of the o'clock in the morning we were all within an English mile of the towne. Finding the inconvenience of our last skirmish in the one place, order was given to the companies of the Captaines Morgan, Henrie, Barnard, and Utran, to march with all speed to attempt the fort, which stoode on the head of the haven which entred into Tergoose; and, if the enemie would not quite their fort, then to lodge on the one ditch betwixt them and the towne; where they stoode in battaile on the other ditch, to see the effect of our attempting the fort. Being hot in skirmish with the fort, according to our direction, a company of our men began to seek means to pass over the ditches, to cut betwixt the fort and the towne. There was also a way that passed through the meadows from the ditch where our battell stood, whither Sir Humfrey and Saras sent many to second us. The enemy perceiving our resolution to lodge betwixt the fort and the towne, quitted the fort. Notwithstanding, York, with most of Captaine Morgan's company, re-encountred them on the ditch, in such sort that halfe of those who were in the fort were cut off, before they could recover the towne. True it is, the enemy had reason to quit the fort, by reason they were not victualed but from hand to mouth; neither was it worthy of any great munition, because it could not endure any battery. Being entred the suburbs, Pacheco salied with great courage, and skirmished in such sort, that our first troupes were forced to stand for their fellows; at which instant the enemy fired all or most of the salt-houses. Our men being arrived close together, we charged Pacheco, forced their troupes to double their pases into their gates; and withall lodged and placed our first guardes at a chappell within eight score of the towne; where we stayed and made good, untill all our troupes were lodged. By reason of our small army, we could not assure the one halfe of the towne; for the garrison were eight hundred strong, all naturall Spaniards, commaunded by more expert leaders then ourselves. Yet having made our trenches and approaches, wee landed sixe pieces of battery within sixe score of the walles, which did beate on the port towards the haven. Perceiving those pieces could not make any breach to content our governours, we dislodged them, to beate on the bulwarkes which flanked that curtaine. Having battered this parapat, and made it fitt, as wee thought, to be attempted with a small scalado, resolution was taken to assault it the next night. In the meane time, so great a picke and jealousie grew betwixt Sir Humfrey and Saras, that each would faine disgrace his fellow: Notwithstanding both agreed to attempt the scalado. After midnight, we dislodged from our quarter some two thousand of our best men, all in camisadoes with scaling ladders, God knows, like ignorant souldiers; else we would never have attempted a scalado on such a troupe; for lightly, a scalado never takes place unlesse it bee on a simple troupe, or a negligent

The English commended for their service.

The second attempt of Tergoose.

Their landing in two places.

Come to Bifling.

Direction to take the fort.

The fort assaulted.

Quitted by the enemie.

The Flushingers enter the suburbs.

Pacheco saliеth.

Fired the salt-houses.

Is forced to retire.

The number of the garrison.

Ordinance planted.

A breach made.

The picke betweene the chiefe of the Flushingers.

guarde, having a rampier or fort to defend. Notwithstanding, ambition and courage so pushed us on, that Sir Humfrey and Saras being approached, advanced up their ladders; so did a great number of gentlemen and souldiers on sundry ladders. The enemie politickely kept close untill many were ready to enter, then they discharged a volley of shot full in our faces, killing many: And withall, their armed men advanced to the push of the pike, in such sort that they dismounted the most without ladders. At which terror we retyred without commandement, untill wee came under the dike where the enemies shot could not hurt us; and not without reason; for being on the bulwarke, it was flanked from the curtain in such sort, that none could abide it. Neither could we joyne with the enemie unlesse he listed, by reason of a dike betwixt both, one which they had a draw-bridge at their commandement. At this scalado Sir Humfrey and Saras served very valiantly; he that escaped best of both had sundry hagabushadoes on their armours and camisadoes, I meane their shirts that covered their armours. Many young gentlemen and officers performed also couragious service. Divers were slaine and hurt; among others one Bourege was taken by the enemy, whom they commended greatly for his valour; but hee dyed afterwards of his hurts, in their hands. This attempt so quailed our courage, that we despaired of the towne: Notwithstanding resolution was taken to continue the siege, untill the Prince of Orange were advertized how the world went. Hereupon Saras, Sir Humfrey, and Rowland, dispatched posts to the prince, both to advertize him, and to procure more meanes. The prince understanding our case, dispatched letters to the towns of Holland, and to the Count de la Marke, to desire them to doe their best endeavour to assist us before Tergoose. The count sent his lieutenant, Bartelencie, with some 2000 Neatherlanders and Almaines. Being joyned with us, they gave some courage at the first, but when their discipline and valour was tried, we found them simpler men then ourselves; yea, so rawe, that they brought us every day into more disorders. Neverthelesse, the sight of our numbers caused us to besiege the towne round about. Belike the enemie feared us, or wanted some necessaries; and, finding meanes to acquaint D. Alva with their wants, he sent with all speed his collonell, Mondragon, with his regiment of Wallons, and about seven companies more of Wallons and Spaniards; who might be, in all, some 3000 strong. This collonell was expert, valiant, and vigilant. Being arrived at Bergham-up-Zoone, and finding our forces masters of the seas, and making good guarde round about the island where we were, he was in great paine, and knew not how to passe the water. By good espy-alls and guides, he found the island easie to be entred at a low water, from the banke of Brabant, where the passage in the deepest place was not above fower foote, and for more then halfe the way dry sands: But at quarter floud all was covered with seas, at the least sixe English miles: So as his troupes must recover the dike of the iland from the place where they entred, in lesse then three howers, or else be overflown with the sea. Also, being ready to enter on our dike, had our governour kept good guards with any valour, his troupes must needs have bin defeated. Also he could not bring many hands to fight in order; the narrowness of the place where he marched was such. But this collonell, remembering the streight commandement of his general, fearing the towne to be in greater wants then indeed it was, resolved to passe, and landed without resistance. Notwithstanding, he lost in his passage neere two hundred. Besides, he and his troupes were so wet and weary, that they remained all that night in the place where they landed, which was about two great leagues from our camp. Then judge you what would have become of his troupes had we been commanded by expert governours, and charged them at their landing with half our numbers. In reason we had defeated them. The next morning Mondragon tooke his march towards Tergoose, having intelligence with the towne: And beeing in sight, the towne sallied and entred into hotte skirmish with our guardes, on the side from their succours, in such sort that the most of our campe made head towards them. While wee were in hot skirmish with the garrison, Mondragon passed his men

The scalado given.

The Flushingers repulsed.

The prince advertized of all.

Writeth for succours.

Their ignorance in service.

The Tergoosians in want.

Certifieth D. d'Alva.

Who sendeth them Mondragon with 3000 strong.

He entreth the iland at a lowe water.

The hazard of his entrance.

The error of the chiefes of the Flushingers.

Mondragon in sight of the towne; who sallieth.

through the towne pel-mel with ours, in such sort that they forced our guardes to runne, and quite all our trenches, even to the fort, at the head of the water towards the sea. This fort was so little that it could not hould 300 of our men. Wherefore our disorder was great, in seeking meanes to escape into our navy, which anchored within a harquebush shot of the fort. A great number were drowned, besides those that were slain; and some yeelded unto the enemy, especially those who were in the fort. Divers officers were carried prisoners into the castle of Antwerp, and, amongst others, Captaines Tristan and Utran. Thus ended our ignorant poore siege; and but for the skuts and small boats which came hard by the shore to receive us in, all had been lost. Our blowe was so great, that Sir Humfrey and the most of our men not being acquainted with such disasters, sought all meanes to returne into England. Notwithstanding, before we embarked, Sir William Morgan arrived from the prince, with authority from the prince and the states in Holland, to make large offers to stay Sir Humfrey and his regiment for their service. But all would not serve to stay either Sir Humfrey or any of his troupes. Whilst our siege of Tergoose endured, Vorst the admirall and his seamen wan Zuricksee without blowes. By that you may perceive, that Pacheco and his were not exceeding expert, in quiting such a place in such manner as they did.

Mondragon commeth upon the Flushingers.

Forceth them to the fort.

Thence to their ships.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert's discouragement and desire to return into England.

Zuricksee taken by Vorst.

I did heare also, that Sir William Pellam was sent from England to view the seat of Flushing. Being returned, they said his report was, that it was a place not worthy to be kept, meaning not sufficient to withstand so great an enemy any long time. If that bee true, we were not very great captains at that time; for then, without fellowe, hee was accounted our chiefest souldier. By this time the prince had gotten a sure footing in Holland, so as all places of any importance were his.

Sir William Pellam vieweth Flushing.

His judgment.

The prince Lord of all Holland.

Duke D'Alva assieges Harlem, where many disasters fell on both sides; which siege may be called the tediousest, dearest, and painfullest of any in those daies.

Duke D'Alva seeing the people generally ready to revolt, with the least shew the prince could make, resolved to gather his forces, and to charge the Hollanders with all fury; swearing to his captaines and souldiers, that the spoile of Holland should be theirs, upon condition they would execute all they found. Having prepared a mighty army with all necessaries, hee dislodged out of Brussels towards Holland. Being arrived at Newmegen, hee passed the rivers of Wale and Rhyne in the dead of winter; and against all reason marched from Arnam towards Utrick. His high marshall or master of his campe generall was Chiapine Vitelly; Don John de Mandosa was generall of his horsemen; his generall of the artillery, Mounsieur d' Cressoneir; his masters del campe were Baptista de Mounte, Dorkus, Julian Romero, John Francisco d'Baldeso, Lanchio, Avila, and Mondragon. There were with him also many other of nobility and gentlemen of quality; as well Italians, Almaines, Burgonians, and Netherlanders, as also of Spanish. Being arrived at Amsterdam, he commanded his sonne Don Frederick, Chiapine Vitelly, and Mandosa, to march with the vanguard, and to engage the towne of Harlem; in such sort, that nothing could passe from it to Leyden, or to any other place by land. Having placed foure regiments of Almaines and Wallons, well entrenched in the wood hard by the towne, and in the waies towards Leiden; Don Fredrick placed himselfe with a Spanish tertio or regiment well intrenched, in a village and a strong house betwene the towne and the sea; and so lodged the rest of his companies, that the towne sallies were cutte off; saving on the one quarter, which was meadowes and marish towards the meere. In the towne were the most of the princes best captaines; namely, Mounsieur d' Saras, Steven, Butch, Balford, Smith, with diverse others of the Scots, French, Almaines, and Wallons. Amongst whom were some 200 English,

Duke D'Alva against Holland.

In winter.

His Chieftains.

Don Fredricks quarter.

The forces of the towne.

in sundry companies, without any ensigne of their owne. The garrison in the whole might be some three thousand souldiers. They caused also about sixe hundred burgesses to carry armes; besides two thousand and more of all sorts of people, sufficient to supply the place of pioners; of which were some three hundred women, all under one ensigne. The womens captain was a most stout dame, named captaine Margaret Kenalt. Having divided the towne into quarters, and giving charge of every quarter unto a principall chiefe, they fell to working in great numbers on the weakest parts of the citie, and mended continually some part of the fortifications; in such sort, that within one month their towne was three times stronger, then the first houre the enemy encamped before it. They kept also two small sconces on the mouth of the water that ranne from the towne into the meere, which assured the passage that waies: by which means they received daily all manner of commodities, that pleased the prince and the states of Holland to send them. The prince kept at Delfe in Holland; he chose for his lieutenant of the wars the Baron of Battenburgh; for generall of his horsemen and marshall, Mounsieur de Carlon; for admirall of the meere for that service, one Noris Brand. By reason of the Spanish long delaies in their resolutions about their martiall affairs, the prince dispatched away his chiefes with some five thousand souldiers, and about sixty hoyes and cromsters; of which sixe were galliots and friggats. This army arrived at the Cage within three leagues of Harlem, a place invironed with waters; where, because the Spanish could not attempt, by reason the prince was master upon the waters, the Baron Battenburgh furnished Harlem at his pleasure with all necessaries. There stood in the mayne right against it on the meere side, a village named the Sase, where hee landed and entrenched very strongly. In that place he encamped with some six hundred horsemen, and the most of his foote-men. At the Cage there was no danger, wherefore he anchored his shipping hard by the shore; leaving for their guard six hundred souldiers, with the admirall and one Ashilers; by this time Duke D'Alva arrived before the towne with his whole forces, artillery, and munition; amounting in the whole neere to thirty-thousand, of which might be some thousand and five hundred horsemen. He needed no great cavallery, by reason he was assured there would bee but few against him; also those grounds did not serve for great troops of horsemen to fight in. After viewing the strong seate of the Baron of Battenburgh, and perceiving no good could be done upon his troupes; to affront him, hee advanced John Battisto del Mounte with five cornets Italians; who entrenched strongly with sixteen companies of footmen in a village called Hellingham, halfe the way betwixt both our companies. Afterwards, he began to make his approaches carefully; sparing neither pioners nor cost, to spare his souldiers. Before hee planted his battry, the towne made many brave salies, killed a great number with small losse to themselves. Once they carried divers ensignes out of their enemies trenches, and nayled sundry peeces of battery. After placing his battry and playing furiously, he gave two sharp assaults; which were defended worthily by the besieged, to the enemies great losse; of whom a great number of quality were slaine and hurt; and amongst others, the brave master of the campe Julian Romero lost his eye with a hargabushado. The enemy often possest the breach; but being entred their halfe-moone, I meane the trench which the defendants made overthwart the breach within, they were murdered like dogges. The defendants had divers fowlers and other peeces loaden with nailes and small shot, which they placed on the corners of their halfe moone; those were discharged full against the enemies, being entered upon the breach. Also they had placed a great number of small shot in houses both high and lowe, full of cannoners who flanked the halfe moone; and besides, their halfe moone was double manned with musketiers and callivers. Duke D'Alva his losses were so great, that perceiving the brave resolution of the defendants, he gave over his assaults, and began to myne and to approach carefully with sape and other stratagems. Sometimes he would mount cages on masts, made with planks and such devices, of musket proofe. In those hee

The order of the siege.

Two skonces at the mouth of the water.

The princes care of the towne.

He dispatcheth an army to the Cage,

Which landeth at, and entrencheth the Sase.

Duke D'Alva before Harlem with 30,000.

Vieweth the seat of Battenburgh.

Affronteth him with forces.

Makes his approaches.

The towne sallieth with good successe.

The battry.

The towne received the assailants

To their losse, Who retire.

D'Alvaes stratagems.

Cages erected.

would place divers musketiers, who, by reason of their height, did beate into the trenches of the halfe moone. The defendants good cannoniers plagued those cages in such sort, that often the cages, birds and all, fell downe and brake their necks in their owne trenches. So, at last no birds could be found to sing in cages, where fire-worke and cannon-shot could annoy them. His mynes tooke little effect. Some the defendants found with counter-myne. One myne beeing passed under a bulwarke before it was found, and then discovered, the defendants made such trenches round about it, that the myne being fired, and the enemies entered, the trench plagued them like the halfe moone; so as they were driven to quitte their myne, as before they had done their breach. Another time they battered a new bulwarke: and the defendants perceiving they would lodge in it, left rampiring against their battery, and fell to myning their owne bulwark. After, making many trenches round about it, and placing divers barrells of powder in their myne, the enemies offered to enter. The defendants quitted the bulwark; suffered the enemies to enter in great numbers; and beeing at the push of pike at a barrier of their trench, they fired the myne, blew, slew, and toke at least 1600; and withall sallied into their trenches, and recovered their owne ground where their bulwarke stood, which they entrenched and kept. Duke D'Alva his losses were so great, that albeit his choler encreased, yet the courage of his souldiers much quailed; so that the wisest sort requested him to save his men from such furious terrors, and rather to spend a long time either to famish the towne, or to procure the princes forces to fight; which he could not doe without meanes to fight by water. Beeing in Amsterdam, with the resolution of his admirall Count Bossue, and good intelligence with the principall burgesses of the saide towne, hee resolved to cut a passage from the southerne sea into Harlem meere; which they did, and passed some forty-five sailes, whereof most were greater than those of the princes. These they armed and double manned, with the best sort of souldiers out of their campe, besides their mariners. Anchoring close under a fort of theirs, not farre from ours, they resolved to besiege the two forts at the mouth of the water, that came from the towne to the meere. Having those, they were sure to stop that passage, and to famish the town without giving battel. In short time they made a platform to beat these forts, which would hold good if their shipping could stay where they were. The prince hearing their intent, commanded the Baron of Battenburgh to prepare all his navie to attempt the Spanish fleete. By this time colonell Morgan was arrived with tenne English companies; who, by reason he was but newly landed, stood on some poynts of contract with the prince. But the service required haste; and the prince commanded the Barron of Battenburgh to advance his navie with all speede, and to use all diligence to succor the distressed skonces. And albeit the English regiment stood on terms, colonell Morgan (his owne band commanded by Royland Yorke, being arrived some moneth before their fellowes) offered himselfe, and so did his lieutenant captaine Bingham, with divers others, to serve where the prince would command them. But their regiment refused to march without money. To say troth, they were promised to bee mustered and payd at their landing. The Baron of Battenburgh wanting souldiers to man both his navie and his trenches at the Sase, was forced to depart with the navie before towards Harlem; God knoweth, nothing well manned, in respect of the Spanish. The Spanish admirall having intelligence, was ready with his navie double manned, wanting no necessaries; for the faire and rich towne of Amsterdam had furnished them with all wants, especially with store of marriners. Being approached within sight one of another, we found the Spanish in good order of battaile, keeping close together. They advanced towards us triumphing with drummes, trumpets, and glistering armours, with great courage; so as the sight quailed the courage of our white-livered generall and cowardly admirall. In such sort, that being approached neere ready to board each other, our generall and our admirall shranke out of our first ranke backewards; and advancing their fellowes forwards, both themselves and divers others of our best vessels made all the sailes

Which are beaten downe.

Mynes.

Blow it up, and sally upon the enemy.
And recover their ground.

Duke D'Alva giveth order to force the towne.
He maketh a cut in Harlem meere.
Passeth 45 ships into it.
Besiegeth the two forts.

Preparation for a sea fight.
Collonell Morgan ariveth out of England.

The English refuse to march without money.
Battenburgh wanteth men to man his navie.

The navies approached each other.
The bravery of the Spaniards.

The princes generall and admirall flie.

The rest discomfited.

they could to fly; leaving their poore companies engaged to the mercie of their enemies, by whom (God knowes) they were soone discountenanced. Our admirall and generall with our best sailes escaped to the Cage, as I said before; a place of ours, where we kept garrison; the rest of our navie made to the contrarie shore from Harlem. Divers escaped by reason they drew farre lesser water then the Spanish; divers were boarded and burned; among others, two hoyes, where Yorke and captain Morgans companie was. Notwithstanding halfe our men escaped with leaping into the water, and recovered the shoare. Thus lost we our sea-bataile; principally for want of souldiers to man throughly our ships, but partly with ill directions and cowardly executions of the Baron of Battenburgh, and admirall Norris Brand. For no generall or chiefe can excuse himselfe escaping out of an overthrow, without staying with the last troupes that fight. After

The two skonces lost.

this our two skonces were lost, and Harlem engaged to be lost without succours by land, which could not be without battaile. Shortly after, the towne beganne to fall to distresses; having in it at the least one thousand sixe hundred mouths, with no means to

The town seeks to passe away their unprofitable people.

be rid of any of them, but through the enemies campe; which they offered to passe often, but alwaies they were returned into the towne, or massacred in the campe. The

The prince attempteth to relieve the towne by land.

poore prince perceiving the distresse of the town, sought all meanes to relieve it. Having no other means, he went to Cublick Banquets; where he encouraged the Hollanders to take armes, and adventure themselves with his men of warre, rather then suffer their distressed countrimen to perish. These poore Hollanders having ingaged themselves with promise, resolved to meet on a day in the campe of Sase. Being arrived, the Baron of Battenburgh and Mounsieur de Carlo generall of his horsemen, tooke resolution to try the fortune of warres with the enemie, rather than to suffer the world to cry out, that the towne was lost without blowes on their sides; and thinking his name to be infamous (as indeed it was) for the sea fight, he thought it better to be buried dead then

Battenburgh leadeth toward Harlem.

alive. Hereupon hee dislodged from his trenches of Sase, accompanied with some sixe thousand footmen and sixe hundred horsemen; and having with him some thousand mares, upon most of which he placed two shot a peece; the rest were led with boures loaden with pouder and other necessaries, which the towne wanted greatly. Resolving to put those necessaries into the towne, hee advanced his forces. Being arrived hard by

Commeth to Hellingham.

Hellingham, a place (as I said before) which the enemie kept, at the breake of day, the enemy taking the alarum, the baron made a stand. After conferring with his captaines,

Retyreth.

hee tooke resolution to deferre their designe, and returned with our campe to Sase. The besieged being in great distresse for victuals, especially for munition, and finding

Saras sent to the princes campe.

the ill conduct of our generall and chiefes, dispatched out of town their captain Mounsieur de Saras, and Hauton his lieutenant; who passed with great danger, and were forced to swimme many ditches, hard by the enemies guardes. Being arrived at the Sase, bearing with them the townes resolution; which was, at the first sight of our campe to sallie on the enemies trenches; and so either to receive their wants into the towne, or to escape how they could. Saras having conferred with the prince and baron at Leyden, returned to the Sase, where they tooke a full resolution either to dye, or

The princes power towards Harlem.

succour the towne. Hereupon they dislodged from the Sase, with our armie named before, having with them some sixe hundred waggons loaden with victuals and munition;

Wooden moveable skonces.

with skonces made of boards of the proofe of muskets which ranne on wheeles, having in them places to play with sundry field-pieces; which skonces were to joyne and to open as pleased our enginer, every five and tenne pases. Being all joyned together, I meane in one, it might cover at the least three hundred men. This skonce was to be drawn with horses on both sides, and in the middest, untill we were engaged with the enemies small shot; then to be pushed with poales by the force of men. Being parted with all necessaries, and arrived betwixt their campe at Hellingham and the sea, the ene-

The Spaniards keepe close.

mies tooke the alarum in all their quarters. Arriving within sight of their campe, they kept their men very close, within their trenches, and on the side of the wood; so that

we could not see them. Our men within the towne had made a great salie through the curtaine; in such sort, that they might issue out, where there was neither guard nor trench of the enemy. But a traytour leaping over the walls in the night discovered all their intent. Whereupon the enemy prepared great quantity of straw, which beeing made wet, they set on fire in sundry places, at such time as their curriers gave the alarum of the approach of our army, when the townesmen were ready to sally out; by which meanes the townesmen could neither see the approaching of our army, nor knew what time they ought to sally. So the enemie directed five thousand of his best footemen, and three hundred horsemen to charge the townesmen if they sallied, and the rest to charge our campe, if it were possible unknowne to the townesmen; and so they did, by their government and fine stratagem. For at the sight of our armie (being within two musket-shot of their trenches,) Duke d'Alva caused the 5000 footemen, and 3 hundred horsemen, to discover themselves before the breach which our men had made in the curtaine: withall he commanded the brave Baron Chiffero, and John Battisto del Mounte, (who had quited Hellingham with all his horsemen, and was newly arrived in their campe) with others, to march on the sea-sands, untill his artillery went off in vollies; then to cut into the high wayes, betwixt Harlem and our campe at Sase; having with them some five hundred horsemen, and about five thousand footemen. Also he commanded his master of the campe Julian Romero, Del Mount, Donkus, the Barons of Likes, of Capers, of Frunsberke, and Poule Viler to leape over the trenches with their regiments, and charge our army at the discharging of his artillerie. Also Don John de Mendosa generall of his horsemen, who was hidden, as I said before, was commanded to charge our horsmen at the going off of the artillery. The duke with the rest of his army stood in battell within the trenches. Our generall and chiefes placed our waggons to frontier the fairest places where their horsemen could charge us: our Wallons, Dutch and Flemmish, stood within the waggons in good order of battaile, all in one squadron, with our horsemen on both the sides towards the enemies; our English, French, and Scots stood, some twenty score before the front of our battaile. As we were busie in placing our engines, I meane our skonces and waggons, their artillery went off; and withall the enemies presented in all quarters, as they were directed. At this sight (God knowes) our courage much abated. Notwithstanding, the Baron of Battenburgh and Mounsieur de Carlo charged Mendosa, he having better then eight hundred horsemen, and ours not sixe hundred. At which charge Mounsieur de Carlo, generall of our horsemen, was slaine, with many others of our best men. At that instant the Baron Chiffero, and John Battisto came on the spurre towards the Baron of Battenburgh, leaving their footemen marching with all speede on the side of ours. Upon their approach, the Baron and our horsemen ranne into our waggons, with all the enemies horsemen in their tailes. Then Julian and the rest named before, drave in the English and French shot, winning our skonces and waggons; and our battell brake and ranne towards the meere. By reason of meadowes and ditches divers escaped into our navie, which anchored not farre off, under a strong skonce; whose boats rowing from our ships saved many. But the baron our generall was slaine after he had recovered our battaile, with the most part of our men. All or the most part of our cornets, ensignes, artillery, munition, waggons, engines and baggage were lost. Thus were wee overthrowen with ill directions and ignorant government. What prince or estate would direct their men of warre, especially being more then halfe their owne countriemen, to attempt above 26,000 good souldiers well intrenched, governed with great captaines; not being in the whole 6500 footemen, and of those halfe poore spirited burgesses? or what generall or captaine would undertake it, unlesse he were ignorant and without judgement in martiall affaires? some will say had our friends perished in the towne without blowes, it had been our shame. I doe confesse it, having any reason to fight. But, being sure to perish both, it was our greatest shame to attempt it. If wee had kept our selves undefeated, and given order to the

The townsmen make a sallie.

Are hindred by wet straw fired.

D. d'Alvaes order against the towne.

Sendeth forces of the retreit of the princes power.

Appointeth foots to charge them;

And horse against their horse.

The order of the princes armie.

The battaile.

The horsemen charge.

Carlo slaine.

The footemen defeated.

The errour of the prince.

towne to have compounded with the enemie, their composition had beene the better. But being defeated, the townesmen were faine to yeeld to the mercy of Duke d'Alva.

The towne yeeldeth.

For the sight of our ensignes and cornets so quailed their courage, that having no other remedy, they yeelded to his mercy within foure dayes after our overthrow. But he executed the most part of them most cruelly, saving the Almaines of Stinbaghs regiment (who compounded for the most part to serve the king,) and Balfort with a few Scottish men; who to escape Duke d'Alvaes cruelty, promised to kill the Prince of Orange: but being arrived with the prince, he confessed his promise, and served him faithfully long after.

The cruelty of Duke d'Alva. Balfort.

The Spanish Mutinies, Mounsieur de Herges repulseth them at their scalado on Utricke, Duke d'Alva assiegeth Alkmer, where he receiveth the greatest disgrace that ever hee did since hee carried armes.

Duke d'Alva having wonne Harlem, and as he thought broken the courage of the Hollanders; thinking the Prince of Orange and them not able to furnish any place like unto Harlem, and that his crueltie on that town would terrifie any garrison from hazarding themselves to be besieged: hee resolved with his counsaile of warre to attempt one of the other strongest townes, as Alkmer or Leyden; which being wonne, the rest or most of the others would yeeld. To that end he dispatched his sonne Don Fredericke, accompanied with the master of his campe generall Chiapine Vitelly, giving them halfe his armie, and charge with all diligence to enclose the strong towne of Alkmer, situated in North Holland; himselfe with the rest of his armie, officers, nobility, artillery, munition, with all other necessaries, was to second them with all speede. His orders being set downe, and his armie dislodged, having passed their fort of Sparendam, the Spanish Tertias began to mutinie; partly discontented for want of pay, but chiefly fearing to bee troubled with a more miserable lodging then they had before Harlem. This proceeded chiefely from a few of the Neatherlanders which served amongst their bands, and knew the seat of Alkmer to bee an ill favoured marsh, farre more unholsome then Harlem; and knew it also to be a seat thrice stronger than Harlem. To say troth (if it were lawfull for men of ware to finde fault with any enterprise that their generall undertakes,) they had reason to fear Alkmer, considering how their misery endured before Harlem above ten monthes; in the which time they lost above twenty thousand lives, the most with sicknesse and misery. Whereupon beeing past the fort of Sparendam, and lodged on the firme land, having neither river nor marsh betwixt them and the faire towne of Utricke, the Spanish Tertias chose and forced one to bee their chiefe named in their language an Electo, who is lightly one of the finest stirring spirits amongst them well knowne to be stout and valiant. Sometimes they forced a person to be their Electo against his will; but whether hee bee willing or not, they will be sure to give him a strong guard of the chiefest mutiners; with such articles as if they finde him faulty in the least point, they will murder him had he a hundred lives. Especially he must neither signe nor write any thing, but in publicke places before them all. Likewise, he must neither receive writings nor speeches but in open audience; nor doe any thing without their general consent. Observing their articles and orders, the multitude will respect and obey him during his goverment; in as ample sort as the kings lieutenant; and all are sworne not to doe any thing without his consent. And with their generall and officers they promise to free him from all matters that can be laid unto his charge; which they have observed firmely at sundry times, as I will shew hereafter. And to say troth, if there can bee any good orders in mutinies, the Spanish doe theirs in good order; and keepe as good and as streight discipline, during the time of their electo, as when their officers are amongst them. As I said in my little discourse of the Spanish discipline, there can be no dangerous mutinie without a chiefe; which must be authorised by a prince, or estate. If

Duke d'Alva against Alkmer.

A mutienie amongst the Spaniards.

They chuse an Electo. His quality and government.

His authority.

Chiefes appointed by States.

any of them mutineth, there must bee present meanes to cut them off, as Alexander did his Parmenio, or some other meanes to be assured of their persons; else ambitious chiefes will often employ armies against their owne states and masters, and will not faile to use their meanes and credits to deceive the multitude, to serve their owne turnes. Being stirred in armes, by all reason they are irreconciliable to their princes or estates; the multitude and followers may be pardoned and forgiven, but in no reason their principal instruments can looke for any sure reconcilement. But a popular multitude either in armes, or otherwise mutined, may bee appeased and reconciled easily in respect of the others having no other instruments then were made by themselves; especially forced electoes, like unto the Spanish. As I said before, the Spanish Tertias and some six regiments of Wallons resolved to enter the city of Utrick, and to sack it rather then to misse their due paie. Whereupon they marched with all speed towards Utrick; and in their way they carried with them all the ladders they could finde in villages and churches which they thought would serve their turnes. Beeing approached hard by the towne, they found the wals well manned and in good order; by reason Mounsieur de Hierges goyernor of Gelderland and of Utrick, was arrived there upon intelligence of their determinations; who commanded the captaine of the castle upon his allegiance to the king, to use all endeavours for the defence of the towne. The castillian assured him of his loyalty, to the uttermost of his power.

A chiefe appointed by the mutiners.

The Spanish mutiny against Utrick.

The towne defended by Mounsieur de Hierges.

To bee the better assured of his Spanish garrison, Mounsieur de Hierges caused halfe the garrison of the castle to sally; and to manne the curtaine, where the mutiners attempted. Before they offered any attempt, Hierges sent a Spanish drum unto them; assuring them, rather then they should enter the towne, hee and as many as loved the kings service would dy in the place. Notwithstanding, the mutiners resolved, and advanced the scale; giving their fury on the curtaine next unto the citadell; thinking belike, that their fellowes within would not be cruell against them. But being in the ditch, and having placed their ladders to the rampier, both Hierges and the captaine of the castle and all the rest, plagued them with volleyes of shot both great and small; in such sort, that happy was he that could returne first, leaving behinde them all or the most part of their ladders, with many of their men slaine or hurt. Afterwards the mutiners returned into the countrie, so greatly discontented, as they did not onely raile on Mounsieur de Hierges, the captaine, and garrison, but on their king, generall, and officers; in such sort, that most of them sware they would bee paid, and better used, or else they would serve the enemy against their king. Duke d'Alva hearing their resolutions, dispatched commissioners to appease them; and in the ende was forced to content them, both with five moneths pay, and assurance to be forgiven. Having pacified them and reconciled all, they accepted their officers, and agreed to march whither they should be ledde. But first, according to their custome, every man gave a crowne unto the electo, who was to depart with all speed out of the kings dominions; but with good assurance and pasport not to be molested. This mutinie hindered Duke d'Alvaes intent some month. Notwithstanding, according to his first resolution, Don Fredrick and Vitelly marched with all speed to enclose Alkmer. So did the duke followe with the rest in all speed. In the meane time, the prince and states of Holland had sent into the towne, five or sixe expert captains; especially the Scottish men Smith and Cornellys, who entered the towne with some foure hundred soulders. The most of these captaines had been at Harlem, and saved the towne for a long time, next unto the Almighties will. The vanguard being arrived, they soone ingaged the towne; so as none could either sally or enter. Duke d'Alva being arrived with the rest, prepared great pontons or bridges, with other necessaries to plant his battery; which hee could hardly doe, by reason of the marish and wet rotten grounds, whereon the towne stood. Notwithstanding, with his expert captaines and cunning enginers he mounted eighteen peeces of cannon, with som six culverings in a marshie ground against reason; impos-

The mutiners retire.

Rayle on their king.

Are pacified by d'Alva.

Send away their electo.

Don Fredrick. D'Alva followeth.

Alkmer strengthened by the prince.

The towne ingaged.

Pontones for the ordinance.

The cannon planted.

sible to be done, as the defendants thought. These peeces did beate crosse, on two platformes, a weak bulwarke, and a curtaine, some eight score off. Having no other flanke, by reason the ground served not, they could not bring the battery within lesse then eight score, wherefore their fury was the lesse. To say troth, all batteries ought to be placed within lesse than eight score; if it be full seven score, it is very farre to doe any great hurt; in case the defendants be in any great numbers within, having store of earth to rampier and entrench themselves. Notwithstanding, I heard some of the best defendants in that towne say, in their judgments, the feare of the people and of most of the souldiers within was such, that had not the enemies environed the towne round about as they did but left any place voide, the best of the defendants would have quitted the place, and shifted for themselves. But beeing streightly environed and no waies to escape, remembering their cruelty at Harlem, they resolved to fight; by reason the souldiers which had been in Harlem, did importune the rest; especially the captaines, who were assured to perish comming into their enemies hands. After some 7000 shot, the breach was reasonable, as the assailants thought. But in troth it was not; for above foure foot of the ground of the rampier was nothing battered, but falsely covered with the ruine of the parapet and the earth that fell from the highest parts of the breach. Also they were faine to give their assaults on pontons and such engines; which they had made against reason, to adventure men against a place defended with any valour. For a breach (be it made never so assaultable) having many hands to defend it with any valour, lightly is never entred; in case they within be of any judgement, as I said before, and having earth to entrench themselves. But the fury of Duke d'Alva and his commanders was such that they advanced to the assault, and attempted it with great courage. Being twice repulsed, notwithstanding they advanced the third time, to their folly and deare costs. For at those assaults they lost divers of their best captaines, and at the least 1600 of their bravest souldiers.

The battery.

The distance of the battery.

The feare of the towne.

No way to flee.

The breach.

Not assaultable.

Pontons for assaults.

The assault.

The Spaniards repulsed.

The next day the raine fell in great aboundance, in such sort, that they raised their siege in few daies; and lost divers peeces of battry which they could not hale out of the marish. At this towne did the famous Duke d'Alva lose the greatest credite, that hee did in any place since hee carried armes; which he had done sixty yeares. For fifty yeares, the least commandment hee had, was generall of the horsemen: which place hee had in Germany, when Charles the Fifth overcame Duke John Fredrick of Saxony and his confedrates. But had the duke marched streight to Delfs haven and taken it, and Mayston-sluce, when he marched to Alkmer (which places were unfortified to any purpose) by all reason he had carried all Holland in a short time. I am sure, the most men of warre who knowe the seate of the countrie, will confesse no lesse then myselfe.

The siege leavied.

D'Alvaes disgrace.

His experience for warre.

His error.

Monsieur de Poyet surpriseth Gertrudenberg.

Whilst Duke d'Alva was busie about his enterprise of Alkmer, Mounsieur de Poyet, who had bin with Count Lodowick in Mounts, being newly arrived out of France, was chosen lieutenant of the warre to the Prince of Orange. Having conferred with the prince, they gathered certaine companies of English, Scottish, French, and Flemings, at Dort in Holland; which they embarked with petardes, ladders, and such engines of warre. Mounsieur de Poyet using great diligence, landed his troupes in the night, on the dike towards Seavenbrooke; some half a league from the strong towne of Gertrudenberg in Brabant, situated on the water side next unto Dort. After placing his troupes in order, hee sent before him a valiant French captaine, named Malion, accompanied with a dozen resolute souldiers; amongst whom were two or three of the countrie souldiers, who had been often in the towne, and knew all the rampiers as well as the inhabitants themselves. Whilst Malion spent some howr in discovering the place they meant to scale, Mounsieur de Poyet advanced his troupes towards the towne. Beeing

Mounsieur de Poyet landeth his troupes in the night.

His order for the surprise.

within a quarter of a league of the towne, hee staied untill about an houre before day. Having conferred with Malion, he delivered unto him some two hundred of his best souldiers, giving him charge to scale with all courage; assuring him to second him with the rest. Malion and his troupes entred the ditch of a small raveling, joyning unto the rampier where hee placed his ladders. After the passing of the round (notwithstanding that the sentinels gave the allarum) Malion and his troupes recovered both raveling and rampier, before any great troupe came to encounter him. The garrison being gathered together in reasonable numbers, charged Malion resolutely at the push of the pike; but being seconded by Mounsieur de Poyet and his troupes, they were quickly content to quitte the fury, and also forced to runne into the market place, whither the assailants followed them in the taile. Notwithstanding, being entred the market place, the governor with his fresh troupes turned upon us, and gave a hot charge at the push of the pike; but our many hands soone overcame them, giving them the retreit in rout. Some took themselves into the towne-house, which they kept a little while, and then yeelded to have their lives saved. Divers ran over the rampier towards Breda; more then halfe were slaine. The governor with a few recovered his house, which stood on the rampier; out of which hee escaped over the wall unto Breda; leaving behinde him all that hee had, saving what he carried upon him. Thus was the strong towne of Gertrudenberg surprised, with lesse then 1200 men; having in it at the least 600 souldiers, besides burgesses, with the losse of four and fifty persons of our side; to the great griefe of Duke d'Alva, not without reason. For considering his losse and disgrace at Alkmer, it did equall at the least his victory at Harlem.

Malion entreth.

Poyet secondeth him.

Resistance in the market place.

The garrison defeated.

The governor escapeth.

Baldeso, sent by Duke d'Alva into Holland, entereth the Hague, attempteth Delfe, and other places, without successe.

When Duke d'Alva advanced to besiege Alkmer, he sent the master of his campe Don Franscisco de Baldeso, with his *Tertia de la Ligue*, with five cornets of horsemen and some twelve companies of Wallons out of sundry regiments; commanding him to advance into the bowels of Holland, to relieve his troopes in the rich villages (where he thought best) betwixt Leyden, Delfe and the sea-coast, as farre as the river of Mase, and the town of Brill; charging him to attempt nothing without his advice and consent, unlesse it were with sure intelligence with some of the townes. Baldeso being entered the faire and rich village of Hague, without any resistance, found it a place sufficient to lodge double his troupes; all in covert, and most in beds. This Hague is counted the fairest village in Europe, and the place of the generall assembly of all the Neatherlands, next unto Brussels (I meane the seaventeene provinces since they were united under the house of Burgundy) where the king hath a faire palace, and divers of the nobility houses, with a great multitude of lawyers. This Hague is such a village, that Charles the Fift being requested to fortifie it, answered, hee had rather it should remaine the fairest village, then a reasonable faire towne. But I perswade my selfe, both hee and the countrey would have fortified it, but that it standeth more then halfe on sandie grounds: which can never bee made strong by the earth itselfe, by reason of the loosenesse of the sand. The prince of Orange tryed to doe it, but could not to any purpose, so as it might be kept with any garrison against an army, without a reasonable army to defend it. Baldeso after lodging a fewe dayes in the Hague, caused all the villages to bring him such necessaries as pleased him. Then he advanced certaine of his companies to a village called Riswike, in the way towards Leyden from Delfe; which he entrenched and baricaded. Likewise he entrenched his first guardes at the bridge, halfe the way betwixt Delfe and the Hague, where often our troupes and theirs had many a hot skirmish, both neere unto the guardes, and sometimes hard by the ports of Delfe.—

Baldeso sent into Holland.

Entreth the Hague.

The seat thereof.

Baldeso fortifieth Riswicke.

Placed his first guardes at the bridgeds towar Delfe.

The States garrisons.

Colonell Morgans regiment and divers companies of Frenchmen were lodged in the villages, betwixt Delfe and Roterdam, safely from the enemie; by reason both the townes covered them behinde and before with great ditches on both sides, not to be passed with troupes, having any guards to defend them. These troupes served alwaies ready to thrust into Delfe, Roterdam, Delfe-haven, or Mayston-sluce; where the enemy would have attempted first.

In Leyden.

In Leyden was Mounsieur de Lorges, sonne to that brave Count of Mongomery, with a faire French regiment; and other companies of Scots, and of the countrimen and burgesses well armed.

Captain Chester in Delfe.

In Delfe was captaine Chester with two hundred Englishmen; whome afterwards the prince advanced to be colonell of those troupes, by reason of some sting against colonell Morgan.

In Roterdam.

There were in it also three faire companies of Frenchmen, besides the burgesses well armed.

In Delfs-haven.

In Roterdam were some bands of Scots, and of the countrimen, besides the burgesses.

In Maystonsluce.

At Delfs-haven was Mounsieur de Mayson-flure, with sundry bands of French, Scots, and of the countrey. In Maystonsluce was Mounsieur de saint Alagondy, and Terlon, with some 1200, most of them countrimen; a great number of peasants and burgesses.

Delfs-haven fortified.

Besides, the garrisons wrought continually to fortifie both Delfs-haven and Mayston-sluce; in such sort that both the places were strong and guardeable with reasonable defences. Especially Delfs-haven was verie strong; not to be wonne easily, having necessaries that belong to a fortresse. The garrison of Delfs-haven had fortified the village of Overskie, halfe the way betwixt Delfe and Roterdam; where they kept a strong guarde.

Mounsieur de Poyet in Leyden.

Mounsieur de Poyet, for the better assurance of Leyden, being the neerest place engaged and environed with enemies, thrust himselfe into it.

Baldeso's attempts upon Delfe.

Baldeso practised all he could with Leyden and Delfe; once by treacherie of some, who kept the town port towards Utricke. Baldeso prepared sundry turfe-boates, in which hee lodged good troupes of soldiers. Once being entered the ports, with the resolution of the garrison, and the good conduct of Poyet, they were repulsed; where Baldeso lost many of his men. Another time hee had intelligence with some in Delfe; but being discovered to the townesmen and garrison, divers of our bands which lodged hard by entred in the night; but either some of the townesmen or Baldesoes guardes discovered our arming: so as he gave over his enterprize, when he was ready to attempt, in the like order as he did at Leyden. But had he come, we were ready at the least 1000 souldiers, beside the burgesses, at the water port where he should have entered; and had bent sundry pieces of artillery, loaden with nayles, haile-shot, and such devices. Had he presented himselfe, his troupes could not escape without great murther among them, with no danger to ourselves.

Advertisements to d'Alva.

After these attempts, Baldeso advertised Duke d'Alva of his affaires; shewing him that no good could bee done, without an armie and the furie of artillery. To that end he requested more troupes or meanes, or leave to retyre himselfe with those troupes he had.

Duke d'Alva retyreth out of Holland, sendeth Julian Romero, Mounsieur de Capers, and Fronsperge, to assist Baldeso. Verdugo Governour of Harlem.

D'Alva retyreth to Brussels.

The duke remembering his disgrace at Alkmer, fearing his armie would mutine if hee would overcharge them with paines and travel, having no treasure to content them, resolved to retire to Brussels. But before he departed, he sent the master of his campe

Sendeth Julian Romero to assist Baldeso,

Julian Romero to his armie, which was lodged in the country by Utricke and Amsterdam; giving him charge, if hee could, to procure his *Tertia* of Lumbardy (of which Julian was colonell) to march unto Holland to joyne with Baldeso. He sent also Mounsieur de Capers;

with Mounsieur de Capers.

commanding him to procure his regiments of Wallons to do the like.

Fronsberke.

Also the regiment of Fronsberke the Almaine.

Six cornets of horse.

These colonels were directed to the campe, to procure their regiments to march willingly, and not perforce. He commanded Mendoza generall of his horsemen to send with them sixe of the best cornets. After that these

regiments and cavallery were contented to enter Holland, and had sworne to obey their colonells in all manner of service; Duke d'Alva gave the chiefe charge unto Julian, and the next unto him was Baldeso. He placed Colonell Verdugo governor in Harlem; with his regiment of Wallons, and one cornet of horsemen, with three ensignes of Almaines out of Frunsbergs regiment. Himselfe departed out of Amsterdam, with his sonne Don Fredericke, Chiapin Vitelly, Mendosa, and all the rest of his armie towards Brabant; resolving not to attempt any great siege or service before hee had acquainted the king how the world went. To that end being arrived at Brussels, he dispatched two of qualitie unto the king; either to send him treasure and meanes more plentifully, and in better order, or to give him leave to retire himselfe, and to send another governor.

Julian generall.

Verdugo.

D'Alvas retire, and to what end.

Julian Romero winneth Mayston-sluce, but dareth not attempt Delfes-haven.

Julian and his succours being arrived, and having conferred with Baldeso, resolved to attempt Mayston-sluce; and dislodged from the Hague with their forces named before, haling with them sixe pieces of battery. Being arrived at the great village called Florden, within a small league of Mayston-sluce, they quartered their horsemen, with a regiment of footemen for their guardes, and departed with the rest to approach the Sluce. They carried with them all the skutes and boats that might be found, in waggons; with plankes, ladders, and all other necessaries that they thought fit, to scale and to make bridges over the dikes. Being before the Sluce, with their bridges and meanes they had made to passe the ditches, they tooke the great ditch on both sides of the Sluce; I meane the dyke the Sluce stands upon, and which keeps the sea from drowning the land.— Having mounted their artillery on both sides of the dyke, they dismounted ours within, which did beat on the dyke. After, turning their artillerie towards the seas, I meane the river of Mase, which is above a league broad in that place, they beat away such vessels as the defendants had anchoring before their fort. Mounsieur de Terlon being admirall and governor of Brill, perceiving their successe, departed out of the fort in a skute, with great hazard, to recover the Brill; presently the enemies passed their boates over the dyke into the Mase. Being passed, it much abated the courage of S. Aldegoundy and his garrison, not without reason. For betwixt the fort and the water their rampier was worth nothing; so as at a high water it covered the dyke of the fort, as high as the parapet. The enemy perceiving their successe, prepared a ponton; which they builded artificially upon their boates, and placed on it three of their pieces. The garrison perceiving their stratageme, having no meanes to avoyde it, nor hope of succours, compounded for their fort, delivering the enemies their chiefe prisoners, with their ensignes and armes. Thus was the fort of Mayston-sluce lost, partly by reason our ships of warre durst not hazard to dismount the enemies artillery (which they might have done, shewing their accustomed valour, as they did since and before in divers places) but chiefly by reason our men did not cut the dyke on both sides of the fort, to have drowned the countrey; having done that, the enemy would never have attempted the place. By reason of the strengthe of Delfes-haven, the enemy refused to attempt it. To say troth, they had no reason to doe it; having no meanes to approach but on such a dyke; and the enemy being so well fortified and manned, as their approaches had beene vaine.

Julian Romero attempteth Mayston sluce.

His order.

Taketh the dike the sluce stands upon; dismounteth the artillery of the forte.

Mounsieur de Terlon departeth.

Julian's boats in the Mase.

The weaknesse of the fort towards the water.

Julian placed his artillerie upon a ponton.

The forte yeeldeth.

Delfes-haven unattempted.

The King of Spaine calleth home the Duke D'Alva, and in his roome establisheth Don Lewis de Requesence Governor of the Lowe-Countries.

In this time order came from the king, to retire Duke d'Alva into Spaine, and to resigne his place unto Don Lewis de Requesence, commendator-major de Castillia; a souldier of great reputation for counsaile, but no body for execution; as the battaile of La-

panta could witnesse. For this commendator being chiefe councellor to Don John de Austria, did what he could to procure the Christian armie not to hazard battaile with the Turkes. Also being in the fight, he advanced so slowly with a rereguarde of gallies, that he nor his came to any blowes; so as both there and in other places, alwaies the commendator was reputed a coward. But belike in respect of his wit and mildnesse, the king sent him into the Lowe Countries; perhaps perswaded, that a milde captaine would winne the hearts of the people farre better with faire meanes, then Duke d'Alva with his cruelty. But in troth, both king and councell deceived themselves, in calling away Duke d'Alva and in making choyce of such a generall as the commendator-major. For by all reason, if the Duke had beene royally maintained as he ought, he had made his master absolute king over all the seventeene provinces. To say troth, furie and resolution well used or executed, had beene the onely waies to suppresse that nation; the Spanish being resolved to subdue them, as they were. For all other since, the witty politicke Neatherlanders did alwaies over reach the Spanish; especially having such a head to direct them as the prince of Orange, and being so strongly situated; wanting no meanes to maintaine warres, and resolved to withstand the Spanish to the uttermost rather than to yeeld to any composition. For whether the people bee strongly situated or not, wealthie or poore, few or great in multitudes, being resolved to be mutinous and discontented, and not willing (as I said before) to be brought unto any composition, but such as pleaseth themselves; God helpe that prince or state, that must be forced to compound with such a people, by any meanes but by the sword; which had beene farre more easie in the hands of Duke d'Alva, then of the poore commendador. But the emulation amongst councellors for greatnesse overthrew that service, with many others; as I will shew hereafter. The Spanish priests, namely Cardinal Granvill, the bishop of Toledo, with the aide of Rigomus, did perswade the king, that Duke d'Alva was too great a subject. By such means rather then any other, Duke d'Alva was called home, and questioned for many disorders; committed as well in other places, as in the Lowe-Countries.

The error of the Spaniard in remooving D'Alva.

Walkheren besieged with the Prince's shipping; Middleburgh releeved by the Spaniards; divers Skirmishes betwixt the forces of either side; Mondragon entreth Middleburgh; the Spanish Navie, at their returne toward Antwerpe, defeated.

Walkheren besieged with ships by the States.

Whilest Julian was busie in Holland, Mounsieur de Poyet, and Boiset, governor of Walkheren, with his brother the admiral of Zeland, had besieged the iland with a great number of shippes of warre; in such sort that nothing could enter into Middleburgh, Armue, and Ramkins, which the enemies held. Messieurs de Bevoir and Don Ruffello being distressed for want of victualls in the said places, found meahs to acquaint the commendator with their estate: whereupon the commendator sent for Julian to come with most of his forces, and to leave Baldeso with the rest in Holland. Having prepared a navy of some hundred saile of ships, hoyes, and crumsters, giving them in charge unto the masters of the campe, Sanio, d'Avila, Castillan of Antwerpe, and Mondragon; after furnishing them with all necessaries, both double manned with souldiers, and appointed with great store of victuals, as wel to relieve the distressed places as the army abroad; he commanded them to use all diligence, first to enter Middleburgh, and to relieve Mondragon, governour of the iland, (with his regiment of Wallons, and some foure companies of Spaniards), both with victualls and munition; then to returne with the navy for Antwerpe, and to carry with them Mounsieur de Beavoir, with his troupes. Before this navie passed Lillo, Messieurs de Poyet and Boiset had attempted the ramkins, and anchored with ships under the fort, which did dismount divers pieces within, having their tops of musket proofe, out of which our musketiers did command the parapet next unto them: Also a myne was made in the dike towardes Middleburgh; which being fired, rased a corner of the fort to little purpose; but that there was but a few

Julian Romero out of Holland.

The commendator sendeth a navy towards Walkheren.

The Ramkins attempted by the States, from the ships.

souldiers within, not halfe to man the walls, with a cowardly ensigne-bearer which commanded. By these meanes the Ramkins was delivered to Mounsieur de Poyet some foure daies before the succours arrived. Also there arrived from Holland Collonell Morgan and his regiment, with other companies of Wallons and Flemings. The Spanish succours beeing in sight, our men planted the Spanish ensignes on the ramkins, and discharged a volley of artillery, as if it were for joy, only to bring their navie to anchor under the commandement of our artillery. Beeing approached and anchored, they soon perceived what friends did welcome them. Insteed of safe anchoring, they were faine to dislodge under the muck of the dike a league off, to be safe from our artillery. Being anchored, Beavoir and Ruffello marched with the most of their men of warre to that place, haled with them foure peeces of battry, which stood their navie in great steed, for they commanded all the road where the navie lay; in such sort, that albeit our navie anchored within halfe a league of theirs, betwixt them and Flushing, we durst not attempt them in that road, by reason of their artillery mounted on the shoare. Perceiving no hope to succour their distressed places by water, they tooke resolution to saile about the island, and to land their men at a place named the Hague, which stands on the neck of the island, to the eastward from Camfier, a league from the said towne, and some league and a halfe from Middleburgh. Whilest their navy was doubling about the island, our men of warre marched right against them alwaies, not knowing their intent, nor where they meant to land; but had they known our directions, they might have easily entred and seized on the towne of Flushing, in sayling by it. Of two thousand souldiers which wee had in the island, we had not in the towne two hundred. In passing by Flushing, had their navy bent their course into the haven, there was nothing to defend them but a paultry bome; which, God knowes, could never have endured one push of the smallest vessell. For the towne artillery, it vexed them onely in sailing by it. Being entred the haven, the souldiers had nothing to do but to have leaped out of their shippes to shoare, on both sides of the haven; which might have been done easily, having nothing to let them but the men of warre, which were, at their passing by, a great league off. For then (God knowes) the burgesses were nothing trained either with armes, or any policy of defence. Also at this instant the bulwarke that flanked the haven was nothing furnished to any purpose. Therefore often true intelligence is the best part of an enterprise, and worth alwaies halfe an army. Beeing anchored at the Hague named before, they landed their men, and placed on that dike certaine peeces of artillery, in like sort as they did at their last anchoring, for defence of the navy. Having landed their victualls, and such necessaries as they had to furnish their distressed places, they sent to Beavoir and Ruffello to send them all the meanes they could to transport their necessaries. Beeing arrived, Mondragon's men, with victualls and munition, departed towards Middleburgh; where being arrived, Mounsieur de Beavoir and Don Ruffello returned with the olde garrison to the Hague. In this time all our men of warre were arrived at Camfier, the next place to front them; so was our navie anchored within halfe a league of theirs, halfe the way betwixt the Hague and Camfier. Mounsieur de Roule, governour of the said towne, having set good order in his towne, Mounsieur de Boiset, governor of the whole iland, and Roule, sallied with the rest, to front the enemies at the Hague. Being arrived right against our navie, we being in number two thousand, English, Scots, French, Wallons, and Flemings, entrenched our mayne in that place; then wee advanced, some three hundred, twelve score further, and entrenched there two hundred; and advanced, six score further, one hundred. Our guard was narrowe, by reason we were entrenched on a dike of sixteen pases broad, the seas on the one side, on the other side meadowes invironed with ditches, not passable with armed men without meanes to make bridges. The enemies perceiving our lodgings, belike thought it was to cut off their passage betwixt the Hague and Middleburgh. Whereupon, not having passed halfe their necessaries, presently to intercept us, they marched ful against us upon the dike;

Yeelded up.

Collonell Morgan arriveth.

The Spanish in sight.

Trained into danger of the shot.

Retire into safety.

Defended by the cannon from land.

Saile toward Hague.

Are affronted by land from Flushing.

The danger of Flushing.

The Spaniards land at the Hague.

Relieve Middleburgh;

are affronted by the prince's souldiers;

who intrench themselves.

Are charged by the Spaniards, who are forced to retire.

a thousand or more advanced into the meadowes right against us; some five hundred on our side towards Middleburgh, followed with all their troupes. Those on the dike forced our first troupe to runne, following them in rout unto our second. Being on the trench of our two hundred, we plagued them with a volley of shot, so as they were driven to retire above twelve score, where they stood untill their shot in the meadowes approached neere unto us. Collonell Morgan perceiving the heate of their skirmish, advanced his lieutenant-collonell, Captaine Bingham, with two hundred shot and armed men: so did Boiset and Roule advance with them, and many of the other nations. Withall, the enemies advanced with great resolution upon the dike; so did the others in the meadowes passe over the ditches with planks and hurdles, in such manner that those troups annoyed us greatly; for they flanked us with volleyes on our sides so cruelly, that being at the push of the pike with the troupes on the dike, our men behinde made away. The enemies perceiving their retreit, passed over the trench, where they executed and hurt many; by reason wee fought and knew not of our fellowes retreit, untill our backs were towards the enemies; who followed us so close, and with such fury, that our great stand ranne above halfe a league, untill we came to a strong trench at a winde-mill, where we kept a good guard, which was commanded by the towne artillerie. The enemy perceiving the place too hot to attempt, and not guardeable, being possest, by reason of the towne artillery, retired. Wee perceiving their retreit, began to take such courage, that wee resolved to charge them; advancing with a cry and fresh resolution; charging their rereguard, their vanguard doubled their pases. Perceiving their countenances, it gave further courage; whereupon our charge began to bee resolute and furious: so as all their troupes ranne; where we executed of them a farre greater number then they did of ours in our first retreit. Wee followed them through their lost trenches, close to their trench and village of Hague. By reason of the night's approach, wee quitted our skirmish, and kept guard at our trenches; which we mended all the night, keeping good guard and farre better order then we did before. All the night both towne and succours transported their necessaries into the towne; so that, by their great number of skutes and waggons, all their victuals and necessaries were entred the towne before two of the clock the next day in the afternoone; and, as I said before, Mondragon, with his, entred Middleburg; and Beavoir, with Don Ruffello and their followers, arrived at the Hague. By reason of our equall losses and wearinesse, neither of both parties were eager to procure any skirmish: so that, according to the commendator's directions, their troupes embarked. Our fleete perceiving their meaning to saile for Antwerpe, belike to discharge an honest reporte to the world, our chiefes resolved to fight with them by sea. Having taken resolution, and imbarked the most of our souldiers, wee made towards them with good courage, as they sailed by Camfier; Captaine Yorke being aboard the vice-admirall of Flushing, with a great number of young English gentlemen and souldiers, the most of Collonell Morgan's company, procured our vice-admirall to board their vice-admirall; which he easily yeelded unto, for the man was valiant and eager of himselfe to charge. So was valiant Mounsieur de Boiset our admirall, with the most or all his navie, very eager to charge their fleet, beeing well manned with good store of gallant souldiers, of the nations of English, Scots, and French. Being close together, with great courage ours cried, Amain. According to direction, our vice-admirall boarded theirs; so did valiant Robinson, a Scottish captaine, beeing in one of the best Flushioners, board their rere-admirall. Mounsieur Boiset charged their admirall through their navie, who escaped with good sailing. Captaine Harry and Ambrose Duke, the valiant Frenchmen and Wallons, being aboard of some of our best sailes, boarded also two of their best sorts of vessels. The enemy perceiving our resolution, fell in rout before the winde, with all the sailes they could make, to recover the river of Antwerpe. Notwithstanding, wee tooke, burnt, and forced to runne on the sands, above two-and-thirty sailes; and returned victorious, with their vice-admi-

The English advance.

The Spaniards second charge.

The prince's souldiers flee. The Spaniards enter the trench;

Giveth chase to the prince's souldiers;

retireth;

is pursued;

put to flight; and executed.

Mondragon in Middleburgh.

The Spaniards return to Antwerp.

Are charged by the prince's fleet.

Capt. Yorke.

Boiset.

The Spanish borded.

Flee.

Thirty-two sail of theirs taken.

rall, rere-admirall, and divers others, into our towne of Camfier; where we filled our prisons with Spaniards, Wallons, and great numbers of their marriners. This victory recompensed in honour double theirs, although not so profitable as their victualling of Middleburgh and Armu, which by that meanes held out many a moneth the longer, and would have done still, but for the defeat of Rumer's wall. Notwithstanding that Middleburgh was victualled and farre better manned, principally by the person of brave Colonell Mondragon, the prince gave not over his determined purpose, but charged both the Boisets, I meane the governour and his brother the admirall, to use all diligence to make sure guarde round about the iland with their ships, as they did before; and to cut off all succours from entring any more. To that end they prepared a farre greater number both of ships and souldiers; on which enterprise the prince did set his rest with good reason; for he was assured to winne the iland in time, being master on the seas. Within few moneths, Mondragon and his beganne to fall into distresse for want of victuals. To terrifie them the more, the prince sent his lieutenant-generall, Mounsieur de Poyet, into Walkheren, with the most of his men of warre, saving Colonell Morgan's regiment, which remained in Strinland, standing on tearmes for pay, and leave to returne for England, by reason of some discourtesies that fell out betwixt the prince and the officers of the said regiment. Notwithstanding divers gentlemen of that regiment accompanied Mounsieur de Poyet, amongst others Captaine Walter Morgan, Master Christopher Carlell, and Master Anthonie Fant. Mondragon fearing Poyet would attempt Armu, sent his lieutenant-colonell into the said towne with a strong guarde, by reason the place was but newly fortified, but very strong, without many hands to defend it. Also he kept a strong guarde at the head of Middleburgh, a mile out of the towne, to defend the haven. Poyet advanced his forces on the Ramkins dike towards Middleburgh. Being arrived right against the enemies guards at the head, ours intrenched themselves in that place, lodging our forces on the dike, from the Ramkins to the said first guarde, having betwixt us and the enemie the haven, which might bee some threescore broad; where wee had divers good skirmishes, as well by those that sallied from Middleburgh, as by them that lodged at the head.

The prince againe besieged the iland.

His preparation.

Mondragon's distresse.

Mounsieur de Poyet sent into Walkheren.

The English malecontent.

The occasion of Sir Roger Williams serving the Spaniard.

Colonell Morgan being arrived in England, with his regiment in good order, to the number of seven hundred, who being mustered before her majestie neere to S. James, the colonell and some foure hundred of his best men were sent into Ireland; which in truth were the first perfect harguebushiers that were of our nation, and the first troupes that taught our nation to like the musket, as I said in my little discourse of the Spanish discipline: There also I touch how Philip de Commines speaks much of Lewis the Eleventh, but nothing how he quitted his Duke of Burgundy. Most true it is, at Colonell Morgan's going into Ireland, hearing how the young prince of Condy was newly escaped from France into Germany, meaning (as it was told me) to leavie an army, and to march with all speede into France; this bruit, and my greedy desires to travaile to see strange warres, made me to quite the voyage into Ireland, and to goe with all speed towards the said prince. Being arrived in Germanie, I found the prince nothing ready to march, nor any speech of his sodaine leavie. Having spent there all the time I could, want of crownes forced me to returne for England. Passing from Colen towards Antwerpe, and entring Lire in Brabant, I was brought before the master of the campe, Julian Romero; who amongst many questions, enquired of me, what noblemen in England I knew best? I answered, the Earle of Pembroke; whom I served a page. He replyed, what? he that was general of the English before S. Quintin? I never honoured any man more; and withall requested me earnestly to trye his courtesie in the Spanish armie; assuring me to de-

part when pleased me. Having spent all my crownes, and being loth to returne into England without seeing something, I promissd to stay. Also in those dayes there was no dispute betwixt her majestie and the Spanish king, to my knowledge. This was the manner, and the first hower that I entred into the Spanish service.

Middleburgh in distresse; the Spanish prepare a Navie to relieve it, which is beaten and overthrown by the Nassawians in a furious conflict.

The Spanish preparation to relieve Middleburgh.

Julian Romero and Santio d'Avila, generalls.

The prince's navie.

The nature of the sea.

The best ships for that sea.

The prince's navie at Sirickssey.

Three squadrons of Spaniards.

Santio d'Avila at Tergoose.

Julian Romero and Boiset.

Want of mariners among the Spaniards, but not of souldiers.

The commendator giveth a signall, Santio de Avila advanceth.

Mondragon feeling his wants, advertized the commendator; who, perceiving no means to succour him but by sea, which could not bee without forcing the prince's ships, prepared all the sailes and meanes he could. In time he made ready some 120 saile; of which were foure-score of warre, as well ships as crumsters and hoyes; the rest victuallers, laden with all necessaries to furnish the distressed places. Being in readinesse, some at Antwerpe, some at Bargen-up-Some, the rest at Tergoose, hee gave them in charge to his masters of campe, Julian Romero and Santio d'Avila, desiring them, for fashion sake, to accept Mounsieur de Bevoir for admirall, and to give him some grace, in respect of his disabling for the commandement of Zealand. This he did only to flatter the Wallons; by reason Mounsieur de Bevoir was descended from one of their principal houses. The prince hearing their intent, prepared for his navie all or the most of the ships of warre that Holland and Zeland could make at that time, to the number of some two hundred; a few ships, the rest crumsters and hoyes. These are the best ships to fight in those waters, by reason the most of them draw but little water, and carry for the most part principal good artillery, some demy cannons, and many whole culverings; for those waters are full of sands and many dangers, although it be broad in some places tenne of our myles, all covered with seas; notwithstanding not navigable in the most places, but in narrow streames; insomuch as in many places you may discover steeples and bankes, which in time past were ilands like unto the rest. For this cause I suppose those countries doe carrie the name of Sealand. Also those small sailes turne farre shorter and readier then other ships in those narrow passages, and keepe farre better by a winde. Having this navie in a readinesse well manned, especially with great store of good mariners, besides a good number of souldiers of Scots, French, and Neatherlanders, he commanded his admirall Mounsieur de Boiset, to advance with his navie betwixt Siricksey and Tergoose, where the enemies must passe, there to trye the fortune of warre, rather then they should succour Mondragon. After finishing all preparations, the commendator divided his navie named before into three squadrons. The greatest vessels, and the farre more in number, he commanded Santio d'Avila to advance under the island of Tergoose, there to anchor under the favour of some artillery mounted on the shore, and to stay in readinesse untill he received further direction. Himselfe, with the rest of his councell and army, marched to Bargen-up-Some, where he found Julian Romero and his admirall Bevoir, ready to set out with the rest of his navie, staying but for his directions. He divided their vessels into two squadrons, giving them equally to the admirall and Julian. All his navie being furnished to the uttermost he could, they wanted marriners, especially of the same countrimen, that were well acquainted with those sands and shallow waters; but they were very well manned with brave land souldiers; for they had in them some 90 ensignes of souldiers, Spanish, Burgundians, and Wallons. The commendator, after placing himselfe with his nobility and a great troupe of men of warre on the high banke of Brabant, within halfe a league of Bergen, where hee might see very easily the place where the battaile was fought. Having given a signal to Santio d'Avila, from a hill on Brabant side, which he might easily perceive, Santio d'Avila advanced his squadron with all the sailes hee could towards Romers wall, where the Nassawians lay in good order of battaile, having divided their battell into foure squadrons. Mounsieur de Boi-

set, the admirall of Zealand, commanded the greatest; the admirall of Holland the second, which was his right wing; the admirall of Sirickesey the third, which was the left wing; Boiset's vice-admirall, Bænire, commanded the fourth; whom Boiset commanded to make all the sailes hee could towards Santio d'Avila. Being arrived within culvering shot, he commanded Bænire to lead Santio d'Avila over the shallow waters, if he would follow him; if not, to keepe in the wind as neere unto him as he could, without fighting, unlesse the enemie would force him, until Boiset began. Julian and Bevoir having not two leagues to saile unto the Nassawians, who were ready, under the head of Bergen, in good order; and perceiving that Santio d'Avila could not saile unto them, by reason that most of his vessels drew too deepe water, and that his smallest vessels were in fight with Bænire; they advanced with great courage in good order, thinking to have sailed betwixt the Nassawians and Brabant side, and to have joyned with Santio d'Avila. By this time Santio d'Avilaes smallest vessels were in hot skirmish with Boisets vice-admirall; but many of his greatest vessels were runne on ground, with very ambition to come to fight before their fellowes; Julian and Bevoyr being right against the Nassawians. Boiset having the wind, made with all resolution towards the enemy; so did they abide them with no lesse courage: In such sort, that the valiant Admirall Mounsieur de Boiset, and the resolute brave master of the campe Julian Romero, boarded each other; so did the admirall of Sirickesey, and the admirall Bevoyr board each other, with no lesse courage; so did Bænire, Boisets vice-admirall, board the vice-admirall of Santio d'Avila. Being in wonderfull hot fight a long time, the most part of the vessels, especially the squadrons of Julian and Boiset, had bin on aboard each other neere two howers; the most part of which time they were at the push of the pike and blowes of swords.* Boiset and his fellowes were more expert seamen then the Spanish commanders, and farre better furnished with all manner of provisions that belong to a sea fight; especially fireworkes, which they employed to the Spaniards great losse. So that Julian's Alfere* being aboard of Boiset, was blowen up with powder, and with him threescore at the least of his bravest souldiers. And had they not done it at that instant, Julian himselfe had beene gone; for he was entring with the rest. The Spaniards were cruelly plagued in all quarters, especially by reason Santio d'Avilaes great vessels could not come to succour their fellows, among which he was in person; being a most valiant man, accompanied with a great number of their best souldiers. Julian perceiving his fellowes distressed without remedie, and himselfe most of all, with wonderfull hazard, he, and divers of his gentlemen and souldiers, did leape into their skuts, which carried them to the shoare where the commendator stood; so did many others escape by the like meanes. Likewise, divers of their smallest vessels ranne themselves on the shoare where the commendator stoode; many were fast on the sands; divers were burnt; the rest made all the sailes they could to recover the river of Antwerpe. Amongst these was Santio d'Avila; notwithstanding he had grounded his own vessell, in seeking to come to fight. The Nassawians followed them into the river of Antwerpe, defeating and taking many as they ranne away. By the Spaniards owne reports, they lost in this battaile above threescore saile of all sorts; forty seaven ensignes; above sixe hundred brasse pieces, of which above 200 were taken out of the cittadle of Antwerpe; slaine and taken above six thousand souldiers and mariners. Few were saved that came to their hands, but all or the most that were taken were slaine or drowned. Amongst many of their commanders and men of good account, their admirall Beavoir was slaine valiantly, at the push of the pike: so was Santio Davilaes vice-admirall. The victorious escaped not scotfree. For their admirall Boiset lost his right eye with the blowe of a pike, the admirall of Holland sore hurt with a shot in the thigh; Boenyre, Boisets vice-admiral, was slaine, with many other of good marke, besides at the least sixteene hundred souldiers and mariners. Thus was the battell of Romers-wall begunne and ended. Perhaps some will say, because

The order of the Nassawians.

Julian and Bevoir advance.

The joyning of the fight.

Boiset and Julian boardeth each other;

so Bevoir and the admirall of Sirickesey.

The length of the fight.

The Nassawians better seamen then the Spaniards.

Julian flyeth,

and Santio d'Avila.

The Spanish losse.

The Nassawians losse.

* *Alferez*, i. e. Ensign-bearer.

there was no greater slaughter and confusion, it may not be tearmed worthy and comparable unto divers others. But in troth I heard divers report, besides the commendator, who had been at Lapanta and heer, that the fury there was nothing comparable unto this, number to number. For my part, I never saw any thing so furious. I may well speake it, for there are some of good quality yet alive can testifie the same. But for Julian Romero himselfe, I had bin blown up with his Alfere; yet I escaped with as great hazard as any other of his followers. But I will dispute against any souldier, that no fight hath been comparable unto it by sea, these five hundred yeares; saving that before Sluce, fought by our famous King Edward the Third, against the French King and the Earle of Flanders, and that of Lapanta.

The furie of the fight.

A briefe Discourse of the Assault committed upon the Person of the most noble Prince William, Prince of Orange, Countie of Nassau, Marques De La Vere, &c. by John Jauregui a Spaniard.

In 1579, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, laid the foundation at Utrecht of the republic of the United Provinces. In 1580, the king of Spain published a furious edict against him, offering a reward of 25,000 crowns for his person, dead or alive. Stimulated by this reward, or rather by religious enthusiasm, John Jauregui, a Spaniard, clerk or servant to Jasper D'Annastro, a merchant of the same country, made an attempt to assassinate the prince, of which the detail is here given. The people of the provinces, by whom William was adored, failed not to solicit Heaven for his recovery from the wound which he received, and to celebrate the day of his convalescence as a solemn festival. Yet their affection was unable to preserve him from the assaults of treachery and fanaticism. Soon after his recovery, a second plot was discovered, from which it appeared, that one Salcedo had undertaken to poison or otherwise murder the Duke of Anjou and the Prince of Orange. And finally, Balthazar Gerard, a native of Burgundy, spirited to the crime by the exhortations of the monks and jesuits, shot the prince with a musket at Delft, 10th July, 1584. He fell, and instantly expired with these words; "God have compassion on my soul, and on this poor people!" The fanaticism of his murderer sustained him amid the dreadful tortures with which the States revenged the death of their great general. See the next article.

My lord the Prince of Orange, after he had heard the sermon in the church on Sonday the xviii. day of March 1582, repaired to his house, in the place where sometime the castel of Antwerpe stoode, accompanied with many lords and gentlemen, of whom some dined with him. Immediatelie after he dined openly (as he was wont) in the great hall of the sayd house, my lordes the Counties de Hohenlo, my lords his children, and two of his nephewes, children of my lorde the Countie John of Nassau, the lords of des Pruneaux, and other gentlemen accompanying him. The dinner was passed and spent with many honest communications and speeches; amongst all others, was some speeche had of the cruelties committed by the Spaniards in these Low Countries. A little after dinner, the sayde prince repayred into his withdrawing chamber, intending to go into his bedde chamber with the sayd lords and gentlemen; and as he passed by, shewed them a peece of tapistrie, wherein were livelye set forth the Spanish souldiours. At the sayd instant, a yong man of low stature shot at the sayd prince with a dagge, [1] charged

[1] A pistol.

with one only pellet, the shot whereof hit him under the right eare, and passed through the pallet of his mouth, and came forth at his left cheeke, neere unto his upper jaw bone. The saide lorde (as since he hath said many times) did not know what it was, but thought that some parte of the house had fallen, for he felt not himself to be stricken; notwithstanding his sighte was a little while dazled. Immediatelye some of the lords and gentlemen then next at hand, stroke the said yong man twice or thrice into the bodie with their swordes, and so the sayd princes garde drawing nigh, made an end of him with their haulberds. In the mean time, the sayd prince being advertised what had happened, and the rather by feeling the fyre that had taken hold of his haire, and hearing the noise about the murderer, cried out, Kil him not, I forgive him my death! And so turning to sundrie French lords, said unto them, O how faithfull a servaunt doeth his highnesse lose[1] and so was straight ledde betweene two (that helde him up by the armes) into his chamber; for he could goe, and fell not with the blow. The brute hereof wente presentlye over all the towne, which brought most men into a maze, by reason of so sodaine and unloked for a matter; and that in the person of such a one, as among all men was holden and reputed for a deliverer of the countrie; further, because the murderer was presently dead, all men judged that the way to verifie and justifie the facte, was quite shut up. Many and dyverse were the speeches hereof; some through suspicion accusing others, and few hitting upon the truth, and attributing the least to them who were the very authours indeede; so as if suche a deede had bene comitted in manye townes where the people have the bridle at libertie, and may at their pleasure run from place to place, it had bene likelie that some great mischief and inconvenience might have ensued; but in the town of Antwerp (such is the order and obediance that all men do yeeld to their magistrates, coronels, and captayns) immediately al the citizens withdrew themselves to their ensignes ech one in his quarter; and the chaines being drawne, and the body of the gard filled, there was no way lefte for any to departe from his garde but the capitanes. My lord the Duke of Brabant[2] was speedily advertised of this mishappe; and being at the first certifyed of no other than death, he was greatly astonied, and sighing verye deepely, complained to himself of the extreme losse which thereby he sustained; repeating oftentimes, that if the king his owne father had bene alive again, he could not have bene more sorie for his death, than for the death of the said prince. Where on the other side the prince bewayled him no lesse, rehearsing oftentimes these wordes: Alas, poore prince, alas poore prince, what pains must thou yet take! Whiles most part of his servants that were present, as also those which at the brute of the newes were come in, employed themselves about the said L. princes person, his sonne the Earle Maurice notwithstanding his heavie mourning, departed not from the dead corps which he caused to be searched; and first they light upon the dag which was fallen out of his hands, that caused them to thinke that he had no meanes to use a dagger, which they found naked in his breeches. In the meane season the Earle of Hohenlo, for feare of further inconveniance, causing the sayd princes gard and diverse gentlemen to follow him, seased upon the doores of the house, so to keepe all suche as were not verye well knowne from comming in or going forth. The dead corps being further searched, they found about him certaine papers and pamphlets which were delivered to the said Erle Maurice; the which at that instant finding one of the servants of my lord his father, shewed him the said papers, and weeping, saide, Behold what the wicked wretch had about him! Who answered him, My lord, be not discomforted, God is mightie and able to

[1] The Compte D'Anjou, brother to Henry II. of France, was then the nominal chief of the confederated provinces; a distinction which he soon lost by a base and treacherous attempt to possess himself of some of their strongest towns. The Prince of Orange being unjustly suspected of some accession to his design, retired for a time to Delft.

[2] This title was assumed by the Duke of Anjou.

preserve my lord your father; but keepe these papers wel, for we are greatly troubled about discovering somewhat of this cursed wretch; for otherwise in this town we shal incur great peril.[1] To the which he did replie, Alas, I am afrayde least here be some villaine that may take them from me; this yong lord being the rather moved to say so, because there went a speeche through the hall, giving foorth by some, that those which had killed the murderer, were partakers of the fact, and that men might be assured of it; so that the daunger beganne to fall likewise upon the best friendes of the said lord prince, and upon his houshold. Upon this talke of the sayd yong erle, the said servaunt tooke him under his cloke, and said unto him, My lord, go with me, and I will lay your papers in safetie; whiche hee did, bringing him into the rooffe of the house, where committing the said papers to safe custody, he perceived that they were written in Spanish, wherefore he said to the earle, My lord, there is no danger to be feared on your part, returne and cause further searche to bee made; as for me, I go to my lord: which was done. Then the said servant began to certefie every one, that it was a Spaniarde, and that men should leave the misconceived suspition which they had. A while after returned the said yong earl, bringing more papers, crosses, and an Agnus Dei, with a greene wax candle, and two pieces of skin, like unto beavers; which occasioned many to be of opinion, that he had about him some toades and enchantments. The saide servant began to reade the first papers, whiche he founde to be partlye praiers, and partly vowes; and then he brake the cover of a packet of letters, and found that it was written in Spanish, by one Spaniard to another, of the whiche he did certifie everie man, but would not open the rest alone. A little after came the Lord de S. Aldegonde, who had alreadie bene with his highnesse; and being returned, saide to the same servant, we must take advise what is to be done, for there is great trouble in the town. Whereunto he answered, My lord, if it please you, let us withdraw ourselves for a while to communicate thereof, I thinke you shal finde counsell readie; and then they wente by themselves because of the great preasse of people that was about them; and the saide lord did open the rest of the saide packet, in which were founde two letters of exchaunge, the one of 2000 crownes, and the other of 877, with letters of advice, all in Spanish, and by Spaniards; the bookes were of services to be performed at certaine set hours; also one jesuits catechisme, and a paire of tables written from one ende to the other. Then praising God, that had given them such light of the matter, the lord de S. Aldegonde resolved to go straight to the town house, and passing by the gard to assure them that it was done by Spaniards, whiche he did hope to verifie; and would carrie with him the writing tables and the most parte of the writings; appointing others to go to his highnes with the other part, to advertise him, and not to depart from his person; which was done. In passing by, the said lord of Saint Aldegonde went also into his highnesse, and shewed him the sayde papers. In the mean time was the first dressing. And the prince was layde in his bedde, and afterward such as were next about him and most skillfull, began to conceive some sparke of hope, by reason he had his sight and spake well, especially because his understanding and judgement was very certaine, also that being forbidden much speech, he wrote stedfast and quicke. While these things were in doing, there came in one of the captaines of the towne, named Lion Petit, demaunding whether he were alive or dead; who, when the sayde servant requested him to let the saide L. prince take his rest for that time, affirming that he hoped of his recoverie, answered, that the people would never be content unlesse he assured them that hee had seene him; whereupon he was caused to enter in; then after some speeches, demaunding what it pleased the L. prince to commaund him, he saide, Commend me hartily to the people, and will them not to trouble themselves, and if it please God to take me to himselfe, that they obey and faithfully serve this prince, for

[1] From a suspicion that the assassination had been attempted by domestic traitors.

I know none in the worlde better or more meete for them. His highnesse having seen the letters of exchaunge and other the writings brought unto him, commended them to Martini the recorder of the town, who then was with him, to cary them to the magistrate of the towne, and to examine those to whome the letters of exchaunge were directed; in the meane time having assembled the counsel of estate, he dispatched a commission directed unto the general estates, the counsell of estate, the magistrates of the towne, the coronells, captaines, and wardens of occupations, with all diligence to proceede, commaunding all men under paine of death to declare what they knewe concerning the sayd murder. Nowe had the magistrate in the meane time (who already had begun to proceede herein, and by the sayd papers and writing tables had found that the murtherer was of the house of a Spaniard, named Jasper d'Anastro) taken order, that all that were in the sayd house should be committed to prison, which was done. But they found that the sayd Anastro himselfe departed the Tuesday before toward Bruges. Then were the coronels and captaines advertised by the magistrate, as also all the inhabitants by their governours, that all this webbe was woven by the Spanyards; wherupon the whole towne grew to quietnesse, remainyng neverthelesse in armes, for the assistance of justice. At the first examination of Antony Venero they could not finde any great matter, but this onely, that they knewe the murtherers person: Howbeit for that he confessed that the same day masse had bene celebrated secretly in the sayd Anastro his house, at all adventures upon suspition they apprehended one Antony Timmerman, of the order of the white friers. Neverthelesse it was decreed, that the murderers body should be set upon a scaffold in the towne to shew it to the people, to the end to know it, which thing was done; but so soone as he was seene in the great market place, every one knew it presently to be the body of John Jauregui, a Spaniard, the servant of Jasper Anastro: yea the sayde Venero seeing him dead, knew him. The next morning the xix. of March, as all the gates of the towne of Antwerp were diligently kept, in the morning the post of Bruges arrived, who having shewed his letters to the guarde of the river gate, there were found letters of the sayd Anastro directed to Venero, which were caried to his highnesse and to the magistrate of the towne. Further the magistrate appointed, that the same day the murtherers body should be quartered, and his head set upon the bulwarke toward Ril, and his quarters upon the foure principall gates, which was done. The next day his highnesse and the counsell of estate decreed, that throughout all the churches there should be extraordinarie prayers unto God for the health of the sayde L. prince. Also by the magistrate of the towne his appointment, the next Wednesday being the 21 of the sayd moneth, was by trumpet proclaimed throughout the towne a generall fast, with common prayers: also commandement was given, that every man should that day leave all worke, to the ende to attend fasting and prayer. Anastro his letters were shewed to Venero, who seeing himself thereby confounded and convicted, and being, as by his confession it appeareth, admonished by one of the coronels and others, required paper and inke and with his owne hand wrote and signed his second confession. The prince thinking the hour of his decease to drawe neare, dispatched the L. S. Aldegonde with letters directed to the generall estates, wherein, as his last counsel, he wished them to persist in his highnesse obedience, declaring unto them that he judged him to be the onely prince that was most fit for them; according to the tenure whereof, the sayde lordes sent their deputies to his highnesse, to advertise him of their faithfull affection.[1] Upon Wednesday following was the fast with extraordinary prayers celebrated, and that with such multitude and concourse of people, in all the churches of both languages, as time out of mind the like numbers of people,

[1] It seems strange that so discerning a man as the prince of Orange should not have perceived the real character of the Duke d'Anjou. But he thought doubtless that the power of France was absolutely necessary to support the State against the pressure of the Spaniard; and it could hardly be otherwise purchased than by electing the king's brother to be the chief of their confederacy.

have not bene seene in the churches of Antwerp, neither so many weeping eyes. Howbeit for that the phisitions and surgeons began to conceive some hope of the recovery of the sayde prince, the prayers were partly mixed with thanksgivings for this good beginning, with humble supplication, that it might please God to accomplish his health. Now began the sayde L. princes person to drawe to amendment, and dayly did his highnesse carefully visit him, who seemed, and indeede did take great care for him, as likewise the L. prince did for him, upon everye occasion commending his service. On the other side, the magistrate was as diligent in proceeding against the offenders: so as finally he atteyned to the truth of the whole matter, as it wil appeare in the depositions of the sayd offenders. But the L. prince hearing that they purposed to proceed to definitive sentence, did by writing expreslye commaund the L. of S. Aldegonde, to request the magistrate to punish them with the easiest death that might be, which was done; for by the magistrates sentence the Wednesday 28 of the sayd moneth, they were set at a stake upon a scaffold in the middest of the great market, over against the towne house, and by the hangman strangled, their bodies quartered, and hanged over the chief gates of the towne, and their heads pitched upon two of the great bulwarkes which heretofore were part of the castle. Antony Timmerman the white frier the same day exhibited his second confession, wherein he acknowledged that he had bene of opinion that the sayd Jauregui might with a safe conscience execute the sayd enterprise; but that nowe being better instructed by such good admonitions as had bene given him, he confessed that he had erred, and therefore besought the lords of justice not to forget his sayd protestation, if ever this process were published.

Within few dayes after the sayd execution, his highnesse received from sundry places letters which the prince of Parma had written to the townes, wherein he endevored to perswade them to withdraw themselves from his obedience, laying his foundation uppon the death of the sayd L. Prince, whereupon the sayde townes besought his highnesse of counsaile. These were the townes; Brussels, Gaunt, Bruges, Malines, Ipres, Audernarde, Dunkirk, Berghe, and sundry others. Finally the towne of Antwerpe also received the like letters. Anastro also sent letters to the towne of Gaunt, tending to the same ende, which Venero his deposition doth containe; so that he wrote to all places where he had any accesse. All the sayd letters, as well from the prince of Parma as from Anastro, were grounded upon the assurance which they had conceived of the death of the sayd L. prince, whom God hath hitherto neverthelesse preserved, and will still of his mercie keep and preserve, if he please.

Hereafter followe, The copies of the writings found about the murderer. The depositions of the offenders. The letters of Anastro and the prince of Parma.

The Copies of the Writings founde about the Murtherer.

Jesu Christo Nuestro Sennor, y la Virgen sancta Maria nuestra Sennora sean en mi ayuda en esta resolucion hecha para su sanctissimo servicio.

Que su magistad tiene dada esta orden por el amor que tiene à estos Flamencos, y por librarlos de las oppressiones en que estan.

Si esto se haze, recibirà el Sennor à este pueblo en misericordia, y hara con el las capitulaciones en toda ventaja d'ellos.

Offrescer les he que dentro de ocho dias que se haga, los vendra a tomar a misericordia, mediante que al que hiziere este hecho, le traten bien que sera ganancia della villa hazerlo assi, y perdonarle la vida, pues la ha empleada tan en servicio de Dios, y de su Yglesia, y de su Rey, y en honra de toda su nacion: y el que me regalare y tratare bien, se lo pagara su

Magestad muy cumplidamente. Persuader les que se suffran, y tengan paciencia quatra o seys dias, hasta que se le passe la alteracion, que despues todo se hara tan a contento de la Villa, como nunca ellos pudieren dessear. Yo ruego a estos sennores, que miren lo que hazen en tratarme bien porque en hazar lo que he hecho, todas las naciones lo attribuyran a virtud, y nobleza de my nacion. Y pues a qui son todos tan virtuosos, tengan attencion a tratarme bien, hasta tomar mis confessiones muy d'espacio, y por su orden. Y sobre todo, yo me encomiendo en la misericordia de Dios.

Jesus Christ our Lorde, and the Holie Virgin S. Marie our Ladie, assist mee in this my Determination, which I have undertaken for His most holie Service.

His royall majestie hathe sette downe this order[1] for the love he beareth to these Flemings, and to deliver them from the oppressions wherein they are.

This being accomplished, the Lorde wil receive these people to mercie, and he will graunt them articles tending to their uttermost advantage.

I will promise them, that within eighte dayes after the deede, they shal be received into favour, conditionally, that they do wel entreate him that shal have done this deed. That the towne shall reape commoditie by so doing, also to pardon him his life, considering he hath so employed it in the service of God, of the church, and of his king, and to the honour of his whole nation: and hys majestie will most liberally reward anye that shall furnish him of things requisite, and well entreate him.

They muste bee perswaded patiently to beare for foure or sixe dayes, until thys alteration be over: which being paste, all thinges shall be ordered to as great contentation of the towne as themselves could ever wishe.

I beseeche these lords well to weigh what they doe in wel using of mee: because that, accomplishing this deede that I have done, all nations will attribute it to the virtue and nobilitie of my countrey.

In so much therefore, as all men here bee so virtuous, they must determine wel to entreate mee, yea, so farre forth, as at leysure, and as order requyreth, to take my confessions. And above all things, I commend me to the mercie of God.

JESUS MARIA.

A Vos Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra, Sennor Dios Jesus Christo, siendo servido concederme esta victoria a mi todo misero, muy infelice peccador, y vuestro siervo, por aquellas preciosissimas cinco llagas y la preciocissima corona de spinas y los vuestros preciosissimos grandissimos trabajos, angustias, arrastradas, bofetadas, maldezires: e hiel y vinagre sobre aquello beuistes, vos todo poderoso Sennor Dios Jesu Christo Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra todo por salvar a los peccadores del mundo, y a mi todo muy infelice peccador: y como a tal os supplico muy humilmente seays servido concederme esta victoria contra este Pagano, Violador de vuestro Templo divino, Ruina de vuestra religion sancta catholica y Romana, y el que es occasion de tanto dessassossiego a la vuestra Christiandad, y pestilencia que no attiende sino en sustentar maldades, vellaquerias y ruynas. O todo poderoso Sennor Dios Jesu Christo Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra a vos os supplico muy humilmente seays servido no permitir que este malvado use de mas ruinas, y conceder a mi muy indigno peccador la gracia, animo y valor, paraque despues de las vuestras preciosissimas manos pueda ser acabado por mi. De manera que ninguno de quien yo voy vencer le, despues de vos Sennor Dios Jesu Christo Redemp-

[1] *i. e.* This edict, against the prince of Orange.

tor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra pueda aver poder contra mi. Pero despues siendo vos altissimo Sennor Dios Jesu Christo Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra siendo servido de que yo dexe aqui esta miserable vida, soy muy contento sea assi, y siempre como vos Sennor Dios Dios fuere desservido. Y assi os suplico de todo corazon todo poderoso Sennor Dios Jesu Christo, por aquella vuestra preciosissima passion seays servido concederme constancia y paciencia, paraque yo misero muy infelice peccador pueda sobrellevar y suffrir qualquier genero de pena que me dieren, que a todo (como soy obligado) prestaré muy humilde corazon, siendo vos todo poderoso Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra servido.

JESUS MARIA.

To the Redeemer and Saviour of the world, Creator of heaven and earth, Lord God, Jesus Christe: If it please thee to graunte this victorie unto me moste miserable wretched sinner, and thy servaunt, for the love of thy five most pretious woundes, and thy moste pretious crowne of thorns, and thy most pretious grevious labours, anguishes, torments, stripes, and injuries, and the gall and vinegar, which besides all thys thou diddest drinke, even thou the Almightie Lord God, Jesus Christe, the Redeemer and Saviour of the world, the Creator of heaven and earth, and al to save the sinners of this world, and among the rest, me, the most unhappie sinner: and as such a one I doe moste humbly beseeche thee, that it may please thee, to grant me this victory against this heathen, defiler of thy holy temple, and subverter of thy holy Catholik Romane religion, who is the cause of so many disquiets throughout thy Christendome, and suche a pestilence as is busied only in upholding wickednesse, villanies, and dissolations. O most mightie Lorde God Jesus Christ, Redeemer and Saviour of the world, Creator of heaven and earth, I do most humbly beseech thee, that it may please thee no longer to suffer this wretch to worke farther desolations: Farther, that thou wilte graunte unto me, an unworthye sinner, suche favour, courage, and valiancie, as by thy most pretious handes I may accomplishe this thing, in suche wise, as none of those that doe belong to him, whom, (with thy helpe, Lord God, Jesus Christe, Redeemer and Saviour of the world, Creator of heaven and earth) I purpose to overcome, may have any power against me. Howbeit in as much as thou arte the Supreme Lord God, Jesus Christ, Redeemer and Saviour of the worlde, Creator of heaven and earth, if it please thee, that I leave this miserable life, I am well content, that it be so, and ever Lord God thy will be done. Thus most mightie Lord God, Jesus Christ, I beseech thee with my whole hart, for the love of thy most pretious passion, that it may please thee to graunte me constancie and patience, that I most miserable sinner may beare and endure whatsoever kind of tormentes maye be laide upon me, whereunto I will have, as I ought, a most humble heart; if so it seeme good unto thee, O most mighty Redeemer and Saviour of the world, Creator of heaven and earth.

Al angel san Gabriel me encomiendo con todo mi spiritu y corazon, paraqué agora y siempre me sea mi intercessor a nuestro Sennor Jesu Christo, y a su hijo preciosissimo, y a la Virgen sancta Maria, y a todos los Sanctos y Sanctas de la corte del cielo de guardarme y encaminarme y tenerme de su bendita mano sinque yo sea muerto subitamente, y me de gracia paraque pueda conseguyr el buen zelo que tengo de salir con aquel effecto. Y en memoria desto prometo de ayunar toda una semana entera (despues de verme libre desto) a pan y agua, y de rezar, &c.

In the tenth Page.

I do with my whole minde and hearte, commende me to the aungell Sainct Gabriel

to the ende, that nowe and ever he may be my mediatour to our Lorde Jesus Christ and to his most pretious Sonne, and to the Virgin Mary, and to all he saincts and she-saincts of the heavenly court, that he will keep and conduct me, and with his blessed hand uphold me from sodaine death, and to graunt me grace to attaine to the effect of my good zeale. In remembraunce whereof I doe promise, that if I escape free from this deede, I will for one whole week fast on breade and water, and pray.

De ayunar todos los Viernes a intercession de la passion de nuestro Sennor Jesu Christo, y todos los Sabados a invocacion de nuestra Sennora la Virgin Maria, paraque yo sea guardado deste transito, y me incomine a dar fin a este effecto.

In the fourteenth Page.

To fast every Fryday in commemoration of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and everie Saturday for the invocation of our Ladie the Virgine Marie, to the end I may be preserved from this perill, and that she may guide me to the end of this enterprise.

Hecho en la carcel desta villa de Anveres á veinte de Marco, del Anno 1582. En presencia del S. Malgrave, Godefrido Montens, Jacomo Zuerio, y Ludovico Blomarte Esclavines d'ella.

Antonio de Venero preso, hijo de Juan, Espannol nascido de Bilbao en Biscaia, de edad de dies y nueve a veinte annos tentendo los libros de Gaspar d'Annastro, mercador Espannol, dize aver morado con el dicho Anastro mas de dos annos.

Preguntado s'y no save quien ha escrito un papel o bilete muestrado à el declarante hallado sobre el muerto, el qual el domingo passado ha tirado con un pistolete la persona de su excellentia, el Principe d'Orange, commençando el dicho billette: Nuestro Sennor Jesu Christo, &c. Dize ser escrito por mano de Juan de Jaureguy.

Preguntado quien es el dicho Juan de Jaureguy? dize ser Espannol de Bilbao en Biscaya, sobrino de Pedro d'Orosco, mercader Espannol en Brujas, el qual Juan vino morar con el dicho Anastro cerca el mez de Julio passado, aviendo mientres escrito y copiado las cartas del dicho Anastro y lo que le mando.

Siendo al declarante muestrado el muerto y preguntado si aquel es Juan de Jaureguy sobredicho? dize que si, y que el aviendo el dicho domingo oydo la missa salió de casa cerca las onze horas antes de comer, y avia entrado y salido la casa tres o quatro vezes.

Preguntado quien avia dictado al dicho Juan el dicho billete? dize que està cierto que se lo deve de aver dictado el dicho Anastro, porque el no tenia juyzio para hazerlo de si.

Siendo preguntado si no conoscia el pistolete, que le fué mostrado, con el qual es herido su excellentia por el dicho Jaureguy? dize aver visto el mismo pistolete o semejante à el, passado seis mezes en casa del dicho Anastro, y que el dicho Anastro ha embiado otros tres como ellos en Espanna, el uno à Don Fernando de Arieta, y el otro à Don Diego d'Alva, y el tercero à Pedro Lopez d'Arieta, sin que sabe quien los pueda aver fecho, quanto costaron, o quien les pago, sea el dicho Anastro o su cavero.

Preguntado donde viene, y quien ha hecho la vela de cera verde en que està abaxo imprimido el sennal de la cruz, que el dicho Jaureguy tiene sobre su cuerpo nudo con una medalla del Salvador y la Imagen de Nuestra Sennora Maria todo muestrado à el declarante? dize que es una de las velas que se da à algun passagero visitando el monasterio en Burgos en Espanna, adonde està el crucifixo, y laimagen està hecha de los Jesuites en Madrid: pero no save como el dicho Jaureguy ha cobrado lo sobredicho.

Preguntado que fueron las postreras palabras que el dicho Juan ha tenido con el declarante? dize que la postrera vez que le habló dixo que estava muy bien determinado para executar y accomplir su empresa, pues que se avia confessado, y que por esso seria bueno que el declar-

ante se salvasse, sobre que el declarante le respondio que non savia adonde yr, o salvarse: por estar cargado de los libros y papeles del dicho Anastro su amo, y que por esso quedario cerco dellos como le avia prometido.

Preguntado à quien el dicho Jaureguy se avia confessado? dize à cierto frayle llamado Padre Antonio

Preguntado si el dicho Padre Antonio non ha savido d'esta empre a, quando, y par quien? dize que el declarante no ha comunicado della con el Padre Antonio, ny ha oydo que ninguno en publico, ny secreto aya comunicado con el salvo que el dicho Juan de Jaureguy le dixo que se avia confessado con el dicho Padre Antonio, y tratado d'esto negocio, y que eran en el Anastro, Jaureguy y el declarante, y que le avia absuelto dello.

Preguntado si no save si el dicho Gaspar de Anastro otro huviesse semejante empresa sobre la persona de la Sereniss. Reyna de Inglaterra, o sobre la del Sereniss. Ducque de Anjou? dize que piensa que non.

Preguntado si conosce la carta escrita en Dunquercque à xvi. de Março, donde la sobrescription y tenor le fue preleydo? dize que si, y ser escrita por las proprias manos del dicho Anastro: y tambien la otra carta serrada en ella es suya, y por el escrita.

Preguntado si la carta escrita en Grevelingues à xvii. d'este mez de Março esta tambien escrita por el dicho Gaspar Anastro? dize que si, y todo esso para que se effectuasse esta empresa como parece por el contento d'ellas.

Preguntado si el dicho Jaureguy no tenta algun cavallo presto, o otro remedio para salvarse despues de aver cometido el delito? dize, que no: pero que estava determinado de morir aviendo hecho el dicho efeto; y que era tan induzido del dicho Annastro para hazer dicho efeto, que parecia, que era encantado, y que yva muy alegremente, para hazerlo fuera la caza del dicho Anastro despues que avia oydo la missa, y aviendo almorzando bibido un golpe de bastardo.

Preguntado quien era el hombre à cavallo teniendo de diestro otro cavallo ensilado paseandose al tiempo del dicho efetto delante la corte de su excellencia. Dize dello no saber nada y que libramente declarará lo que dello supiera, pues que tiene declarado lo que mas importa, y sennaladamente no sabe d'ello cosa alguna.

Siendo propuesto al dicho declarante que oviese de nombrar y mostrar todos los que conoscia, o sabia que podrian aver sabido de la dicha empresa. Dize que persona del mundo, ny de dentro ny de fuera d'esta villa sabe hablar de la dicha empressa, mas que dicho declarante, y el dicho Jaureguy y Gaspar d'Annastro y Juan de Ysunca, y su hijo Pedro de Ysunca.

Done in the Prison of this towne of Antwerpe the 20. of March 1582, in the Presence of my Lord the Marcgrave, Godfrey Montens, James Zuerius, and Lewes Blommart, Shirifes of the said Towne.

Anthony de Venero prisoner, the sonne of John, a Spaniard born in Bilbao in Biscay, of the age of nineteen or twenty years, keeper of the booke of accompts of Jasper of Annastro, a marchaunt and Spaniard borne, saith, that he hath dwelt with the sayd Annastro about two yeares.

Being asked whether he knew who writ a certaine paper, or remembraunce which was there shewed to the sayde Anthonie, which bill was founde about the dead bodie of him who the Sunday before had discharged a dagge against the person of his excellencie, the Prince of Orange, which bill beganne, Our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. He saith that J. Jaureguy writ it with his own hande.

Being demaunded what that J. Jaureguy is? He saith he is a Spaniard of Bilbao in Biscay, the coosin of Peter of Orosco, marchaunt and Spaniard borne, remaining at Bruges, which John came about the moneth of July last past, to dwell with the said Annastro, where hitherto he hath bin employed in copying the letters of the sayd Annastro, and in whatsoever else he commaunded him.

The dead corps being shewed to the sayd deponent, and he asked whether it were the aforesaid John Jaureguy? he sayth yea, and that the sayd John having the Sunday before heard masse, departed out of the house about eleven of the clocke before noone, after he had three or foure times gone out and in at the said house.

Being demaunded who penned the saide bill for the sayd John? he sayth that the saide bill should surely be of the penning of the said Annastro; because the said John was not of understanding sufficient to have done it.

Being demaunded whether he knew not the dagge which was shewed him, and wherewith the sayd Jaureguy wounded his excellencie? he sayth, that he hath seene the same dagge or the like of it above sixe moneths since in the house of the sayd Annastro, who sent three others like the same into Spaine. One to Don Ferdinand of Arieta; another to Don Diego of Alva, and the third to Peter Lopes of Arieta; but he knoweth not who made them, how much they cost, either who payed for them, whether the sayd Annastro or his pursebearer.

Being demaunded, from whence came or who made the greene waxe candel, upon the neather ende whereof the signe of the crosse was painted, which the sayd Jaureguy bare upon his naked bodie, together with a quoine[1] of the Saviour, and the image of our Ladie Marie, all which was shewed to the sayd deponent? he saith that it is one of the candels which usually are given to pilgrimes when they visite the monasterie where the crucifixe of Burgos in Spaine doth stand; and that the Jesuites made the image at Madrid, but of whom the sayd Jaureguy had them he wotteth not.

Being demaunded what were the last words that the said John used unto the sayd deponent? he sayeth that the last time he spake with him he sayde unto him, that he was fully determined to execute and accomplish his enterprise, considering he was alreadie shriven, wherefore it were good that the sayd deponent saved himselfe. Whereunto the sayde deponent aunswered, that he wist not whether to goe or where to save himselfe, for that he stoode charged with his sayd master Annastro's bookes and writings, and therefore that according to his promise he would remaine with them.

Being demaunded to whom the sayde Jaureguy was shriven? he saith to a certaine monke named Father Antony.

Being demaunded whether the sayd Father Antony knew of their enterprise, when or by whom? he saith, that he, this deponent, never conferred with the sayd Father Antonie, neither knew that any other conferred with him either secretely nor openly, except that the sayde John Jaureguy tolde him that he had confessed himselfe to the sayd Father Anthony, and had conferred with him of this matter, whereunto Annastro, Jaureguy, and he the deponent were privy, and that he had absolved him.

Being demaunded whether he knewe, whether the sayd Jasper Annastro or any other had framed the like practice against the most noble Queene of England, or against the most noble Duke of Anjou? sayth that he thinketh no.

Being demaunded whether he knewe the letter written from Dunkirke the 16th of March, the superscription and tenure whereof were read unto him? sayth, yea, and that Annastro wrote it with his owne hand. Also that the other letter inclosed therein, is of the same sort, and likewise written by him.

Being demaunded whether the letter written from Graveling the 17. of this moneth of March were wrote by the sayd Annastro? he sayth yea, and that all was done for the attayning to the execution of this enterprise, as is evident by the contentes of the same.

Being demaunded whether the said Jaureguy had any horse readye, or any other meane to save himselfe after the execution of this trespasse? he sayth, no; but that he was fully resolved to die after he had broght this offence to pass; for the sayd Annastro had so perswaded him to doe this deede, that he seemed even bewitched; in

[1] Coin or medal.

suche wise as after he had hearde masse, and broken his fast, having drunke a good cuppe of bastard, he departed very cheerefully out of the house of the sayd Annastro.

Being demaunded what he was who, being on horseback and leading a spare horse saddled, walked up and downe before his excellencies court at the same time that this deede was done? he sayeth, that he knew nothing thereof: also that freely he would shew whatsoever he knewe, considering that he hath alreadie declared unto them matters of greater importance; and that hereof especially he is ignorant.

The sayd Venero being willed to name and reveale all those whome he knewe or thought to be privie to any thing concerning the sayde enterprise; he sayeth that neither one nor other, neither in the towne nor other where, are able to speak any thing of his enterprise, but this deponent himself, Jaureguy, Jasper of Annastro, John of Isunca, and his sonne Peter of Isunca.

La Deposition de Antonio Venero: la quelle de son propre mouvement il a faicte, et voluntairement escript et soussignée de sa propre main.

Yo Antonio de Venero, vezino de Bilbao, hijo de Juan de Venero, de edad de diez y nueve a veynte annos poco mas o menos assistente en la casa y negocios del Gaspar de Annastro, vezino de Victoria, desde veynte dias del mes de Enero del anno de 1580. *hasta treze de Março de* 1582. *declaro lo seguiente que me ha accontescido con el dicho Gaspar de Annastro, siendo preguntado dello del Sennor Malgrave, Burgomaestre, y Esclavineo desta villa de Anberes, diziendo la verdad sobre juramento, y sobre mi alma y mi conscientia, promettiendo dezir toda la verdad sin encubrir cosa alguna, por averme prometido los dichos Sennores Malgrave, Burgomaestre, y Esclavines a intercession del Sennor Estevan Roquen coronel de la dicha villa de Anberes, diziendo todo lo que me consta, de darme muerte honrosa y a medita de mi desseo y contentamiento, y sacerdote para confessarme y comulgarme por lo que toca à la honra de mi linnage. E yo el dicho Antonio de Venero confiando en la pulabra y nobleza de los dichos sennores de que assi lo cumpliran, digo lo seguiente.*

Primeramente, es, que Juan do Ysunca vezino de Victoria, proveedor de fue de las armadas en estos estados, escrivio al dicho Annastro una carta de Lisbona, avra diez meses poco mas o menos, en que le pedia diversos menages, sin averle escripto hasta entonces, diziendole que teria por cosa nueva el aver carta suya, mas que lo hazia por estar en Lisbona, supplicandole le embiase lo que pedia. Y el dicho Gasper de Annastro le respondio con palabras cortesanas, escusandose de no embiarselos, aviendolo hecho por nō averle embiado dineros, y por verse a la sazon rico, y sin gana de fiarle lo que le pedia. Y el dicho Juan de Ysunca respondio à esto, rogandole se los embiasse, porque le hazian mucha falta, hallandose en Lisbona por conservar su autoridad, atento que entendia que su Magestad le queria dar un cargo muy honroso, y que lo hiziesse, porque le communicaria un negocio de grandissima importancia, y que redondaria en gran bien, honor, y beneficio suyo. Otra vez le respondio con nuevas escusas, y d'estilo cortesano, y en effecto jamas le embio dichos menajes: pero le escrivie que negocio podia ser el que lo cometia, y de tanta importancia, y que se lo avisasse. Estus dos cartas arriba vi yo el dicho Antonio de Venero, y despues vino la respuesta d'esta carta, en que el dicho Juan de Ysunca declaró el negocio, y leyó la carta: y de entonces aca me ordenò a mi el dicho Antonio de Venero que no le abriesse ninguna carta que viniesse cerrada à la cortesana. Y en este tiempo, que pudieron ser cinco o seys meses, poco mas o menos, anduvieron los dichos Juan de Ysunca y Gaspar de Annastro en demandas y respuestas, escribiendose cartas unos a otros con mucho secreto, y el dicho Gaspar de Annastro le respondia en su camara siempre de su mano, cerrando las cartas con lacre, y lo mas disfraçado que podia En todo este tiempo estuve yo el dicho Antonio de Venero innocente de tal caso echando imaginacion, que le tratava casamiento con la hija de Juan Ruyz de Vergara, hermano de Francisco Ruyz de Vergara, que ha vivido en Anberes, por averselo escripto al dicho Gaspar de Annastro donna Maria de

Ysunca su madre, y que como sabian estava rico, qui era de los mas qualificados de dicha Victoria, se la darian con muchos ducados. Y como digo yo el dicho Antonio de Venero entendì que estos serian los secretos y que tardauan en resolverse, porque pedirià el dicho Annastro aun mas dote de lo que offrescian, por gozar con mas larguesa de su gravedad. Despues parece ser que se perdieron dos naos Flamencas que yvan a Laredo, y que fue robada en Plemua la nao de Philipe Dorio que yva tambien à Biscaya. En las quales dichas tres naos tuvo muy gruessas perdidas, de que el se viò con grandissimo trabajo y descontento de espiritu, sin saber que hazerse para poder passar adelante con su honor. En este instante escriviò el dicho Juan de Ysunca al dicho Gaspar de Annastro, sin saberlo yo tampoco, y era que hiziesse matar a su Excellencia el Principe d'Orange, y que lo tenta tratado con su Magestad en grandissimo secreto, sin que nadie lo supiesse, sino entre los dos: y avia hecho hazer à su Magestad una capitulacion firmado de su mano, en que le prometia, despues de sabido la nueva cierta de la muerte de su Excellentia, ochenta mil ducados en dinero, o el valor d'ellos en renta, y un habito de Sanctiago, y que esto estava por escrito, y que aun haria otras muchas cosas, de darle cargos honrosos: porque avia dicho y assegurado el dicho Juan de Ysunca à su Magestad, que el dicho Annastro era un hombre de muy claro entendimiento, y de muchas prendas. En este instante a mi el dicho Antonio de Venero no me consta que este negocio lo supiesse persona nascida: antes me asseguro al parecer mio, que por ninguna cosa del mundo se descubrierá el dicho Gaspar de Annastro de ninguna nacion estrangera para tal caso. Y puesto caso que en Anberes no ay Espannoles à quien poderlo descubrir, torno à dezir, que verdaderamente me parece que no lo dixo à persona ninguna, y esto affirmo assi por poder penetrar de otra cosa. Aora traz este tiempo, aurà como un mes, tuvo recelos de otra desgracia nuevamente, de que devian de ester attaiados de haziendo de mercaderes, con quien el tenta muy gruesso interesse, de qui antidad de nueve mil quinientas libras de gruesso, poco mas o menos, de mercaderias qu'el le avia embiado, y cargazones que avia hecho para embiar à ellos, por cuenta de algunos, Ingleses de Londres, y por letras de cambio que avia acceptado y pagado llanamente por ellos. Y viendose in tantos trabaios, y que d'este ultimo el no tenia culpa alguna, pues si a el le hazias han coroto con tanta summa, el no lo podia remediar en ninguna manera, de se ausentar tambien. Y en este instante me llamó à su camara a mi el dicho Antonio de Venero, y encargandome mucho el secreto, y llorando muchas lagrimas, me dixo la substancia declarada, y de lo tratado con el dicho Juan de Ysunca, y me mostrò algunas cartas de las qu'el dicho Juan de Ysunça le avia escripto, en que le hazia buenas todas las promessas suso declaradas, y las cartas venian escriptas diabolica e ingeniosamente sin firma, y el dicho Juan de Ysunca paresce ser que dio cuenta del negocio en Espanna a un hijo suyo que estava en Madrid, llamado Pedro de Ysunça le Queytio, y este mismo tambien le escrivia por muy buen termino, asseguràndole la misma substancia con muchas prendas, y firmandose en la firma Apodaca. Estas cartas quemo en el aposento despues de averme mostrado (como digo) la substancia d'ellas. Y en esto comenzò à discurrir con migo, diziendo, que no queria verse a resistir tantas affrentas, como se le aparetavan, y que se queria encomendar à Dios de todo coraçon, y matar el mismo à su Excellencia el Principe de Orange: y que si le acavassen, por cierto que el queria quedar alli, porque era meior morir, que no vivir (siendo el quien era) en affrenta, de que le dixiessen por el en la bolsa de Anberes, mirad aquel hombre que a hecho bancaroto, y que llegandolas cosas a este termino ninguno, consideraria à que no era la culpa suya: sino echarle mucha culpa quando no la tuviesse, y que devia muchos dineros en Anberes a los principales, y que tenian mando en la tierra, y le perseguirian cruelmente, y que assi determinava de morir, y que ya sabia que llevava la muerte tragada: pero que con esto se encubriria, y que no se attribuyria a dar nombre de bancaroto à su desgracia. Todo lo dezia llorando. E yo viendole tan desconsolado, llorava mucho mas, y le roguè, que por amor de Dios no buscasse con sus manos la muerte, y que tuviesse paciencia de las cosas que Dios hazia, y que pues no era suya la culpa, resistiesse al trabaio que le sobrevenia, mostrando rostro a sus acreedores, y la razon en la mano, que le destruyan Pedro Nunnez de

Arbulu, y Pedro de Cubiaur, y que con esto se suffriese. El me respondia, que no tenia rostro para mirar à nadie, y que assi estava en su proposito, e yo se lo contradezia mucho, diziendo otra vez, que lo encomendasse todo à Dios y aguardasse à la desgracia. En estas platicas (que eran un dia de labor à la tarde, despues de la bolsa) entró en su aposento Andres de la Maça que vive en casa, innocente de todo, y assi se quedó esto assi sin hablar mas d'ello aquella noche por respecto della venida del dicho Andres de la Maça. Otro dia à la mannana (estando en su camara) me embiè à llamar, y dixo, Pues como os va, Antonio hermano? y le respondi, que con mucha tristeza: y me comenzò tratar otra vez de lo passado, y que si el no matava à su Excellencia, no sabia à quien encomendarse si yo no fuesse pronar la ventura con Juan de Jaureguy, vezino de Bilbao, cryado suyo, que ayudava à escrivir en el contador, porque le parescia moço determinado para qualquiera cosa, y pobre. E yo el dicho Antonio de Venero le respondi, que seria grandissimo cargo de consciencia, que el dicho Annastro diesse occasion que muriesse el dicho Juan de Jaureguy mala muerte, porque (como querian tanto à su Excellencia en toda la tierra) quando lo acabasse de hazer, le harian pieças. El dezia, que no, sino prenderle, y saber del à que fin lo avia hecho, y que en esto se passarian ocho dias, despues que el uviesse hecho el effecto, y que para esto podia partir el dicho Annastro de Anberes quatro dias antes que el lo kiziesse, y yria à Cales, y de allà despacharia un correo à Ravayn, que es Pedro de Ysunça le Queytio, hijo de Juan de Ysunca, en que avisasse à su Magestad, que avia salido para tal effecto, y que quedava concertado, y que de Cales yria al campo del Principe de Parma. Y quando supiesse la nueva de la muerte, embiaria aca desde el campo una trompeta, pidiendo salvassen al dicho Juan de Jaureguy la vida, y que el mesmo Gaspar de Annastro escriviria sobre el negocio, declarandose à algunos canigos de la villa, pidiendo la vida del dicho, y embiando firmas en blanco del Principe de Parma, paraque estos Sennores pidiessen lo que quisiessen en su vontaya de la religion-frera, y todo lo demas, y que con esto auria paz despues de muerto el Principe de Orange. En esto entro à la camara un muchacho Flamenco del dicho Gaspar de Annastro, que le llevo consigo, llamado Juanico, y lo dixo, que llamasse à Juan de Jaureguy el qual estava escriviendo en el contador, y vino, y quando entró, me dixo à mi que me saliesse del aposente, y quedo con el en el aposente platicando. Y de alli un rato me llamò à mi, y dixo que Jaureguy queria hazer aquello por amor d'el, y por su honra, y que le avia mostrado un punnal con que lo avia de matar, estando en la tabla, o en conversacion, y meterle el punnal por detras de la oreja, y passarle, y que el Jaureguy lo queria hazer de buena gana: à mi me dixo que que me parescia, y le respondi, que mirasse por lo que tocava a la consciencia, y que si tal fuesse, padecerian muchas muertes los Espannoles que estavan en Anberes, de pesar dè ver muerto, al Principe si le matassen, y que yo me queria yr de la tierra por no peligrar de la vida: y me dixo, que nó tuviesse miedo, que como el Jaureguy dixisse la verdad claramente, no tocarian en la casa, nó harian cosa ninguna. En esto aconsejo a Jaureguy que por amor de su honra y d'el, que quedasse resuelto el hecho, y que aquel mismo dia fuesse à espiar como comia su Excellencia, y assi lo hizo tres o quatro vezes: y dezia, que tenia gran esperança de hazerlo, y aqui tenia grandes platicas con el Jaureguy, como persona que avia de acometer tal cosa. Y pensando mas en ello, a la postre estuvieron en duda, de si seria con punnal, o pistolete. Y el Jaureguy dezia que nunca avia tirado pistolete, ni sabia como tirarle: y le dixo, que lo fuesse a provar en alguna parte con algun amigo, diziendo que el dicho Jaureguy fuesse Flamenco, y que no hablasse otra lengua: y le dixo, de si, como lo hizo. Andando en esto, llegò carta de Londres, en que dezian, que Pedro de Cubiaur era ausentado, y con esta occasion le tomo gran gana de yrse, y se despedio en la bolsa de algunos, y se fuè arrebatadamente. El Martes, ò Miercoles despediendose de todos los de casa innocentemente para bolver luego (salvo del dicho Juan Jaureguy, y de mi el dicho Antonio de Venero) y me escrivió desde Bruias dos cartas, la una general, y la otra d'este negocio: de que la general mostre a Mortin de Varron, Pedro de la Penna,

Antonio Spinola, y a algunos otros, y despues la queme, y dí la otra carta al dicho Jaureguy, y la leyó, porque dezia le parescia fuesse con pistolete, y el otro dixó que estava bien, y que assi lo haria y lo dezia con mucha alegria, y quemó tambien la otra carta, y me dixó, que se queria confessar, y se fue fuera de casa a hazerlo, sin que yo preguntasse al dicho Jaureguy con quien, y me dixo se avia confessado y comulgado, y despues estava ya presto para hazarlo quando el quisiesse, sin aguardar a nada. Y assi este Domingo passado, diez y ocho d'este oyó Missa en casa, comó a las onze horas, y despues se fue, e hizo lo que parece ser, que cierto aun yo lo no sé. Y para descargo de mi consciencia digo que no me constá que tenga ninguno otro culpa en este negocio: y que assi los que mas estan presos deven ser sueltos y libres, por hallarlos yo innocentes. Y si a mi el dicho Antonio de Venero (por aver descubierto mi corazon, y dicho quanto he podido y se me ha accordado) quisieren V. S. hazer misericordia de salvarle la vida (pues el que hizo el mal es muerto, e yo no fuy auctor d'ello) lo reconosceré toda mi vida.

El dicho Gaspar de Annastro nos prometió al dicho Juan de Jaureguy, y a mi el dicho Antonio de Venero, qui si aquello se hazia, nos ternia por proprios hijos, y que no auria cosa partida, sino que su hazienda seria nuestra propria: y otras palabras desta manera. Y el dicho Jaureguy dixò, que no queria ninguna cosa, y que lo hazia por amor d'el, y por aver comida su pan, e yo le quité el sombrero tremblando, y dandole a entender como temia de la muerte, y el me assegurava que no me tocarian en un pelo de la cabeza.

Soubsigné.

Godefridus Montens. Zuerius. Blomart.

ANTONIO DE VENERO.

Siendo esta confession preleyda al dicho declarante fuera de la carcel debaxo del cielo, ha persistido en ella, siendo assi verdad en presentia de los Esclavines aqui abaxo firmado fecho á xxvi. de Marco. 1582.

Zuerius. *Blomart.*

The Deposition of Anthonie Venero, which of his own motion he made, and willingly writ and subscribed with his owne hande.

I Anthonie of Venero, borne in Bilbao, the sonne of John of Venero, of the age of 19 or 20 yeares, little more or lesse, assistant in the house and affaires of Jasper of Annastro, borne in Victoria, from the 20. daye of Januarie 1580, unto the xiii. of March 1582, do as followeth declare, what hapned unto me with the sayd Jasper of Annastro, being thereof examined by my lordes the Maregrave, borowmaisters, and shirifes of this towne of Antwerpe, and do promise, uppon my oathe, soul and conscience, to shew the whole truth thereof; not to cloke or conceale anye thing, wherupon the saide lordes, the Marcgrave, borowmaisters, and shirifes, have, by the intreatie of the Lord Stephen Racquet, coronel of the said towne of Antwerpe, promised me, that confessing whatsoever I do knowe, they wil grant me an honourable death, agreeable to my desire and contentation, with a prieste also to confesse me, and to conferre withall, because it concerneth the honour of my stock.[1] I Anthonie of Venero reposing myselfe upon the word and nobilitie of the saide lords, touching the accomplishment thereof, do say as followeth:

[1] This is a very singular bribe, and would hardly have had effect on any merchant's clerk except a Spaniard.

First, that John of Ysunca, borne in Victoria, aforetime commissioner over the furniture of the armies in these parts, writte a letter to Jasper of Annastro of Lisbone, aboute ten monethes since, wherein he requested of him certaine goods, whereof he had never before written unto him; he said it woulde be newes to him to see any of his letters, and that he did this, that so he mighte be at Lisbon, requesting him to sende him that whiche he demaunded. Hereunto, the saide Jasper of Annastro aunswerrd in friendlie wordes, excusing himselfe for not sending them, as well upon that he had not sent money, as because he founde not himselfe of wealth sufficiente, and so could not trust forth that which he demaunded. Whereto, John of Ysunca answered, requesting him to sende the saide moveables; for that at Lisbone he stoode in great neede of them for the conservation of his auctoritie, considering that his Majesty woulde committe unto him a verie honorable office; and that therefore he woulde doe it; for hee woulde communicate unto him a matter of verie great importance, which would redound to his great benefite and honour. To the whiche, the said Annastro replied againe, with newe excuses and curtesies, but indeed sente him not the said moveables; only, he desired to understand what matter of so great importance it might be that he would communicate unto him, wherof he desired him to advertise hym. These two letters aforesaid did I, the said Anthony of Venero, see; afterward came the answer of this letter, wherin the said J. of Ysunca opened the matter, and when Annastro had red the saide letter, he commaunded me, Anthonie of Venero aforesaid, from thenceforth not to open any letter comming, sealed after the manner of the court; from that time, which might be about 5 or 6 monthes since, the saide John of Ysunca, and Jasper of Annastro, have prosecuted their purposes and answers, each writing to other verie secretlie, and the said Jasper of Annastro still answering his letters with his owne hande, in his chamber, closing his letters with harde waxe, the moste closliest that might be. All this while was I, Anthony of Venero, ignoraunt of this facte, imagining that it was some marriage matter with the daughter of John Ruiz of Vergara, the brother of Fraunces Ruiz of Vergara, who had dwelt in this towne of Antwerpe, and the rather, because her mother, the Ladie Marie of Ysunca, hadde written to the sayd Jasper of Annastro; also, that knowing him to be wealthie, and of the best qualetied in Victoria, they would bestow her upon him with some good number of duckats. And I, the said Anthony of Venero, supposed these to be the secretes, and gessed that they deferred the finall resolution, because the said Annastro required for her dowrie, and for the maintenaunce of her porte, more than they did offer: It afterward (as I remember) fell so out, that two Flemish vessels sayling towards Laredo wer drowned; also, that at Plemue, the bark of Philip Dorio, which was bound to Biscay, was robbed; in which three vessels he lost much, whereby he grewe into great care and anguish of minde, as one ignorant howe to behave him selfe to save his credit; at which instant, the sayd John of Ysunca writ to the sayd Jasper of Annastro unwitting to me; the effect whereof was, that he shoulde procure the slaughter of the Prince of Orange, his Excellencie, wherof he had delt with his Majestie verie secretlie, in suche wise, as none but they two were acquainted therewith; also, that he had procured his Majestie to set downe a certaine capitulation, whiche also he had signed with his owne hande, wherein his saide Majestie promised, upon the certaine news of his Excellencies death, to give to the said Annastro 80,000 duckets in silver, or the value therof in landls, togither with a commandership of S. James. That this was set downe in writing; also, that he woulde bestow on him great benefittes, with sundrie honorable offices; for the saide John of Ysunca had told and assured his Majestie, that the saide Annastro was a man of verie good capacitie, and greate wealth. All this while, I, Anthonie of Venero, doe not thinke that anye one was able to speake thereof; but rather, in my opinion, I durst assure my selfe, that in any wise the said Annastro woulde not make any, of whatsoever nation or condition, privie thereunto; so, that as in Antwerpe there be no Spaniards

able to detect him, so do I againe affirme, that certainly I thinke he disclosed it to none; which I doe the rather verifie, because I can not otherwise thinke. Now shortly after this, and as it were a moneth since, he had some inckling of an other new mischance, namely, of two merchants that were aboute to break, by whom he was in hazard of L.9500 sterling, or thereabout, for certaine merchandise that he hadde sent them, and other goods upon accompts of sundrie Englishe men of London; as also, by reason of certain billes of exchaunge whiche he had accepted and faithfully payed to their uses; whereby seeing himselfe entangled in so manye troubles, also, that of this last losse he was in no default, and not knowing any remedie, but by absenting himselfe, considering they had played bankerupte with so greate summes of his, he caused me, Anthonie of Venero, to be called into his chamber, and charging me verie sore to be secreate, wyth teares running down his cheekes, he declared unto me the substance of the aforesaide treatie with John of Ysunca, shewing mee certaine of those letters whiche the saide John of Ysunca had written unto him, wherin he assured him of all the promises above specified, which letters were written divelishly and subtilly without any subscription; and it seemed, that the saide John of Ysunca hath imparted this matter to a sonne of his who remained at Madrid, called Peter of Ysunca le Queytio, who also writte to him in verye good speeches, assuring him of the substance of al the premises, diversly naming himselfe in the subscription Apodaca. These letters, having, as I saide, shewed me the substaunce of them, did he burn in his chamber; and, thereuppon, entred into discourse with me, saying, that he neither woulde ne could digest so manye shames as were provided for him; therfore, that commending him selfe to almightie God wyth all his hearte, he would, with his own hands, slay my Lord the Prince of Orange his Excellencie, and that in case he were slaine about the execution therof, yet, in trueth, he had rather perish in the place, as coveting rather to die than to live so dishonorably, that it shoulde be saide of him in the Burse at Antwerpe, See, yonder man is become bankerupt; whiche, if it shoulde so fall out, no man woulde judge where the faulte is, but would rather impute it unto him, thoughe he were not faultie. Also, that he ought much money in Antwerpe, even to the beste, and to suche as there bare authoritie, who would, with rigour, proceede againste hym; and, therfore, that he determined to die, yea, and that alreadie he had digested death, but that, by this meanes, he should cover and get glorie to his bankeruptship and discredite. All this spake he with teares; whereupon I seeing him so discomforted, wept much faster, and besought him, for God's love, not to seke his death by his own hands, but to be patient in God's doings, and seeing the fault was not in himselfe, to withstand suche adversities as might happen, in shewing a good face to his creditours, and to let them know the reasons, how Peter Nunnes of Arbule, and Peter of Cubiaur, undid him, and that hee shoulde repose himselfe upon this; whereto he aunswered, that he had not the face to look upon anye man, and, therefore, that he was determined to persiste in his purpose; wherein I contraried him stiffely, sundrye times willing him to refer al to God, and to attend better hap. Upon this communication, (which passed in an evening upon a working day after Burse time) Andrewe de la Maca, who, notwithstanding he remaineth in the same house, is innocent of al, came into his chamber; so that, by reason of the saide Andrewes comming in, we brake off talke for that night. The next morning, the saide Annastro being in his chamber, sent for me, and said: Now, brother Anthony, how doe you? I answered, but heavely: hereuppon he began againe to reenter into the former matter, saying, that if he himselfe shoulde not slaye his Excellencie, he wist not to whom to commit the doing thereof, excepte peradventure to his man John Jaureguy, born in Bilbao, who holpe to write in the counting house, because he semed a staied and resolute yong man to any intent whatsoever, and poore withall. Then I, Antony of Venero, answered, that it woulde be a great burthen to his conscience, if the saide Annastro should procure the saide Jaureguy any

vile death; for, seeing his Excellencie was so well beloved throughout the whole towne, he coulde no sooner have done the deede, but he should be hewen in peeces. Nay, said Annastro, but they wil rather apprehend him, to the ende to learne for what purpose he did it, so as seven or eight dayes after the deed would be spent before any execution; and that, therefore, the saide Annastro mighte departe from Antwerpe, four dayes before the deede, and so go to Calais, from whence he might dispatch a poste to Apodaca, who is Peter of Ysunca le Queytio, the sonne of John Ysunca, to the ende to give his Majestie to understande, that he was departed from the purpose agreede uppon; then that from Calais he woulde goe to the Prince of Parma his campe, and thence having newes of the slaughter, he would send a trumpet to begge the life of the saide John of Jaureguy: Also, that Jasper of Annastro himselfe would write concerning that matter, and open himself unto sundrie hys friends in the towne, requiring the life of the said Jaureguy, and sending blanckes signed by the Prince of Parma, to the ende these Lords might aske what they liste for theyr own advantage concerning the religious Vreed, and all other matters, also that therewithal after the Prince of Oranges death they should enjoy an assured peace. Hereupon, a Flemish boy belonging to the said Annastro, named Joannico, whom he hath taken with him, came into the chamber, whom he commanded to call John Jaureguy, who was writing in the counting house; when he was come he caused me to depart out of the chamber; then having a while talked with him, he called me again, and shewed me that Jaureguy for his sake and honor would do it; also, that he had shewed him a dagger wherewith he shoulde kil him either at the table or in any other companie, by thrusting in the dagger and wounding him behinde the eare; that Jaureguy would doe this with a very good will; wherupon he asked my opinion: I answered, that he shoulde looke well unto it, because it touched his conscience: further, because that if this matter were broughte to passe, they would slaie all the Spaniards in Antwerpe for sorrow of the princes death, and that therfore I had rather forsake the town than venture my life. But he willed me not to feare, saying, that although Jaureguy should openly confesse the truth, yet would no man medle with his house, neither wold ther be any further pursuite: and, therfore, he counselled the saide Jaureguy in that matter to continue stedfast for the love of his honour and himselfe: also the same day to go to espie in what manner his excellencie did eate, whiche he did three or foure times, so that he saide he was in good hope to bring his purpose to passe. After this he used much speech with the said Jaureguy, as with the man who should commit such a hainous fact. Finally, having better considered of the matter, they began to doubte whether it were better to be done with a dagger or with a dagge: for Jaureguy said, that he never shot in dagge, neyther knewe howe to discharge it, the other willed him to repaire to some friend of hys to trie it, and to counterfeite himselfe to be a Fleming, and not to use anye other language, whereto he graunted, and did so. During these practices there came letters from London, importing, that Peter of Cubiaur had absented himselfe, upon which occasion he thought best to departe, so as having dispatched some at the Burse, sodainely uppon a Tewsday or Wednesday, having taken his leave of all the housholde, he went his waye, seeming as if he would shortly come againe, except to the sayd John of Jaureguy and me Antony of Venero, and from Bruges he writ to me two letters, the one generall, the other concerning this matter: The generall letter I shewed to Martin of Varron, Peter de la Penna, Anthony Spinula, and some others, and so burned it. The other I delivered to Jaureguy, who read it, because therin he saide that he thought the dagge readiest: the other saide that he could well doe it so, the which he spake verie cheerefully, and then burned this letter also, and tolde me that he woulde be shriven, and so went forth of the doores, neither did I ever aske him to what confessour he woulde goe. Afterwarde hee tolde me that he was shriven and houseled, and that now he was readie upon anye opportunite without any lette to execute hys purpose. Thus, upon this last

Sunday, the 18. of this moneth, about eleven of the clock, he heard masse in the house, and so departed, and did that which seemeth to be done, not that I doe certainely know it as yet: wherfore for the discharge of my conscience I doe say, that I cannot perceive any other to bee guiltie of this deede, and therefore, that the others who are apprehended, ought to be released and delivered, because in my conscience they be innocent. Nowe therefore, if youre Lordships would graunt to me Antony of Venero pardon, and to save my life, as having opened the verie botome of my heart, and saide all that I knowe, besides that, he who committed the mischiefe, is dead already, I should be bound to you all my life long.

Moreover, the saide Jasper of Annastro promised unto us the saide John of Jaureguy, and me Antony of Venero, that this being accomplished, he woulde accompte us as his own naturall children: also, that nothing should be parted betweene us, but that all shoulde be our owne proper goodes, and suche like speeches. The saide Jaureguy answered, that he woulde have nothing, but that which he did, he did for his love, and because he had eaten his breade: and I quaking, putte off my hatte, giving him to understande how sore I feared death, wherupon he assured me, that no man wold once touch any haire of my head.

This confession being red unto the said deponente without the prison uppon the bridge openlye, hee persisted in the same his confession, confirming it to be the trueth. Given the 26th of March 1582, in the presence of the undernamed.

Zuerius. Blomart.

An other examination taken the 24th of the same moneth of March 1582.

Syendo el dicho Antonio de Venero (puesto sobriel atormentando) preguntado quien podrian mas haver sabido d' esta empresa? Dize ningunos otros, que los por el aqui delante nombrados.

Preguntado si d'esta impresa no han sabido Andres de la Maza, Petro d'Orosco, Pedro de la Penna, o Valentin de Meurs? Dize que no.

Preguntado si no se acuerda que (estando a la mensa del dicho Annastro su amo se platicó y disputó si era licito de matar á su excell. por zelo de la fee) el Clerigo Antonio Timmerman entonces declaró: que se podria hazer sin pecado? Dize que d'ello no sa acuerda.

Preguntado si no sabia quien era el que estava a cavallo junto al castillo quando el dicho efeto era complido? Dize que no.

Y era dicho examination firmada vor los dichos Sennores Esclavines, J. Zuerius, L. Blomaert.

The said Antony of Venero, being upon the racke examined what other persons might have hadde intelligence of this enterprise? saieth, no other than those whome he hath aforenamed.

Being demaunded, whether Andrew de la Massa, Peter of Orosco, Peter della Penna, or Valentine de Meurs knew nothing of the saide enterprise? he saieth, no.

Being demaunded, whether he remembreth not that when some speeche and argument passed at the saide Annastro his maisters table, whether for zeale of religion it were lawfull to slay his excellencie, the monke Antony Timmerman didde then affirme, that it might lawfully be done without sinne? He saieth that he remembreth it not.

Being demaunded whether he knoweth not who he was that was on horsebacke before the castle when the deede was executed? He saith, no.

This examination was conferred before the saide lordes shirifes, John Zuerius, and Lewis Bloemart.

The Examination of Anthony Timmerman, taken in the Presence of the Lordes the Margrave, Godfrey Montens, M. James Zuerius, and Lewis Bloemart, Shirijes of the Towne of Antwerpe, the 18th, 19th, and 23d Day of March 1582.

Antony Timmerman, borne in Dunkirke, of the age of one and thirtie yeares, sometimes monke of the order of the White Friers, having his chamber in the long Newstreete at the Golden Horse.

Being demaunded, what acquaintance he hath in the house of Jasper of Annastro? sayeth, that divers times he hath said masse in the house of the said Annastro; also, that he hath sent others thither for the same purpose, and that, therefore, he had his finding as chapleine to the Spanish nation, and that the saide Annastro paide him.

Being demaunded, what private communication he hathe had with one John Jaureguy, a Spaniard of Biscay, in the house of the sayde Annastro? saith, that the saide Jaureguy, upon Friday last, came to him to shrift, desiring also to receive the sacrament at his hande, whiche he ministred unto him; for the which, the said party gave him two double pistolets of gold, desiring the said confessour to pray for him. Also that, according to the description of his stature and apparel that he ware, it seemeth to be the same person, who, upon Sundaye at noone, discharged a dagge against his excellencies person.

Being demaunded, what the saide Jaureguy gave him to understande concerning this deede, either in his confession, or before or after the same? also, whether he did not shewe him what he was promised for the performance of that act? saith, that the said Jaureguy did confesse unto him, that the said Jasper of Annastro woulde himselfe have done it, if he could not have perswaded him thereto; saying moreover, that he woulde execute the saide deede the same Frydaye at dinner, and that onlie for the glory of God, and because his father being an olde man should be releeved.

Being demaunded, whether he told not the sayd confessor in what place he was purposed to doe this deede, and with what weapons? sayth, that he told him that he purposed to doe it at the table as he thought, but shewed him not with what weapons.

Being demaunded, whether the sayd confessor did finally absolve the sayd Jaureguy, so as he might execute his pretended deede, which afterward he committed against the person of his excellencie? confesseth, that he absolved the sayde Jaureguy in this manner; that if he did not execute it for lucre of money, but onelie for the glorye of God and of a zeale to the Catholike Roman religion, that then it was lawful for him to doe it; giving him thereupon absolution, having neverthelesse before represented to his view all suche daungers as might spring forth of the sayd deede.

Being demaunded, whether he enquired of Jaureguy if any other were able to utter the pretence of the execution of the sayd deede? sayth, that he shewed him that no man was able to say any thing thereof, but onely the said Jasper Annastro, Antony of Venero, and an other man a Spanyard, whome he named not, either by name or surname; but that the saide confessor gesseth, that it was a young man, whome he had often seene aboute the same time comming and going to the same house; the saide young man being reasonable tall of stature, with a blacke bearde cut after the Spanishe maner, of a browne pale colour, long and leane visaged, aboute 24 or 25 yeares of age, as it seemed, wearing ordinarily a Spanish cassock of a gray russet, and a blacke cloake.

Being demaunded, what speech passed betweene the saide confessor and the said Jasper of Annastro, touching this deed committed against his excellencie? saieth, that the sayde Annastro never spake any thing therof, either in shrifte, or otherwise.

Being demaunded, whether the saide Jaureguy shewed him not, that Valentine de Meurs, Anthony Waechmans, and Anna Haecht, servantes in the saide Annastroes house, knewe nothing of the practise or effecte of the saide deede attempted againste his ex-

cellencie? saieth, that the persons aforenamed, knewe nothing thereof, as the said Jaureguy tolde him, and declared in his confession.

Being demaunded, whether the said Annastro, Jaureguy, or Antony of Venero, said not unto him, that the king hadde by John of Ysunca made greate promises to the said Annastro for the performing of the deede against his excellencie? saith, that he never knew or heard that of any body.

Being demaunded, whether he, the said confessor, hathe not aforetime bene in the house of the said Annastro, when, sitting at the table, he was demaunded, whether it were lawfull for any manne, without offence, to slay his excellencie; what aunsweare was made thereto, when it was, and who were there present? declareth, that the saide Annastro hath sundrie times moved that question to him; and namely at the table in dinner time, or so soone as the table was taken up, either the firste or seconde Saterday before Candlemasse, and that there were then present Andrew de la Maca, Antony of Venero, and Valentine de Meurs; and that hee, this confessor, answered, that no particular or private person mighte doe it, but that it pertained onely to the justice. Whereto the saide Annastro (as he remembreth) replied, that the king being a publike person, might commaund an other to doe it; whereupon this confessor saide, that it was not lawfull for any man with money to buy an others life. He declared farther, that about foureteen dayes since, he, the saide confessour, being at the table, or else soone after they were risen, hearde the saide Annastro use these or suche like wordes; *Valla me dios no ha en esta tierra Flamenco que se atreva a este Principe de Oranges?* whereto he, the sayde confessor, replied, saying, *Los Flamencos no son tan furiosos como vosotros*, where the said Maca was not then present, but was departed into Holland.

This confession being read before the said confessour uppon the bridge of the Borow, under the open element, he being loosed and undone, he persisted in the same in the presence of the shirifes this 26 of March 1582.

Subscribed, Zuerius, and L. Bloemart.

Here ensue the Copies of the Letters written by the saide Annastro, and the Prince of Parma, &c.

Sennor Hermano,

De Brujas os escrevì ayer, y aura dos horas que llegue aqui, y no he podido hallar a Pedro de Cubiaur, ni saber d'el, más de que un maestro dize, que passo de Doura a Cales ocho dias a un hombre casi de sus sennas. Yo passo de mala gana a Cales, por el tiempo que pierdo en bolver a casa: y a demas desto, el viento es contrario, y no podre partir oy, pero serà mannana Sabadò plaziendo a Dios. Al Sennor Antonio Espinnola beso las manos, y que tengo gana de boluerme. Al Sennor Andres de la Maca beso tambien las manos. Yo os encomiendo que tengays cuenta de lo que haz que hazer hasta que yo buelva; de papeles y assignaciones como de lo demas, que yo me dare la priessa que pudiere. Pagareys luego a Hernando de Nagera las 402 libras que Baltasar de Burgos escrivió se le diessen, porque de Cales le tengo de escrevir que estan pagadas, embialde quintança dello. A Valentin me encomiendo, y a Jaureguy dezid que os ayude en lo de la escritura, y nuestro Sennor, &c. En Dunquerch, 16. de Março 1582.

El subscripto era, Vuestro hermano Annastro.

El sobrescripto era, Al Sennor Antonio de Venero mi hermano Anvers.

Al porte 4 Florins, dandolo a las ocho horas de la mannana et lunes que es 19 de Março.

Annastro's Letters written from Dunkirke.

Good brother, yesterday I wrote unto you from Bruges, and I arrived heere two hours since, but cannot yet finde M. Peter of Cubiaur, either here anie other newes of him; but that a master of a ship shewed me, that about eight daies since there was one like him that passed from Dover to Callis. Very unwillingly I am to goe to Callis, lest losing my time I shal not come soone inough home. Besides the wind being contrarie, I cannot depart this day, but to-morrow, being Saterday, if it please God I shal. I humbly greete master Anthonie Spinula, and am very desirous to returne home. I also humbly greete Andrew Massa. I pray you set to your hand to any thing that is to be done before my returne, as well for writings and assignations, as for any other matter. For my part, I will make as much haste as I may. You shall presently pay Ferdinand of Nagera the 402. pounds that Baltasser of Burgos had written to be delivered him; for from Callais I will write that they be paid. And send him the acquittaunce. I commend me to Valentine, and will Jaureguy to helpe you in your writings. Our Lord, &c. At Dunkirck, this 16 of March 1582.

The subscription was, *Your Brother Annastro.*

The superscription was, *To my Brother Antony of Venero at Antwerpe.*

To the post 4 florins so that he deliver them upon Munday at 8 a clocke in the morning, which shal bee the 19. of March.

SENNOR,

Para pagar à Baltasar de Burgos las quatrocientas y dos libras, no hallo otro remedio, por la brevedad d'el tiempo sino dezir a Hernando de Nagera que tenia yo orden del dicho Burgos; para que se diessen a el dichas quatrocientas y dos libras, y que se las querays pagar luego, y que Valentin se las dé, y quittalde luego dos quitanças una copia de otra, en que diga que se las days por orden de Baltaser de Burgos, y que se obliga a hazer las buenas el dicho Baltasar de Burgos, y d'esta manera el dicho Burgos se podrá valer dellas con su commodidad. Hazelde luego a la hora que esta recibays, antes que se haga el empleo: porque de otra manera no veo orden de que vengan a mannos d'el dicho. Y assi os ruego mucho que esto se haga luego el mismo Lunes. Dira Nagera, que no tiene aviso; direysle vos, que es hombre trabaioso, y que no quereys aguardar a esso, porque yo os lo ordiné assi, y Burgos está desproveydo de dineros. En el empleo me parece bien lo que ay le escrevi de Brujas, que se haga de la mercaderia que pide Diego Carreno, provandolo primero algunas vezes, y al tiempo del effecto ponerse una medida, y dos rodondas; y d'esta manera comparà con mas seguridad, y menos ambaraço; y para aquel vestido tomarle la medida por detras. Esto tengo por mejor que lo otro, y de menos embaraço, y mas seguro; y tambien puede ponerse lo otro, para en caso de necessidad. Pensad en ello, y mirad quanto và en que el empleo sea cierte hazed cuenta que yo me detendré en Cales el Sabado por todo el dia, para escrevir à Apoduca, y despachar le correo, y despues he menester tres dias para assentar mi cuenta con aquel hombre, y dezirle lo que conviene, porque vaya todo per orden: y despues se podrà hazer quando el corredo quisiere, y dezilde que le Dios buena dicha, y que consideres bien lo mucho que importa, que el empleo sea bueno.

En la Margen estava escripto.

Otra vez torno à dezir lo de Nagera, porque Baltaser de Burgos està falto de dineros, y

embialde luego la una cedula del dicho Nagera, y por esto doy esta ventaja de 13¼ libras. A Valentin y Jaureguy me en comiendo mucho.

El sobrescripto era; *Para Antonio de Venero.*

Sir,

I can finde, by reason of the shortnesse of the time, no other remedie how to pay Baltassar of Burgos the 402. pounds, but to shewe Ferdinande of Nagera, that I had commission from the said Burgos to deliver him the said 402. pounds, and that you will presently pay him: and let Valentine pay him the mony, taking of him two acquittaunces, the one copied out of the other, wherein he must confesse that you doe deliver the same unto him by the appointment of Baltassar of Burgos, then binde him to make them good to the said Baltassar of Burgos, and so may Burgos helpe himselfe to his owne commoditie. Doe this immediately, and even so soone as you have received these presents, before the matter be performed; for I see no other meanes how they may come to his hands, wherefore I pray you heartelye let this be done this present Munday. Nagera will say that he hath no such warrant: then shall ye aunswere him, that the man is troublesome, and that you will not stay for that, seeing I have so commaunded you, and that Burgos is destitute of money. It seemeth good to mee the exploit and matter were performed in such sort as yesterday I wrote from Bruges, and that with such [1] merchaundise as Diego Carreno requireth, having first tried it sundrie times; and at the time of the execution thereof, to give it a good measure, and two rounds; and in this wise it may be the more surely bought, and performed with lesse hinderaunce. As for the garment, you must take measure behinde. I thinke this a better way than the other, of lesse hinderaunce, and most safe. Also, for farther assurance, the other [2] may be added for necessities sake. Consider heerof, and marke of what importaunce the execution of this exploit is. Make your account that I will stay at Callais all Saterdaye, there to write to Apodaca, and to dispatch the post. And afterward I shall neede three daies to make up my account with this man; tell him also what is needfull to be done, that all things may proceede orderlye. After which the matter may be dispatched when the [3] courier will, and tell him also that I pray God graunt him good successe, and that I would have him marke howe necessarie it is that this exploit be performed.

In the Margent was Written:

Once againe I speake to you of Nagera. For Baltasar of Burgos needeth money; sende therefore to him immediately one of Nagera his letters; for this I give him the interest of 13. lib. 4. s. I commend me heartelye to Valentine and to Jaureguy.

The superscription was, *For Antonie of Venero.*

Other Letters of the said Annastro.

Sennor Hermano,

De Bruias y de Dunquerch os escrevì, yo me detuve en Dunqnerch dos dias, bien desgustado por ser el tiempo tan fuerte y contrario que non pude passar; y assi me aconcejo el Governador de Dunquerch que passasse por tierra, y que era mejor; y assi me robo el un passaporte de Gravelingas, y aqui, dos horas ha, en esta villa de Gravelingas, y mannana me yrè

[1] Under this talke of merchandise he meaneth the pistol, powder, and two bullets, wherewith the L. prince shoulde be slaine.

[2] His dagger.

[3] He meaneth Jaureguy.

por agua à Cales, a lo que entiendo, porque de aqui a Cales por tierra està todo lleno de Franceses, que roban los que passan, y mas haran siendos Espannoles. Ha me dicho un tal Quadra que està aqui, que Pedro de Cubiaur estuvo aqui quatro dias ha, y que entendio que era ydo a Cales, podra ser que alli le hallare, entre tanto hazelos lo meior que pudieredes. Y esse empleo de las mercaderias se puede hazer a cada hora y sea tan bueno que los duennos no se queæen. No tengo mas que escrivir, Nuestro Sennor, &c. Encomiendome a Valentin y Jaureguy. Al Sennor Marça beso las manos, y Nuestro Sennor, &c. En Gravelingas 17 *de Março* 1582. *Harta ventura ha sido aver escapado en el camino, legam andan los Franceses. Yo serè allà lo mas presto que pudiere, que ya queria ser buelto.*

El subscripto era ; Vuestro buen hermano Annastro.

Other Letters of the said Annastro.

My lorde and brother, I writ unto you from Bruges and Dunkirke. Two daies I abode at Dunkirke though farre against my mind, because the weather was so rough and contrarie that I could not passe; wherefore the governour of Dunkirke counsailed mee to goe by land (as the better way,) and so he made me a pasport for Graveling, whether I came two houres since, from whence I will to-morrow depart by water, (as I thinke) to Callais; for that betweene this and Callais the waies be pestered with Frenchmen that doe robbe the passengers, whereunto they would be more ready if they should meete with any Spaniards. A certaine Quadra that is here told me that Peter of Cubiaur, was taken four daies agoe, and that he heard that hee was gone to Callais; it may bee that I maye finde hym there. In the meane time, doe the best you can concerning the exploit of merchandise; it may be done at al times, and let it be so well done, that the masters finde no fault. I have no more to write. But our Lord, &c. Commend me to Valentine and Jauregui. I humbly salute the Lord Massa. Our Lord, &c. From Graveling, this 17 of March 1582. It was a great chaunce that I escaped all the waye, the Frenche doe so range up and downe. I will be there so soone as I may, for I would with a good will be at home alreadie.

The subscription was, *Your good brother Annastro.*

After the which was written,

Give this post, whose name is Coppenhaghen, that which is written upon the letter for guiding me hither.

His Excellencies Letter, written with his owne Hande.

My L. of Aldegond, I heare that to-morrowe the ij. prisoners, his complices that shot at me, shall be executed. For my owne part, I doe willingly forgive them whatsoever they may have offended against me; and if peradventure they have deserved some sore and sharpe punishment, yet be a meane to my lordes the magistrates not to suffer them to abide any great torment. But rather if they have so deserved, to content themselves with some speedie death. Hereupon I bidde you good night.

Your very good friend to do you Service,

WILLIAM of NASSAU.

Done in the Prison of the Towne of Antwerp, in the presence of my Lordes, Lescouttet, M. James Zuerius, and Lewis Bloemart, Shirifes, the 28. of March 1582.

Maister Anthonie Timmerman prisoner, readie to receyve his death whereunto he was yesterdaye before noone condemned, in the Vierschale, by the borrowmaisters and shirifes of this towne, saith and declareth in forme following:

First, he sayth, that having better called that whiche was spoken at the table in the house of Jasper of Annastro, when the saide deponent dined there, the said Annastro propounded and argued: Whether, by vertue of the proscription which the King of Spaine hath published, anye man may lawfulye slaye his excellencie's person, in trueth he cannot saye whether Andrew Massa were present or not, either thys speeche passed aboute the ende or after dinner; adding moreover, that he is well assured and certaine, that Valentine of Meurs sate at the table that dinner, but was then gone awaye. Moreover, the saide condemned person acknowledgeth his great oversight and error which he helde, in thinking that, by vertue of the saide proscription, it was lawfull to slay his excellencie's person. Being therefore now better informed by learned men concerning the saide opinion, and having further considered of the matter, he doeth by this presente revoke the same Wherefore he requesteth the lordes magistrates of this towne to pardon him hys sayde offence; also to adde this to his former confession; and, if the other be published, to publish this withal, to the end no man thinke that he dyed in so wicked an opinion.

Subscribed Zuerius.

The Prince of Parma his Letters.

Alexander Prince of Parma and Plaisance, Lieuetenaunt, Governour, and Captayne Generall.

Right deare and wellbeloved, woulde to God you knew as well as the inhabitants of these partes, with what zeale and affection I have alwaies proceeded and procured the weale, quiet, and tranquilitie of these countries generallie, whereof I seek no greter nor more evident testimonie, than the paines that I have taken, the dueties which I have yeelded, and the perils and daungers which I have incurred in seeking to restore the whole to hir auncient brightnesse and felicitie, wherewith these provinces were wont to florish. According, whereunto, God having used the death of the Prince of Orange, (the one and only instrument and author of so many miseries and calamities whiche you have endured) as a meane to open the way unto you, I hope he hath likewise taken from before your eies the vaile, which stopped and kept you from knowing, or more neerely considering the sleightes, suttleties, and inventions, wherewith the saide prince nourished your mistrusts, and through his owne covetousnesse and ambition continued your miseries, yea so farre foorth, that to the same ende he sought to bring you into the subjection and intollerable yoke of those, from whom in former worlds you have received such domages and enmities. Thus much I thought good to write unto you, to thende to advertise and assure you, that in case you wil prevaile in this occasion and commoditie whiche God dothe offer unto you, you shall not finde anye man in this worlde that will aide and assiste you wyth more sinceritie, readinesse, and affection, than I will; offering unto you to the same effect whatsoever I may by vertue of the authoritie and special power unto me given by his majestie, of whome I am well assured that you shall reape no lesse grace and favor, neither any worse entertainement, than those

have tried, who, trusting wholly in the naturall clemencie wherewith hee is endued, have willingly caste themselves into the armes of his royall curtesie and gentlenesse. Whereupon I will expecte your answeare, which I pray God may bee such as I desire for your owne benefite and quietnesse; also that it may bee so speedily, that his majestie may have occasion to desiste from such preparation as he maketh for the atteyning to this ende, by some other meanes peradventure more violent and unprofitable to yourselves. Thus right deere and welbeloved, God have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

From Tournay, this 25. of March 1582.

Subscribed, ALEXANDER.

And somewhat lower, F. GARNIER.

The superscription was: To our right dere and welbeloved, the Markgrave, Amptman, Borowmaisters, Shirifes, Counsaile, and Rentmaisters of the towne of Antverpe.

The like letters, *mutatis mutandis*, were dispatched to the inhabitantes of Bruxelles, Gaunt, Bruges, Ypres, &c.

Annastro his Letters written from Tournay.

Muy mag. Sennor,

Pues ha querido nuestro Sennor que el Principe de Orange aya acabado sus dias, se ha de creer que es para aver misericordia de estas tierras que estavan affligidas, y yo estoy aggradado de aver sido occasione y instrumento de sa muerte, por el servicio que devo a mi rey, y por la quietud y reposo que desséo a los estados: y quando mi criado no fuera sufficiente para hazer lo que hizo, yo tenia determinado de matarle por mi mano, por saccar esta tierra del travajo en que estava. He querido escrivir a v. m. y al Sr. su hermano esta carta para assegurarlos que pueden confiar en la misericordia que su Mag. y su Alteza el Principe de Parma dessea hazer con los de essa villa, sin accordarse de las faltas passadas: si no con animo de perdonar las todas, y que todos puedan vivir pacificamente. Y pues que v. m. tiene mano para poder dar a entender à essos S. Ses. del magistrado esta buena voluntad, y tomar buen consejo en esse negocio, assegurandolos que en lo que yo pudiere favorescerlos lo harè de muy buena gana. Y si quisieren emplear a v. m. en ello, y al Se. Laurentio su hermano: y lleguarse por aca, yo les embiaré passaporte de su Alteza assegurandolos. Y saldrè fiador por la seguridad de sus personas, y respondan me de la voluntad que en esto tienen, y no se ofresce otra cosa por agora N. Sennor de Tournay à 25. de Março, 1582.

Besa las manos a v^{os}. m^{ds}.

GASPAR de ANNASTRO.

Noble Lords,

Sith it hath pleased God to end the Prince of Orange his daies, you are to beleeve it to be, to the ende to shewe mercie to these countries which were afflicted; and I rejoice that I was the occasion and instrument of his death, bothe for the duetie I owe to my king, and for the reste and tranquilitie of these estates. For if my servant had not beene sufficient to doe that whiche is done, my selfe was resolved with my owne hand to have slain him, so to deliver this countrie out of the trouble it was in. This letter I thought good to write to you, and to my L. your brother, to the end to assure you, that you may surelie repose your selves in the mercie which his majestie, and the P. of Parma his highnesse desire to shew to this town; as not to thinke upon anie former faultes, otherwise than fullie to pardon them, so as, all men maie live peaceably. Further, sith it lieth in you to give the lordes and magistrates to understande of this good will, also to take

good advice concerning this affaire, assuring them, that in what I may I will moste willingly pleasure them. If in this matter they will use you and your brother Laurence as messengers hither, I will send you a passeport from his highnesse with all sufficient assurance, and will my selfe remaine pledge for the suretie of your persons. Let mee understande your willes herein. Thus not having anie other thing at this present, our Lorde, &c. From Tournay, this 25. of March, 1582.

Subscribed,

I humbly salute your Lordships,

JASPER of ANNASTRO.

The Superscription was this:

To the noble Lordes Denis de Meurs, and Laurence de Meurs, at Gant.

The true Report of the lamentable Death of William of Nassawe, Prince of Orange; who was trayterouslie slayne with a Dagge, in his owne Courte, by Balthazar Serack, a Burgunion, the First of July, 1584. *Herein is expressed the Murtherers Confession, and in what Manner he was executed, upon the tenth of the same month: whose Death was not of sufficient Sharpnes for such a Caytife, and yet too sowre for any Christian. Printed at Middleborowgh, by Derick van Respeawe, Anno* 1584. In Octavo, containing eight pages.

G. P. his Proheme to the Inhabitants of Flaunders.

Who so considereth the state of princes, although they are as Gods upon earth, beeing anoynted of God, having theyr authoritye from God, and sitting in Gods seate, to rule the sword with the law, may perceave that they live in more care, and greater daunger, than the simplest subject. Lamentable therefore is their late example of the Prince of Orange, slayne (by a treacherous villain) in his owne courte; his death, and the manner thereof, may forwarne other princes to be carefull, whome they retaine into the presence of thyr person. Great is thy losse, and greater will be thy misery, O Flaunders, for the want of thy prince, who did guide thee, and governed thy people, with wisedome, love, policie, and continuall care for thy quietnes; he was thy comfort, and the stay of thy state in all extremities.

The cheefest states of thy country shall misse him; the widdowe, the sucking babe, and the fatherlesse childe, shall have cause to bewayle his death. Yea, rich and poore altogether may lament his mishap, and cry woe upon that man that bereaved him of life, whose noblenesse deserved fame, and whose woorthy acts and enterprises, beeing honourable, are meete to be registred among the most lawdable reportes of learned historiographers. If the Romaines did bemone the death of Cæsar, the Troyans the losse of Hector, and the Lacedæmonians the want of Alexander, then hast thou, O Flaunders, more cause to lament the losse of thy good prince, who, with wisedome, force, and great care, (ayded by the power and providence of God himselfe,) did keepe thy countrey, from the hands of him that would make a monarchie of realmes in his owne handes, to the utter spoile of thee and thine, and to draw other realmes under his subjection. O most accursed wretch that he was, so subject to the subtilties of Sathan, to worke the untimely death of so gracious a prince, that hetherto he hath defended your liberties, and maintayned your right these many years, to the great glory of God, the advancement of your wealth, and the mayntenaunce of true religion. It were too tedious to set downe, in what subjection all the Lowe Countreys of Flaunders hath beene many yeeres yoked in by their enemies; the effect whereof is

so notorious and apparant to all the world, and the same so truely layd open by many, that it is heere needelesse to touche it; as also to handle the great care of this prince from time to time, who continually sought to maintaine your liberties, and to defend your countrey from extreme misery; which doubtles hath sharply pinched you; and now, having lost him who was the principal prop of the Lowe Countreys, it is like to fall out to the utter overthrowe, ruine, and destruction of that poore cominaltye (a matter most lamentable) except God (the onelie defender of those that truste in him) doo speedely procure and stirre up a carefull and godly prince, to bee the defender of that people and countrey, that thereby the townes and villages there about may become more populous and thorowly replenished (now greevously impoverished through civill dissention) to the quietnes, wealth, and peace of the same.

And, considering it is most necessary to publish a true discourse of this late lamentable mishappe, I have thought it good breefely and plainly to set downe the true circumstaunce thereof; and that for one speciall cause, which is, that considering the untrue imaginations, and fayned reportes, of this princes death, now blased abroade, as well to hys freendes as to hys enemies; the truth being layd open, and made manifest to all men, that then those reportes may be accounted fryvolus, and to be trodden under foote. I therefore admonish you, O yee people of Flaunders, that, having lost the stay and staffe of your countrey, that you yet vouchsafe, with patience, to remaine content with Gods workes, who provideth wonderfully for you. It is your sinnes that is the cause of al your care; wherefore call upon God in this your time of affliction, and with prayer and hearty repentance, to turne unto the Lorde, who no doubt will deliver you from danger, as he did the children of Israell; and assure yourselves, that he will so establish your countrey, in short time, powring thereon peace and plenty, that the remembrance of your great extremity, now fallen upon you, shall in short time grow out of memory, and be made a flourishing common wealth, which God the Father with al speede graunt to confirme. Amen.

The Dyscourse of the Treason wrought against William of Nassawe, Prince of Orange, by Balthazar Serack, a base born Gentleman of Burguni, of the age of twenty-five Yeeres.

Upon the 12 day of June last past, 1584, there came to the Prince of Orange, a base borne gent. of Burguni, who brought certain letters from the states of Fraunce, conserning matters of newes, touching the death of the Frenche kinges brother, who died a little before; which letters the prince in most thankful manner did receive, and gave the messenger such freendly entertainment in his owne courte as became a prince in such causes. The prince, liking well of this messenger, would sundry times use conference with him, touching the garrison of the Prince of Parma, whose souldiers greatly impoverished the countries round about. This messenger (in whom there remained nothing but subtilty and secret mischiefe) dyd show unto the prince, howe he coulde at any time bring him or his souldiers into the Prince of Parmaes garrison, whereby he might take the advantage of the Prince of Parmaes power; for that this messenger, beeing a cunning penman, coulde finely counterfet the Prince of Parmaes owne hand, so neere that the one should not be known from the other. The prince, notwithstanding, woulde not so deale by his devise, but yet he woulde enquire of him how al thinges stood, aswel in the Prince of Parmaes garrison, as of the princes pretence towards the Low Countreys, who continually certefied unto the Prince of Orange the trueth; which caused the prince to repose a greater trust and confidence in him, so that he remained in the court without suspition of any trechery. But behold what folowed, on the 1. day of July last past, which, by the newe computation of the Romish churche, was the tenth day of the

same month, this trayter, thus harbored and lodged in the courte of this good prince, seeing a small pistoll or dagge in the hands of one of the princes servaunts, did demand what it might cost him, saying, I have occasion to ryde a journey shortly, and that dagge would be a good defence for me upon the high way side; wherefore he requested the princes servaunt that he might buy it of him, who, thinking nothing of that which happened afterward, did sel it to him for the some of 10 shillings of English mony. The prince then being in his court at Delph (a town of great strength, where the cheefest states doo inhabite) who being gon to dinner, and the garde attendaunt about his person, this traytor, seeing it a meete time to compasse his pretended mischiefe (which was to berave the prince of his life, as he did) went into his chamber, and charged the pistoll with powder, and put three bullets in the same; that doone, he placed it privelye in his pocket, and went downe to dinner; who, after he had dyned, hearing that the prince would anon goe up into his privie chamber, devised in his minde where he might best plant himselfe, for the finishing of his wicked entent; who, finding a privie corner upon the stayres, where he might be shadowed and not be seene, placed himselfe untill the princes comming.

The prince, so soone as he had dyned, (which was betweene one and two of the clock in the afternoon,) came forth of the great chamber, with his lady and gentlewomen attendaunt; his lady, purposing to walke abroade, took her leave of the prince, who going towards the stayres which did leade to the privie chamber, and seeing an Italian named Ma. Carinson, who had stayed to speake with the prince, to whom the prince very freendly spake, saying, Carinson welcome, and tooke him by the hand, willing thys Italian that he should goe up with him into his privie chamber, proposing there to use some conference with the Italian gentleman; and, before the prince entred the stayres, there came an English captaine, called captaine Williams, who, dooing reverence unto the prince, was entertained in moste freendly manner, laying his hand upon Captain Williams head, wylling him also to come up with him.

The garde then attendant upon the prince, Maister Carinson, and Captain Williams, followed: but the prince going up the stayres, not thinking of any such matter as happened, no sooner came directly against this villenous traytor, but he presently discharged his pistoll, wherein, (as before mentioned) he having put 3 bullets, two of those bullets went through the princes body, and the third remained in his bellie; through which wicked stroke, the prince fell downe suddainly, crying out, saying, "Lord have mercy upon me, and remember thy little flocke!"

Wherewith he changed this life, to the great griefe of his lady, who greatly lamented his death, as also to the great sorrowe of the whole country. The garde pursued the murtherer, and sought to slaye him; but he overscaped the first garde, and was staied by the second watch garde, which was within the princes court.

When he was taken, they demaunded of him, what he had doone? who very obstinately answered, that he had doone that thinge, which hee would willingly doo, if it were to doo againe. Then they demaunded of him, for what cause he did it? hee answered, for the cause of his prince and country; more confession at that time they could not get of him. Forthwith they committed him to pryson, where he remained alive, to the pleasure of the estates of the country; who shortly after devised a torment (by death) for this murderer, which was reasonable sharpe, yet not so terrible as he deserved.

Greevous was the cry of the people that came flocking to the princes gates, to heare the report and trueth of what had happened; which knowne, every houshold was filled with sorrowe, who powred forth their plaintes, and did shedde teares, for the losse of so good a christian, and so carefull a prince.

The murtherer, while he remayned in pryson, was sundry times examined by the chiefe

estates of the countrey, upon whose procurement he committed the said fact; who answered, at the Prince of Parmaes request, and other princes, at whose hands he shoulde receive for dooing the same 25,000 crownes.

The order of the torment and death of the murtherer, was as followeth, which was four dayes; he had the first day the strappado, openly in the market; the second day whipped and salted, and his right hand cut off; the third day, his breastes cut out and salt throwne in, and then his left hand cut off; the last day of his torment, which was the 10 of July, he was bound to 2 stakes, standing upright, in such order, that he could not shrinke downe, nor stirre any way. Thus standing naked, there was a great fire placed some small distance from him, wherein was heated pincers of iron; with which pincers two men, appointed for the same, did pinch and pul his flesh in smal peeces from his bones, throughout moste partes of his body. Then was he unbound from the stakes, and layd upon the earth, and againe fastened to fowre posts, namely, by his feete and hands; then they ripped up his belly, at which time he had life and perfect memorye; he had his bowels burned before his face, and his bodie cut in foure several quarters. During the whole time of his execution, he remained impenitent and obstinate, rejoycing that he had slaine the prince.

Upon the 16 day of July, the prince was very royally buryed, in the new churche at Delph, being lapped in seare cloth and leade, according to the manner of other princes in time past.

The citizens of Antwerp are many times driven to shut up their gates, by reason of theyr enemies, who wold gladly take the city at some advantage; the enemie hath built a forte upon the banke, between Antwerp and Lullo, so that they doo what they may to stop the passage of the river from them.

There is not as yet any governour chosen for the Lowe Countries; but they are in hope that some order will be taken for them very shortly.

God for his mercy sake sende quietnes in those partes, that the people may enjoy theyr owne, to the health, wealth, and comfort of them all now distressed. Amen.

A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Lowe Countries. 1585.

In 1585, Antwerp being taken, and the Prince of Orange assassinated, Queen Elizabeth saw, that she must either openly support the United States, or resolve to see them reduced to Spanish subjection. Accordingly she agreed to send them an auxiliary army of 5000 foot and 1000 horse; Brill, Flushing, and the castle of Rammekins, being delivered into her hands as cautionary security, that after a peace the States would reimburse the pay of these forces. She also entered into a league with them offensive and defensive; and in justification of her proceedings, caused the following Declaration to be published and circulated.

Although kings and princes soveraignes, owing their homage and service onely unto the Almightie God the king of all kings, are in that respect not bounde to yeeld account or render the reasons of their actions to any others but to God their onely soveraigne

lorde; and that amongst the most ancient and Christian monarches the same Lorde God hath committed to us the soveraignetie of this realme of Englande, and other our dominions, which we holde immediately of the same Almighty Lord, and so thereby accountable onely to his Divine Majestie: yet we are notwithstanding this our prerogative at this time specially mooved, for divers reasons hereafter briefly remembered, to publish not onely to our owne naturall loving subjectes, but also to all others our neighbours, specially to such princes and states as are our confederates, or have for their subjectes cause of commerce with our countreis and people, what our intention is at this time, and upon what just and reasonable groundes we are mooved to give aid to our next neighbours the naturall people of the Low Countries, being by long warres and persecutions of strange nations there, lamentablie afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetuall servitude.

Kinges and princes soveraignes, are to yeeld account of their actions onely to Almighty God the King of kings.

First it is to be understoode, (which percase is not perfectly knowen to a great nomber of persons,) that there hath beene, time out of minde, even by the naturall situation of those Lowe Countreis and our realme of Englande, one directly opposite to the other, and by reason of the ready crossing of the seas, and multitude of large and commodious havens respectively on both sides, a continuall traffique and commerce betwixt the people of Englande, and the naturall people of these Lowe Countries, and so continued in all ancient times when the several provinces thereof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them adjoyning, were ruled and possessed by severall lordes, and not united together, as of late yeeres they have beene by entermariages, and at length by concurrences of many and sundrie titles have also beene reduced to be under the government of their lordes that succeeded to the dukedome of Burgundie, whereby there hath beene in former ages many speciall alliances and confederations, not onely betwixt the kinges of England our progenitours and the lordes of the said countries of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherentes; but also betwixt the very naturall subjectes of both countries, as the prelates, noblemen, citizens, burgesses, and other commonalties of the great cities and porte townes of either countrie reciproquelie by speciall obligations and stipulations under their seales interchangeablie, for maintenance both of commerce and entercourse of marchantes, and also of speciall mutuall amitie to be observed betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties as well ecclesiasticall as secular; and very expresse provision in such treaties conteined for mutuall favours, affections, and all other friendly offices to be used and prosecuted by the people of the one nation towardes the other. By which mutuall bondes, there hath continued perpetuall unions of the peoples heartes together, and so by way of continuall entercourses, from age to age the same mutuall love hath bene inviolablie kept and exercised, as it had bene by the worke of nature, and never utterly dissolved, nor yet for any long time discontinued, howsoever the kinges and the lordes of the countries sometimes (though very rarely) have bene at difference by sinister meanes of some other princes their neighbours, envying the felicitie of these two countries.

Naturall causes of the ancient continual traffique betwixt the people of England and them of the Lowe Countries.

Confederations both betwixt the kings of England and lordes of the Lowe Countries, and also the subjects of both countries.

The people of both the countries bound by speciall obligations enterchangeablie for mutuall favours and friendly offices.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these natural unions of the peoples of these kingdoms and countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extant sundrie authentique treaties and transactions for mutuall commerce, entercourse and straight amitie of ancient times; as for example, some very solemnely accorded in the times of King Henrie the Sixth our progenitour, and Philip the second Duke of Burgundie, and inheritour to the countie of Flanders by the Ladie Margaret his grandmother, which was above one hundred and fortie yeeres past, and the same also renewed by the noble Duke Charles his sonne, father to the king of Spaynes grandmother, and husband to the Ladie Margaret, sister to our great grandfather King Edward the Fourth, and after that, of newe oftentimes renewed by our most noble and sage grand father King Henrie the Seventh, and the archduke Philip, grandfather to the king of Spayne now being; and in later times often renewed betwixt our father of noble memorie King Henrie the Eight, and Charles the Fifth emperour of Almaigne, father also to the present king of Spayne.

Treaties extant of ancient time betwixt the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundie, for the commerce betwixt their countries.

Conventions for the subjectes of either side, to shewe mutuall favours one to the other.

In all which treaties, transactions, and confederations of amitie and mutuall commerce, it was also at all times specially and principally contained in expresse wordes, by conventions, concordes, and conclusions, that the naturall people and subjects of either side, should shewe mutuall favours and dueties one to the other, and should safely, freely, and securely, commerce together in every their countries, and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concourse and commerce bene without interruption continued in many ages, farre above the like example of any other countries in Christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefite and enriching of their people, untill of late yeeres that the king of Spayne departing out of his Lowe Countries into Spayne, hath beene (as it is to be thought) counselled by his counsellors of Spayne, to appoynt Spaniards, forreiners and strangers of strange blood, men more exercised in warres then in peaceable government, and some of them notably delighted in blood, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest governours of all his sayde Low Countries, contrary to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, having great plentie of noble, valiant, and faithfull persons naturally borne, and such as the Emperour Charles, and the king himselfe, had to their great honours used in their service, able to have bene employed in the rule of those countries. But these Spaniardes, being meere strangers, having no naturall regard in their government to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and natural manner of peaceable living, as the most noble and wise Emperour Charles, yea, and as his sonne King Philip himselfe had, whilest he remained in those countries, and used the counsels of the States and natural of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries, but contrarywise, these Spaniardes being exalted to absolute government, by ambition, and for private lucre have violently broken the ancient laws and liberties of all the countries, and in a tyrannous sort have banished, killed, and destroyed, without order of lawe, within the space of a fewe monethes, many of the most ancient and principall persons of the naturall nobilitie that were most worthie of government. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruell persecutions, the pretence thereof was for maintenance of the Romish religion, yet they spared not to deprive very many Catholiques and ecclesiasticall persons of their franchises and priviledges; and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was in the whole countrie more affected to that religion then was the noble and valiant countie of Egmond,[1] the very glorie of that countrie, who neither for his singular victories in the service of the king of Spaine can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the crueltie used for his destruction, to be but for ever lamented in the heartes of the naturall people of that countrie. And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in servitude to Spayne, these forreine governours have by long intestine warre, with multitude of Spaniardes, and with some fewe Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries (which with their riches by common estimation, answered the emperour Charles equally to his Indias) in a manner desolate, and have also lamentably destroyed by sworde, famine, and other cruell manners of death, a great part of the naturall people; and nowe the rich townes, and strong places being desolate of their naturall inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with force by the Spaniardes.

Spaniards and strangers lately appoynted governers in the Low Countries, to the violation of the liberties of the countrie.

The destruction of the nobilitie, and the people of the countries by the Spanish government.

The lamentable violent death of the Counte of Egmond, the glory of those countries.

The riche townes and strengthes, with the wealth thereof possessed by the Spaniardes.

All which pitifull miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this day, even of such as in auncient tyme, have bene at frequent discord with them, thorowe naturall compassion very greatly pitied, which appeared specially this present yeere, when the French king pretended to have received them to his protection,[2] had not (as the states of the countrey and their deputies

[1] Anno 1568.—"Count Egmont and Count Horn being convicted of treason, (as it is believed very wrongfully) were, by the Duke of Alva's orders, executed at Brussells. They were publicly beheaded on the 4th June: and, to prevent the people mutinying, they were strongly guarded to the scaffold, and all the streets lined. This execution rather incensed then appeased the people." *Supplement to Mariana's History.*

[2] During the short space when his brother the Duke of Anjou was the head of their league.

were answered) that certayne untimely and unlooked for complottes of the house of Guyse, stirred and maintained by money out of Spayne, disturbed the good and generall peace of Fraunce, and thereby urged the king to forbeare from the resolution hee had made, not only to ayde the oppressed people of the lowe countries against the Spaniardes, but also to have accepted them as his owne subjectes. But in verie truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a sort for a tyme comforted and kept in hope in Fraunce by the Frenche king, who also hath oftentymes earnestly solicited us as queene of Englande, both by message and writing, to bee carefull of their defence; yet in respect that they were otherwise more straightly knitt in auncient friendship to this realme then to any other countrie, wee are sure that they could bee pitied of none for this long tyme with more cause and griefe generally, then of our subjectes of this our realme of England, being their most ancient allies and familiar neighbours, and that in such manner, as this our realme of England and those countries have bene by common language of long time resembled and termed as man and wife. And for these urgent causes and many others, we have by many friendly messages and ambassadours, by many letters and writings to the said king of Spayne our brother and allie, declared our compassion of this so evill and cruel usage of his naturall and loyall people by sundrie his martiall governoures and other his men of warre, all strangers to these his countries. And furthermore, as a good loving sister to him, and a natural good neighbour to his lowe countries and people, wee have often, and often againe most friendly warned him, that if hee did not otherwise by his wisedome and princely clemencie restraine the tyranny of his governours and cruel'tie of his men of warre, wee feared that the people of his countries shoulde bee forced for safetie of their lives, and for continuance of their native countrie in their former state of their liberties, to seek the protection of some other forreyne lord, or rather to yield themselves wholy to the soveraigntie of some mightie prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priviledges graunted by some of the lordes and dukes of the countries to the people, they doe pretend and affirme, that in such cases of general injustice, and upon such violent breaking of their privileges, they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choise of any other prince to bee their prince and head. The proofe whereof, by examples past, is to be seene and read in the ancient histories of divers alterations, of the lordes and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, aud other countries to them united by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories doe testifie, Philip the duke of Burgundy came to his tytle, from which the king of Spaynes interest is derived; but the further discussion hereof, we leave to the viewe of the monuments and records of the countries. And now for the purposes to stay them from yeelding themselves in any like sort to the soveraigntie of any other strange prince, certaine yeeres past, upon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subjects to the king, such as were the duke of Ascot; and the marques of Havery yet living, and of such others as had principall offices in those countries in the time of the emperour Charles, wee yeelded at their importunate requests, to graunt them prests of money, onely to continue them as his subjects, and to maintaine themselves in their just defence against the violence and cruelties of the Spanyardes their oppressours, thereby staying them from yeelding their subjection to any other prince from the said king of Spayne; and during the time of that our aide given to them, and their stay in their obedience to the king of Spaine, wee did freely acquainte the same king with our actions, and did still continue our friendly advices to him, to move him to commaund his governours and men of warre, not to use such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despayre of his favours, and seeke some other lord.[1]

The French king offers to have aided and received to his subjection the oppressed people of the Lowe Countries.

The queene of Englandes continuall friendly advices to the king of Spaine for restraining of the tyrannie of his governours.

The Queene of Englandes meanes used to staie the States of the Lowe Countries from yeelding their subjection to any other forreine prince.

[1] In 1576, Queen Elizabeth rather seemed to balance matters between Spain and the States, than to give decided assistance to either. She sent to Spain Sir John Smith, a man of Spanish comportment, to mediate with Phi-

And in these kinds of perswasions and actions wee continued many yeeres, not onely for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a naturall disposition to have the ancient conditions of straight amitie and commerce for our kingdomes and people to continue with the states and the people of the saide dukedome of Burgundie and the appendants, and namely with our next neyghbours the countries of Flanders, Holland, and Zeland. For wee did manifestly see, if the nation of Spayne shoulde make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparently intended, and plant themselves there as they have done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile enterprise of a power of Spanyardes, being sent within these fewe yeeres by the king of Spayne and the Pope into our realme of Ireland,[1] with an intent manifestly confessed by the captaines, that those nombers were sent aforehand to sease upon some strength there, to the intent with other greater forces to pursue a conquest thereof; wee did, we say againe, manifestly see in what danger our selfe, our countries, and people, might shortly bee, if in convenient time wee did not speedily otherwise regard to prevent or stay the same. And yet notwithstanding our sayde often requests and advises given to the king of Spayne, manifestly for his owne weale and honour, wee found him by his counsell of Spayne so unwilling in any sort to incline to our friendly counsell, that his governours and chiefetaines in his low countries increased their cruelties towardes his owne afflicted people, and his officers in Spayne offered dayly greater injuries to ours, resorting thither for traffique; yea, they of his counsell, in Spayne, would not permit our expresse messenger with our letters to come to the king their masters presence; a matter very strange, and against the lawe of nations.

The enterprise of the Spaniardes in Ireland, sent by the King of Spayne and the Pope.

The refusall of the queenes messenger, and her letters to the King of Spayne.

The just causes of dismissing of Bernardin Mendoza out of England.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king proceeded of matter that was worthy to be knowen to the king, and not unmeete nowe also to be declared to the worlde, to shewe both our good disposition towardes the king in imparting to him our grieves, and to let it appeare howe evill we have beene used by his ministers, as in some part may appeare by this that followeth. Although wee could not have these many yeeres past any of our servaunts whome we sent at sundrie times as our ambassadours to the king our good brother as was meete, suffered to continue there without many injuries and indignities offered to their families, and divers times to their owne persons by the greatest of his counsellours, so as they were constrained to leave their places, and some expelled and in a sort banished the country, without cause given by them, or notified to us; yet we, minding to continue very good friendship with the king, as his good sister, did of long time and many yeeres give favourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadours to us, saving onely upon manifest daungerous practises attempted by two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was Girald Despes, a very turbulent spirited person, and altogether unskilfull and unapt to deale in princes affaires being in amitie, as at his retourne into Spayne hee was so there also reputed; the other and last was Bernardin de Mendoza,[2] one whom we did accept and use with great favour a long time

lip in behalf of the Netherlands; and offered his lieutenant, Don John of Austria, her assistance, in case the French should invade the Low Countries. And although she supplied the necessity of the States with 20,000 l., it was under the express condition that they should never change their prince, receive the French into their country, or refuse peace on reasonable terms.

While she thus affected to support the Netherlands in their war against Philip, merely lest, to procure supplies elsewhere, they should choose another liege lord, the true secret of Elizabeth's councils may be discovered in the answer of Walsingham: "The queene, speaking to him with some sensibility of the Spanish designes on France, Madam, he answered, I beseech you be content, and feare not, the Spaniardes have a great appetite and an excellent digestion, but I have fitted him with a bone for these twenty yeares, that your majesty should have noe cause to doubt him, provided that if the fire chance to slake, which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and cast in some of your fewell, which will revive the flame."

[1] Those who aided the rebellion of John of Desmond and his brother. The King of Spain, in this instance, played back upon Queen Elizabeth the game which she had used with him in the Netherlands.

[2] "In the mean time, Don Bernardine de Mendoza, the Spaniards ambassador in England, secretly crossed the

as was manifestly seene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himselfe; but yet of late yeeres (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great favourer to sundrie our evill disposed and seditious subjectes, not onely to such as lurked in our realme, but also to such as fled the same being notoriously condemned as open rebelles and traitours, with whome by his letters, messages, and secret counsels, hee did in the end devise how with a power of men, partly to come out of Spayne, partly out of the low countries, whereof hee gave them great comfort in the kinges name, an invasion might bee made into our realme, setting downe in writing the manner howe the same should be done, with what numbers of men and shippes, and upon what coastes, portes, and places of our realme, by special name, and who the persons should be in our realme of no small account, that should favour this invasion and take part with the invadours, with many other circumstances declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble us and our realme very dangerously, as hath been most clearly proved and confessed by such as were in that confederacie with him, whereof some are fled and now do frequent his companie in France, and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing the whole course herein helde by the saide ambassadour, as was manifestly of late time published to the worlde upon Francis Throgmorton, a principall traitour's examination. And when we found manifestly this ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and invasion, and that for a yeere or more together hee never brought to us any letter from the king his master, notwithstanding our often request made to him, that hee woulde, by some letter from the king to us, let it appeare that it was the king's will that he should deale with us, in his master's name, sundrie thinges that he propounded to us as his ambassadour, which wee did judge to be contrary to the king his master's will; wee did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous practises, and made it patent to him how, and by whom, with many other circumstances, we knew it; and therefore caused him, in very gentle sort, to be content, within some reasonable time, to depart out of our realme, the rather for his own safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our people; for the which we granted him favorable conduct, both to the sea and over the sea: and thereupon we did speedily send a servant of ours into Spaine with our letters to the king, only to certify him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparant unto him: And this was the messenger afore mentioned, that might not be suffered to deliver our message or our letters to the king.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest how his ministers also have both heretofore many times, and now lately, practised here in England, by meanes of cer-

sea into France, in a great rage and fury, as if he had been thrust out of England, contrary to the privilege of an ambassador: whereas indeed, being a man of a violent and turbulent spirit, and abusing the secret privilege of his embassage, by fostering and encouraging of treason, he was commanded to depart the land only; although, by the ancient rigour and severity in such cases, he was to be prosecuted (as many thought) with fire and sword. For he had his hand in these wicked designs with Throckmorton and others, for bringing in foreigners into England, and deposing the queen. And being gently reprimanded for the same, was so far from clearing himself of the things objected against him, by any modest answer, that he charged the queen and council, by way of recrimination, with detaining the Genoese's money; with assisting the states of the Low Countries, the Duke of Anjou, and Don Antonio; and with the depredations of Drake. But yet, lest the Spaniard should think that Mendoza's misdemeanours were not hereby punished, but the privileges of his ambassador violated, William Waad, clerk of the council, was sent into Spain, to inform the Spaniard plainly, how ill he had performed the duty of an ambassador; and withal to let him know, (lest the queen, by thus commanding him away, might seem to renounce the ancient amity that had been betwixt both kingdoms), that all offices of kindness should by her be still shewed, if he would send any other person who should seem desirous to preserve friendship; provided the like kindness might be shewed to her ambassador in Spain. But the Spaniard, not vouchsafing to give Waad audience, but referring him to his council, he taking it in disdain, boldly answered, That it was a thing usual and customary, even in the heat of war, for ambassadors to be admitted into the presence even of a prince an enemy; and that the Emperor Charles V., the Spaniard's father, admitted an herald to his presence, who declared war against him from the French king: and therefore he flatly refused to impart the contents of his embassy to his council."—*Camden's Annals of Q. Eliz. apud Ann.* 1584.

taine rebelles, to have procured sundry invasions of our realme, by their forces out of Spayne and the Low Countries: very hard recompences (we may say) for so many our good offices. Hereupon we hope no reasonable person can blame us, if we have disposed ourselves to change this our former course, and more carefully to look to the safety of our selfe and our people: and finding our own dangers in deed very great and imminent, we have been the more urgently provoked to attempt and accelerate some good remedy; for that besides many other advices given us both at home and from abrode, in due time to withstand these dangers, we have found the general disposition of al our own faithful people very ready in this case, and earnest in offring to us, both in parliaments and otherwise, their services with their bodies and blood, and their aides with their lands and goods, to withstand and prevent this present common danger to our realm and themselves, evidently seene and feared by the subverting and rooting up of the ancient nation of these Low Countries, and by planting the Spanish nation and men of warre, enemies to our countries, there so nere unto us. And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also cal to our remembrance our former fortunate proceeding, by God's special favor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedying of a like mischief that was intended against us in Scotland by certaine French men, who then were directed only by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their neece the Queen of Scots with the Dolphin of France, in like maner as the offsprings of the said house have even now lately sought to attaine to the like unordinate power in France; a matter of some consequence for ourselves to consider, although we hope the king, our good brother, professing sincere friendship towards us, as we professe the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnes of that house, that neither himself nor the princes of his bloud be overruled, nor wee (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king and his bloud) be, by the said house of Guise and their faction, disquieted or disturbed in our countries.[1] But nowe, to returne to this like example of Scotland aforesaide, when the French had in like manner (as the Spanyardes have now of long time attempted in the Lowe Countries) sought by force to have subdued the people there, and brought them into a servitude to the crowne of France; and also, by the ambitious desires of the saide house of Guise, to have proceeded to a warre by way of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their neece the Queen of Scots (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the worlde,) it pleased Almightie God, as remaineth in good memorie to our honour and comfort, to further our intention, and honourable and just actions at that time, in such sort as, by our aiding them of the nation of Scotland, being sore oppressed with the French, and universally requiring our aide, wee procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliverance of the force of strangers and danger of servitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie, which hath continued there ever since many yeeres, saving that at some time of parcialties of certaine of the noblemen, as hath beene usuall in that countrie in the mynoritie of the young king, there hath risen some inward troubles, which for the most part we have, in favour of the king and his governours, used meanes to pacifie; so as at this day such is the quietnes in Scotland, as the king, our deare brother and cousin, by name James the Sixth, a prince of great hope for many good princely respectes, raigneth there in honour and love of his people, and in very good and perfect amitie with us and our countrie. And so our actions at that time came to so good successe, by the goodnes of God, as that our owne realme and that of Scotland hath ever since remained in better amitie and peace then can be remembred these manie hundred yeeres before, and yet nothing heereby done by us, nor any cause justly given, but that also the French kings that have since

The Queene of Englandes proceeding for the deliverie of Scotland from the servitude wherein the House of Guyse meant to have brought it.

The realme of Scotland restored to the ancient freedome, and so possessed by the present king by the meanes onely of the queene of England.

[1] In the year 1559-60, Queen Elizabeth, first by secret supplies of money, and at length by actually sending an army to their succour, maintained the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland against the power of the Regent Mary of Guise.

succeeded, which have bene three in number, and all brethren, have made and concluded divers treaties for good peace with us, which presently continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaide actions attempted for remooving out of Scotland of the saide French forces, so transported by the onely direction of the house of Guyse.

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certaine companies of English souldiers to the defence of the oppressed people of the Lowe Countries, and to withstand the attempts against this realme.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, wee hope it shall of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as wee knowe it will be of such as are not ledde by parciality, that upon the often and continuall lamentable requests made to us by the universall states of the countries of Holland, Zealand, Guelders, and other provinces with them united, (beeing desperate of the king of Spayne's favours), for our succours to bee yeelded to them, onely for their defence against the Spaniards and other strangers, and therewith finding manifestlie, by our often and importunate requests and advices given to the king of Spaine, no hope of relief of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereto, by dayly conquests of their townes and slaughter of their people, (though in very trueth we cannot impute the increase of any late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the title of generall governour, shewing his natural disposition more inclynable to mercie and clemencie, then it seemeth he can direct the heartes of the Spaniardes under him, that have bene so long trayned in shedding of blood under the former Spanish governors): and joyning thereunto our own danger at hand, by the overthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and accesse and planting of the great forces of the Spanyardes so neere to our countries, with precedent arguments of many troublesome attemptes against our realme: we did therefore, by good advice, and after long deliberation, determine to sende certaine companies of souldiers to ayde the naturall people of those countries, onely to defende them and their townes from sacking and desolation, and thereby to procure them safetie, to the honour of God, whome they desire to serve sincerely as Christian people, according to his holy word, and to enjoye their ancient liberties for them and their posteritie, and so, consequently, to preserve and contynue the lawful and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours.

Three special things reasonably desired by the Queene of England. 1. The ende of wars, with restitution of the Low Countries to their ancient liberties. 2. Surety from invasion of her owne realme. 3. And renewing of the mutual treffique between the countries.

And so we hope our intention herein, and our subsequent actions, will be, by God's favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all persons, (saving of the oppressors themselves, and their partizans), in that wee meane not heereby, either for ambition or malice, (the two rootes of all injustice), to make any particular profit hereof to our selfe or to our people, onely desiring at this time to obtaine, by God's favour, for the countries, a deliverance of them from warre by the Spaniardes and forrainers, a restitution of their ancient liberties and government by some Christian peace, and thereby a suretie for ourselves and our realme to be free from invading neighbours; and our people to enjoy in those countries their lawful commerce and entercourse of friendship and merchandise, according to the ancient usuage and treaties of entercourse made betwixt our progenitors and the lordes and earles of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

The causes of taking some townes into her Majesties custodie.

And though our further intention also is, or may be, to take into our guard some few townes upon the sea side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the country; yet therein considering we have no meaning at this tyme to take and retaine the same to our owne proper use, we hope that al persons wil thinke it agreeable with good reason and princely policie, that we should have the guard and use of some such places for sure accesse and recesse of our people and soldiers in safety, and for furniture of them with victuals and other things requisite and necessary, whilest it shall be needful for them to continue in those countries for the aiding thereof in these their great calamities, miseries, and imminent danger, and untill the countries may be delivered of such strange forces as do now oppresse them, and recover their ancient lawfull liberties and manner of government, to live in

peace as they have heretofore done, and doe nowe most earnestly, in lamentable manner, desire to doe; which are the very onely true ends of all our actions now intended, howsoever tongues may utter their cankred conceits to the contrary, as at this day the worlde aboundeth with such blasphemous reports in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the devill hath more abounded with notable spirits, replenished with all wickednesse, to utter his rage against professors of Christian religion. But thereof we leave the revenge to God, the searcher of hearts, hoping that he, beholding the sinceritie of our heart, wil grant good successe to our intentions, whereby a Christian peace may ensue to his divine honour, and comfort to all them that love peace truely, and will seek it sincerely.

An Addition to the Declaration, touching the Slanders published of her Majestie.

After we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, entitled *Nuovo adviso*, directed to the archbishop of Milan, conteyning a report of the expugnation of Antwerpe by the Prince of Parma; by the which we found our selfe most maliciously charged with two notable crimes, no lesse hatefull to the worlde, then most repugnant and contrary to our owne naturall inclination. The one, with ingratitude towards the King of Spain, who (as the authour saith) saved our life, being justly by sentence adjuged to death in our sister's time: The other, that there were some persons procured to be corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter addeth in a parenthesis in these wordes *(as it was said)* that the life of the Prince of Parma should be taken away: and, for the better prooving and countenancing of this horrible lie, it is further added in the saide pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring two of the wicked persons to justice. Now, knowing how men are maliciously bent in this declining age of the world, both to judge, speak, and write maliciously, falsely, and unreverently of princes: and holding nothing so deare unto us as the conservation of our reputation and honour to be blamelesse, we found it verie expedient not to suffer two such horrible imputations to passe under silence, least for lacke of answere it might argue a kind of guiltinesse; and did therefore think, that what might be alledged by us for our justification in that behalfe, might most aptly be joyned unto this former declaration now to be published, to lay open before the worlde the manner and ground of our proceeding in the causes of the Lowe Countreyes.

And for answere of the first point wherewith wee are charged touching our ingratitude towards the king of Spaine,[1] as we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholding unto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have sought many wayes since in like sort to require, as in our former declaration by our actions may appeare: so doe wee utterly denie as a most manifest untrueth, that ever he was the cause of the saving of our life as a person by course of justice sentenced unto death, who ever carried our selfe towards our said sister in duetifull sort, as our loyaltie was never called in question, much lesse any sentence of death pronounced against us; a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course of proceeding, as by processe in lawe, by place of triall, by the judge that should pronounce such sentence, and

[1] It is probable that Queen Mary might have carried her bigotry so far as to take the life of her heretic sister, had Elizabeth not found a protector in her brother-in-law Philip. It was upon his intercession that Elizabeth was released from her imprisonment at Woodstock, and admitted to an audience with the Queen. It is said that upon that occasion Philip remained in the chamber unseen by Elizabeth, that the consciousness of his presence might be a check upon the Queen's violent disposition. Perhaps part of this favour she owed to the circumstance, that, if she was removed, Philip saw the way open for an union of the kingdom of England with France, in the accession of Mary of Scotland, upon the death of his wife.

other necessary circumstances in like cases usuall, especially against one of our qualitie, as it coulde not but have bene publiquely knowen, if any such thing had bene put in execution. This then being true, wee leave to the worlde to judge howe maliciously and injuriously the authour of the saide pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us by so notable an untrueth, with a vice that of all others we doe most hate and abhorre. And therefore, by the manifest untrueth of this imputation, men not transported with passion may easely discerne what untruth is conteined in the second, by the which wee are charged to have bene acquainted with an intended attempt against the life of the said prince; a matter if any such thing should have bene by us intended, must have proceeded either of a mislyking wee had of his person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the Lowe Countreys was so committed unto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his person, we could never learne that he hath at any time, by acte or speache, done any thing that might justly breede a mislike in us towards him, much lesse a hatred against his person in so high a degree, as to be either privie or assenting to the taking away of his life; besides, he is one of whome wee have ever had an honourable conceite, in respect of those singular rare partes we alwaies have noted in him, which hath wonne unto him as great reputation, as any man this day living carrieth of his degree and qualitie; and so have we alwayes delivered out by speache unto the world, when any occasion hath bene offered to make mention of him. Nowe, touching the prosecution committed unto him of the warres in the Lowe Countreys, as all men of judgement knowe that the takeing away of his life carrieth no likehood that the same shall worke any ende of the said prosecution; so is it manifestly knowen, that no man hath dealt more honourablie than the saide prince, either in duely observing of his promise, or extending grace and mercie where mercie and deserte hath craved the same; and therefore no greater impietie by any could bee wrought, nor nothing more prejudiciall to our selfe, (so long as the king shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible sort he now doeth) then to be an instrument to take him away from thence by such violent meanes, that hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious sort in the charge committed unto him, than any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to succeede after him.

Nowe, therefore, how unlikely it is, that wee, having neither cause to mislike of his person, nor that the prosecution of the warres shoulde cease by losse of him, should be either author, or any way assenting to so horrible a fact, wee referre to the judgement of such as looke into causes, not with the eyes of their affection, but doe measure and weigh things according to honour and reason. Besides, it is likely if it had bene true that we had bene any way chargeable, (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the parties executed, (importing such matter, as by him is alledged) would have bene both produced and published; for malice leaveth nothing unsearched, that may nourish the venime of that humour.

The best course therefore that both we and all other princes can holde in this unfortunate age that overfloweth with nombers of malignant spirits, is through the grace and goodnesse of Almightie God, to direct our course in such sort, as they may rather shewe their willes through malice, then with just cause by desert, to say ill or deface princes either by speach or writing; assuring our selves, that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellours shall receive at the handes of the Almightie for depriving of princes and lawfull magistrates who are God's ministers, they both are and alwayes shall be thought by all good men, unworthie to live upon the face of the earth.

Given at Richmount the first of October, 1585, and the 27 yeere of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lady the Queene, to be published.

Placard or Proclamation of the States General of the United Provinces, conferring the Government of their Countrey on Robert Earl of Leicester, the 6th day of February 1586. *See the Great Collection of Placards.*

When Queen Elizabeth had determined openly to support the United States against the Spaniards, (see the last article) she sent them the stipulated supply both of money and men, under the command of her favourite the Earl of Leicester. The States, whom the loss of Antwerp, and the assassination of their gallant general the Prince of Orange, had reduced almost to despair, received these succours with as much gratitude as if they had been the direct gift of heaven; and conceived that they could not sufficiently heap honour and power upon the favourite of Elizabeth. He was received with such respect as is offered to monarchs, and finally invested with the more substantial honours of governor and captain-general of all the United States. This ceremony took place on the 25th January 1585-6. "On the 24th of January, he was visited, at Donhage, by the Prince of Portugal; and on the 25th, his Lordship was installed and sworn; and the States took an oath to the Queen. The manner of the instalment was as follows: At the upper end of the great hall the lord-lieutenant was seated, under the arms of England, and on each side of him, in a descent of two steps, sate twelve of the principal states, and the rest, to the number of twenty, were placed directly before him, but four or five steps lower. On his lordship's right hand stood the Prince of Portugal, the Lord Morley, Mr Norris, governor of Munster, Sir William Russel, Sir Robert Germain, and other persons of distinction: On his left were, Grave Maurice, the Earl of Essex, Sir William Stanley, Sir Robert Stapleton, Sir Thomas Parratt, and several others of rank and quality. A large oration was then made in Dutch, declaring the cause of the assembly, and concluding with acknowledgments to the queen and the lord-lieutenant. After this, the agreement between the States, the Queen, and his lordship, was read in Latin; and, being interchangeably delivered by my Lord to the States, and by the States to his Lordship, he was desired to swear to the observance of the articles contained in it, which, holding up his hand to Heaven, he did; and the States in like manner holding up their hands, did the same. And then again the States took an oath to the Queen and her lord-lieutenant; and, retiring to his palace, were nobly entertained by his lordship.

"In the beginning of February he went to the Hague, where the States General were assembled; and, on the 6th day of the month, a grant was given him in writing of the chief government and absolute authority over the United Provinces, in the form following."—*Life of Robert Earl of Leicester. London*, 1727-8, p. 157.

The States General of the United Provinces, &c. To all those whom these presents may come, send greting: Whereas her majesty the queen of Great Britain has been pleased to send hither the most illustrious prince and lord, Robert Earl of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, member of her majesty's privy council, and knight companion of the most noble order of the garter, and not only appointed him generalissimo over all her troops, as well cavalry as infantry, which her majesty has already sent, or may send, to these countreys, to support and defend us, assist in council, according to his great wisdom and experience in the direction of the war, and other affairs, to settle things on their ancient foundation, that we may be better able to defend ourselves against the violence and tyranny of our enemies, and defeat all their designes, but also has honoured his excellency with the supreme command over admirals, vice-admirals, and all her majesty's fleet, to employ them as he shall think proper for the service of this country. And his excellency, agreeable to her majesty's command, as a testimony of the good

inclination and affection he always had for these states, and for the preservation of the Christian religion, has left his native countrey and estate to reside among us; the greatest instance of goodness that her majesty or his excellency could possibly give. Wherefore know all men by these presents, that we nominate, constitute, and appoint, the foresaid most illustrious Prince Robert, Earl of Leicester, to be governour and captain-general of all the United Provinces, and of the cities associated, and each member respectively, and have given to his excellency absolute command over all our forces both by sea and land, (besides that power he has already received of her majesty) to defend us against our enemies, as his excellency shall judge expedient for the common good, as behoves a good captain-general to do. Moreover, have committed to his charge the civil government over all the said United Provinces, cities, and towns associated, that he may administer justice with the like power and authority exercised by the former governor of the Low Countries legally appointed (especially in the time of the Emperor Charles V.), agreeable to the rights and privileges of those countries.

His excellency is also impowered to levy, receive, and apply all such taxes as are agreed to and designed for the carrying on the war, and is authorised to apply the money that is already paid in, as well as what may hereafter come to hand; all which is declared at large in a writing made on this subject. All these employments and commissions his excellency, at our earnest intreaty, has accepted, and has taken a solemn oath to us, agreeable thereto, to maintain the true Christian religion, and defend the rights and privileges of those countries and provinces, towns and members thereof: Wherefore we will and command all governors of provinces and cities, all admirals, vice-admirals, generals, colonels, captains, officers and souldiers, either by sea or land; and also all other counsellors, treasurers, receivers, bailiffs, escoutets, marshals, drossorts, gritmans, magistrates, noblemen, vassals, burgesses, and other inhabitants and subjects of this land, of what quality and condition soever, to acknowledge, honour, respect, and obey his excellency aforesaid, in quality of governor and captain-general of the said united provinces, as it becomes them truly and willingly, without reluctancy, upon pain of his displeasure, and of being punished as the case requires. And to the end that none may plead ignorance, we order and command this our said ordinance to be read and published in all the usual places appointed for that purpose, prosecuting and proceeding against all offenders, inflicting on them, impartially, the penalties above mentioned, for so we judge expedient for the welfare of these countries. Given in our assembly at the Hague, 16th of February 1586, by the order of the above said Lords the States General.

Signed *C. Aerssen.*

A Proclamation of the States General of the United Provinces, setting forth, that Robert Earl of Leicester has resigned government, and high office of Captain-General of the said Provinces, and that all people are discharged of the Oath made to the said Earl. Nevertheless, that the Oath taken to the said States shall remaine in fulle force. 12. *April* 1588.—*Great Collection of Placards, tom. i.*

The high authority with which Leicester was invested by the States, gave at first great umbrage to Queen Elizabeth, who, as Naunton well expresses it, was always desirous that her favourites should be tenants at will, and not rendered independent of her favours. Yet she permitted Leicester,

upon his penitent submission, to retain the high situation of captain-general of the Provinces But the talents and spirit of the earl were unequal to the office. His encroachments on the rights of the Provinces excited suspicion, his insolence gave umbrage, and his avarice begot contempt: Nor were these base qualities compensated either by his judgment in the council, or talents in the field. At a meeting of the States at the Hague, they entered into complaints and expostulations concerning his conduct, and evinced a dissatisfaction which Leicester was unable to appease. After a vain attempt, therefore, to dissolve the assembly, he declared his intention of returning to England; and took an abrupt and angry leave of the council. When the day of his departure arrived, he formally, and by a public instrument, resigned his authority into the hands of the Council of State: yet he had the poorness of spirit and duplicity to attempt, by a private act of restriction, to retain his authority over the governors of cities, castles, and provinces, and to take away from the Council of State their lawful jurisdiction. This proclamation was the first step taken by the States in re-establishing their own authority, instead of that of their feeble and unworthy delegate.

But it had not immediately the desired effect. Leicester, though absent, used every endeavour to preserve a party in the States. He struck medals, representing a dog looking back on a flock, which he was about to leave, with the double motto, *Invitus Desero, Non gregem sed ingratos.*— The clergy were, generally speaking, attached to him, as were the populace. Diederich de Sonoy, who commanded the forces in North Holland, under his commission from Leicester, held out the town of Medenblick against the States. An attempt was made to surprise Dort and Leyden; and other enterprises were planned against the authority of the States, which would probably have given them much disturbance, had Leicester's courage corresponded to his ambition.

Elizabeth at length discouraged these seditious and treacherous movements, although not until she saw they were likely to be totally unsuccessful, and bestowed the command of her auxiliary army on Lord Willoughby.

THE States General of the United Provinces to all those to whom these presents may come, send greeting. Whereas her majesty, the queen of England, has been graciously pleased to enter into a negotiation with the deputies and envoys of these states, and at last concluded with them a certain treaty, bearing date the 10th of August 1585, in which it is particularly stipulated and agreed, that during the war against malecontents, strangers, and others, the enemies of said estates, her majesty for the succour and assistance of the said provinces, and to defend and maintain the true Christian religion with all their liberties, rights, and privileges, shall maintain in the said provinces, at her own expence, (besides the garrisons in the towns and places engaged to her majesty as security for the payment of the money, which she has so expended) five thousand foot and one thousand horse, commanded by a general in chief, a lord esteemed for his valour, and professing the true Christian religion, and other good officers, upon condition that the said provinces, all and every one, shall be obliged and bind themselves to pay and reimburse her majesty the said expences, at a certain term after the war is ended, and for the further securing to her majesty the full payment and reimbursement aforesaid, the town, and fortresses of the Brill and Flushing, with the castle of Rammeken, shall be put into her hands. Provided nevertheless that her majesty, or her successors, upon the reimbursement aforesaid, shall forthwith surrender the said towns and fortresses, to the states of the United Provinces, renouncing all right and claim thereto, without suffering them to fall into the hands of the king of Spain, or any other enemy of this country; nor to the hands of any other prince or potentate; and shall only be held as security to her majesty, till payment as aforesaid, and thenceforth to the use and behoof of the said States. Which governor, with two other of her majesty's subjects, that she judge qualified to send, shall sit in the council of state, of these United Provinces, and jointly administer the affairs concerning the publick weal, and the union of the said provinces. Agreeable to this treaty, the said towns and fortresses having been delivered to her majesty, she was pleased to send hither the illustrious Prince Robert Earl of Leicester,

baron of Denbigh, &c. in quality of commander in chief over the auxiliary troops, and moreover we thought good to appoint him governor and captain-general over all the United Provinces, cities, and allies; which charge his excellency accepted, (reserving always the homage due to her said majesty.) All governors of provinces, cities, and every member thereof, together with all officers, justitiaries, and soldiery, being consequently obliged by oath to his excellency in qualities of governor and captain-general of the United Low-Countries, all and every of them. But whereas it has pleased her majesty to recal his said excellency, to employ him in her service at home, so that his excellency can't any longer hold the government of these countries, or comply with the duties required by his employment and commission in these times of danger; his said excellency has laid down and resigned his said charge of governor and captain-general of the said United Provinces, and has returned the commission which we gave to his said excellency, as appears by a writing signed by him, and sealed in London, bearing date the 17th of December, 1587. And moreover it has pleased her majesty to confer the chief command of her auxiliary troops upon the noble Lord Peregrine, baron of Willoughby Bake, and Thisby, &c. by a commission bearing date the 24th of this instant; and considering that in this difficult juncture of affairs, the provinces can't subsist without a settled form of government. Wherefore, upon mature deliberations and reasons aforesaid, we judge it proper to declare and publish, that his excellency, so far as it regards us, stands discharged of the above mentioned commission, pursuant to her majesty's and his excellency's desire; wherefore, upon his excellency's resignations, we have lodged the supreme government, in what regards the common defence of the said provinces, and union thereof, together with the maintenance of the treaty made with her majesty, in the hands and administration of the council of state of the said provinces, to be directed and administered, so far as concerns the common defence and union of the said provinces against the common enemy, under the conduct of baron Willoughby, commander in chief of her majesty's auxiliary troops, by the governor of the United Provinces respectively, and by the two counsellors appointed by her majesty, pursuant to the said treaty already introduced, or to be introduced to the said council, together with the counsellors out of the United Provinces, deputed, or to be deputed by us, in conformity to the said treaty and resolution taken, or to be taken by us. Wherefore we do command all captains and governors of provinces, cities, and members thereof, all admirals, and vice-admirals, to all generals, colonels, captains, soldiers, by sea or land, as also all presidents, counsellors, officers, treasurers, receivers, bailiffs, escoutets, marshalls, drossorts, gritmans, magistrates, nobles, vassals, burgesses, and subjects of this countrey, of what state or condition soever, that all and every of them are discharged from their oath, by which they may stand engaged to his excellency as governor of these countries: nevertheless the oath taken to be true and faithful to the said United Provinces, states, cities, and members thereof, and to obey such magistrates that we have, or shall place over them, shall remain in full force. Which oath we command them to observe, as they shall answer before Almighty God, and the provinces, otherwise to be prosecuted and punished as martial laws requireth, if they any ways offend. And whereas nothing has been treated or concluded between the Queen of England and these provinces but as above mentioned; and by many declarations of her majesty, we are assured, that she has no other pretention upon these countries, cities, members, and inhabitants thereof, than the observation of the aforesaid treaty, which we always desire, and still desire well and truly to execute to the reasonable satisfaction of her majesty. And moreover, that her majesty has several times expressly declared, she had no thought nor intention that any division or disturbance should happen upon her account; yet we find that many of the inhabitants of the said provinces, misinformed of the nature of the said negotiation, forgetting their duty, have committed many things against the peace and union of these provinces, and upon the same pretence other restless and malicious persons, most of them

strangers,[1] coming hither from other provinces, having little or nothing to lose in these countries, and by false insinuations and secret intrigues, seducing diverse inhabitants, and disuniting others, raising seditions to that degree, that some of them, gained by the enemy, have endeavoured to stir up the soldiers to mutiny and treason against these countries, useing falsely the name and authority of the Queen of England; so that many strangers have had the insolence to speak against the states, cities, and members thereof, and to behave as subjects only to their own caprice, and introduce an innovation, not considering their duty to live in peace and quietness, as the natives of these provinces; and these things they do in her majesty's name, which highly displeases her, being intirely contrary to her inclination, as tending to the utter ruin of these countries; for the preservation of which, the good and faithful inhabitants of these provinces, and other honest patriots, driven out of other provinces upon account of religion, retiring here, have done and suffered so much, who have always in prosperity and adversity lived quietly under their lawful sovereign; we forbid and prohibit expressly, by these presents, to all and every one, of what nation or qualitie he may be, to dare to speak, write, or secretly undertake any innovation or disturbance, tending to any alteration in the government of these countries, among the inhabitants, burgesses, soldiers in the service of the states, whether by sea or land, under the name and authority of her majesty, or his excellency the Earl of Leicester,[2] or any other whosoever, upon pain of being proceeded against as disturbers of the public peace, by us, together with the states of the respective provinces, or by the ordinary officers, justiciary, and magistrates of the provinces and towns, according to the custom of these countries, without any form of process, without partiality or respect of persons, to serve as examples to deter others from the like offence.

And lastly, that none may pretend ignorance, we order and command that these presents be published in all the usual places appointed for that purpose, proceeding and causing to proceed against offenders on the penalties above mentioned without favour or connivance, for thus we judge it expedient for the preservation and welfare of these contreys. Given in our assembly, at the Hague, under our seal hereunto affixed, the 12th day of April, 1588, mark'd Egmont, and under written by the ordinance of the said lords, the states general, signed, C. Aerssen.

[1] These strangers were Flemings and Brabanters, who had taken shelter in the United States during Alva's persecution. They were warmly attached to Leicester, from an idea, fostered by the preachers, that his cause and that of the church were closely connected; and that any diminution of his authority was an offence to religion.

[2] In the projected surprise of Leyden, the conspirators were to have declared, that they took up arms for the service of the Queen of England, for maintenance of true religion, and re-establishing the lawful authority of the governor-general. And their watch-word was to have been, Long live Queen Elizabeth and Leicester. The States were led therefore to express their mistrust, by a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and by striking a medal, representing two earthen pitchers swimming in the sea, with the motto, *Si collidimur frangimur.* Had Elizabeth been disposed to retort the inuendo, she might justly have chosen for her medal, the emblem corresponding to the motto, *Nos poma natamus.*

Orders set down by the Duke of Medina, Lord General of the King's Fleet, to be observed in the Voyage towards England. Translated out of Spanish into English, by T. P. Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Gilbert, dwelling in Fleetstreet, near to the sign of the Castle, 1588.

The wonderful deliverance, which England commemorates on the following occasion, is still more remarkable, from the due consideration of the following pamphlet; where, the reader may observe, that not only the strength, and exceeding great warlike preparations, but the political and military orders, to preserve good harmony among the soldiers and sailors, and due obedience from both to their respective commanders; and to avoid all confusion, in case of a storm, or other disastrous accident, shew that our enemies had taken all the precautions that human prudence could conceive, to accomplish their intrigues, and to ruin our establishment in church and state. Therefore I have inserted these orders, thereby to encourage us in the like dangers, and to shew, that, when God is on our side, neither the power, nor policy of man, is able to do us harm.

Don Alonso Peres de Guzman, the good Duke of Medina, Sidonia, Count of Nebla, Marquis of Casheshe in Africa, Lord of the city Saint Lucar, captain general of the ocean sea, of the coast of Andalusia, and of this army of his majesty, and knight of the honourable order of the Golden Fleece.

I DO ordain and command, that the general masters of the field, all captains, officers of the camp, and of the sea, pilots, masters, soldiers, mariners, and officers, and whatsoever other people for the land or sea service cometh in this army, all the time that it endureth, shall be thus governed, as hereafter followeth, *viz.*

First, and before all things, it is to be understood by all the abovenamed, from the highest to the lowest: That the principal foundation and cause, that have moved the king his majesty to make and continue this journey, hath been, and is, to serve God, and to return unto his church a great many of contrite souls, that are oppressed by the hereticks, enemies to our holy catholick faith, which have them subjects to their sects, and unhappiness: And for that, every one may put his eyes upon this mark, as we are bound, I do command, and much desire every one, to give charge unto the inferiors, and those under their charge, to embark themselves, being shriven,[1] and having received the sacrament with competent contrition for their sins: By the which contrition, and zeal to do God such great service, he will carry and guide us to his great glory; which is, that which particularly and principally is pretended.

In like manner, I do charge and command you, to have particular care, that no soldier, mariner, or other, that serveth in this army, do blaspheme, or rage against God, or our Lady,[2] or any of the Saints, upon pain that he shall therefor sharply be corrected, and very well chastened, as it shall seem best unto us; and for other oaths of less quality, the governors, in the same ships they go in, shall procure to remedy all: They shall punish them in taking away their allowance of wine, or otherwise, as they shall think good. And for that the most occasions come by play, you shall publickly prohibit it, especially the games that are forbidden: And, that none do play in the night, by no means.

[1] Confessed his sins to a Priest. [2] The Virgin Mary.

And to avoid inconveniencies that might ensue in this army and force of his majesty, if that the here written were not put for remedy, by these presents, I do command, that, particularly and generally, all quarrels, angers, defiances, and injuries, that are, and have been, before this day, and until the publication hereof, of all persons, as well by sea as land, of greater or less qualities, be suppressed and suspended, so that none goeth in this army for the time that this voyage continueth and lasteth, although they be old quarrels: Yet, for my express commandment, shall break this truce and forbearance of arms, directly, or indirectly, upon pain of disobedience, and incurring into high treason, and die therefor.

In like manner I do give charge, that aboard the ships there be not any one thing offered to the disgrace of any man.

Declaring herewithal, that there cannot be any disgrace imputed to any man for any thing that shall be offered, nor yet be a reproach, whatsoever happeneth aboard any ship.

And for that it is known, that great inconveniencies and offence groweth unto God, by consenting that common women, and such like, go in like armies:

I do ordain and command, that there be none embarked nor carried in the army: And if that any will carry them, I do command the captains, and masters of the ships, not to consent thereto: Who so doth, or dissembleth therewith, shall be grievously punished.

The company of every ship, one every morning, at the break of every day, according to the custom, shall give the good morrow [1] by the main-mast, and at night the *Ave Maria:* And some days the *Salve Regina;* or, at least, the Saturdays with a Littany.

And forasmuch as it importeth for the preservation and good success of this army, that there be between the soldiers and mariners much confirmed friendship, and such amity, that there be not any difference, nor other occasions of murmuring, I command it to be published, that no body do carry any dagger, nor thwart one another, or give any occasions, but that all do obey the superior officers: And if any scandal or offence come, he that was the beginner shall straightly be punished.

When the gallion Saint Marten, wherein myself go, admiral of this fleet, doth make a sign with a piece of ordnance, it shall be a sign of departure for the whole fleet, that, sounding their trumpets, shall follow without losing time, and without coming foul of each other, and cutting sail, shall do the like: Having great care of the sands and catchops, carrying their boats and skiffs ready for any thing that may happen.

Being from the land a sea-board, every ship shall come to leeward, saluting the admiral, to know what he will command: And demand the word, without going a-head the admiral, either in the day or in the night, but to have great care to his sailing.

Every afternoon they shall repair to their admirals, to take the word, and to know if there be any thing to do.

And for that so many great ships, and so great, may be, cannot come every day without boarding one another; to avoid the danger that may follow, the general of each squadron shall have particular care to take the word in time, to give it unto the ships under their charge.

The admiral shall be saluted with trumpets, of them that have them; if not, with their whistles: And the people to hallow one after another, and, answering them, shall salute again: And, if it be towards night, to demand the word, and, taking it, shall salute one another in time, and depart, to give room to others that follow. [2]

[1] A custom still observed in Spain, and some other popish countries, by tolling a bell three strokes thrice, in all, nine strokes.

[2] It may be presumed, that at the approach of Drake's fire-ships, much of this ceremony was abridged.

If it happeneth some days, that the wind will not suffer to take the word of the admiral, or admirals, they shall have, for every day in the week, the words following:

Sunday,	*Jesus.*	Thursday,	*The Angels.*
Monday,	*The Holy Ghost.*	Friday,	*All Saints.*
Tuesday,	*The Holy Trinity.*	Saturday,	*Our Lady.*
Wednesday,	*Saint James.*		

And for that it importeth, that all the armies do go close together, I do command, that the general, and wings, with great care, do procure to carry the squadrons as nigh, and in as good order, as is possible: And the ship and pinnaces of the charge of Don Antonio de Hartado de Mendosa, keep next unto the admiral, except six: Whereof, two shall follow the Admiral Don Pedro de Valdezi, and two the admiral of Martin Bretendona; the other two, the admiral of Juan Gomes de Medina: The which shall be appointed presently, and have great care to repart themselves, without the one thwarting the other: And the squadron of the hulks shall go always in the midst.

That no ship of the navy, nor any that goeth with them, shall depart without my license: And I do command upon pain of death, and loss of goods, that if by chance, with a storm, any be driven to depart[1] before they come to the Cape Finister, that then they follow their course to the said Cape, where they shall have my order what to do; or else they shall sail to the Groyne, where they shall have it.

In departing from the Groyne, they shall set their course for Silley, and procure to make the souther side of it, having great care of their sounding: And if by chance in this course, any ship, or ships, do lose the fleet, they shall not return into Spain, in any manner, upon pain of death, and the loss of goods, and taken for traytors, but follow the course, and make to the southward of the said island. And if any such do think the navy to be a-stern of him, he shall detain himself in the same height, playing up and down, and not to depart from his course.

And if it be thought that the navy is a-head, then you shall seek them in Mont's-bay, which is betwixt the land's end and the Lizard, there shall you have the whole navy, or intelligence what he shall do; and yet for all this, if he do not meet with the navy, yet shall he find pinnaces with order what shall be done.

In the night, there shall be great vigilance for the admiral, to see if she change her course, or make about. Before she goeth about, she will shoot off a piece; and, being about, will put forth another light, upon the poop apart from the lanthorn; who that doth see it, shall answer with another light.

When he doth take away bonnets, or shorten the sails, he shall shew lights, one in the poop, and the other two shrowed-high.

When that for any occasion he shall strike all sails, he shall shew three lights, one in the top, another in the shrouds, and the third in the fore-castle; and the rest shall shew it, with putting forth a light, each upon his poop.

If any ship have any occasion to strike all her sails in the night, he shall shoot off a great piece, and put out a lanthorn all night, and those that are nighest unto him shall shew lights, for that other may procure it, and shall take in the sails till day: And, if necessity be great, shall shoot off another piece, and those, that do see it, shall answer with other two lights, making the like board.

When the admiral will have any communication, he will make a sign, putting a flag in the after misen near the lanthorn, and so they shall repair unto him, to know what he would have. If (which God for his mercy permit not) there happen any ship to take

[1] Between Lisbon and Cape Finisterre.

fire, the next unto her shall make from her, sending first their boats and skiffs to succour and help, and so shall all the rest.

They shall have particular care, to put forth their fire in every ship, before the sun go down.

In taking off their allowance of victuals, the soldiers shall let them that have the charge thereof, to deliver it, so that the soldiers shall not go down to take it nor choose it perforce, as in times they have done; and for this cause, shall be present the serjeant, or corporal, of the company or companies, where they are, for avoiding disorder, and that timely they have their portions; so that before night every body may have supped.

That no ship, nor other vessel of this navy, nor of any of those, that goeth subject under my jurisdiction, shall not be so bold to enter into any harborough, anchor, nor go a-shore, without the admirall doth it first, or with my special leave, upon pain of punishment hereof.

The colonels of the field, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, and officers, must have particular care, that the soldiers have always their armour clean, ready, and in order, for time of necessity, causing them to make them clean twice every week, and using themselves with them in such sort, that they may be expert at the time of need.

And for that, in the way, order shall be given, in what form every man shall put himself, if we do fight, I do command, that particular care be had, advising the gunners to have half butts with water and vinegar, as is accustomed, with bonnets, and old sails, and wet mantles to defend fire, that as often is thrown, as to have the like care to have shot made in good quantity, and that powder and match be ready for ship, and soldiers of the store, by weight, measure, and length; according to the order, that every ship hath to deliver unto him, that hath the charge thereof, according to use and custom.

Also I order and command that there be a care, that all soldiers have their room clean, and unpestered of chests, and other things, without consenting in any case to have cards; and, if there be any, to be taken away presently; neither permit them to the mariners; and, if the soldiers have any, let me be advertised, that I may command them to be taken away.

And for that the mariners must resort unto their work, tackle, and navigation, it is convenient that their lodgings be in the upper works of the poop, and fore-castle, otherwise the soldiers will trouble them in the voyage.

The artillery must stand in very good order, and reparted amongst the gunners, being all charged with their balls, and nigh unto every piece his locker, wherein to put his shot and necessaries, and to have great care to the cartridges of every piece, for not changing, or not taking fire; and that the ladles and sponges be ready at hand.

Every ship shall carry two boats lading of stones, to throw to profit, in the time of fight, on the deck, fore-castle, or tops, according to his burden; and shall carry two half pipes, to fill them with water in the day of battle, and repart them amongst the ordnance or other places, as shall be thought necessary, and nigh unto them, old clothes, or coverings which with wetting may destroy any kind of fire.

That the wild-fire be reparted to the people most expert, that we have for the use thereof, at due time; for that, if it be not overseen, giving charge thereof to those that do understand it, and such as we know, can tell how to use it, otherwise it may happen to great danger.

By the commandment that no ship shall go a-head the admirall, at the least in the night, none shall tarry a stern the vice-admirall, and every one to have a care to the trimming of his sails, according to the charge he hath, and the sailing of his ship: for the much that it importeth that all our navy do go close as possible as they may, and in this the captains, masters, and pilots, must have such great care, as of them is hoped.

These my instructions are delivered unto every ship, and have their copy, firmed by

my hand, and registered by my secretary, the which shall be read by every purser of every ship publickly, to come to the note of all soldiers and mariners, whereby they may not pretend ignorance; and to the said pursers I ordain and command, that, thrice in the week, they be bound to read these my instructions publickly, and that they take witness of the fulfilling hereof, upon pain of him, that doth the contrary, shall receive punishment to the example of others.

All the above said, we command to be manifested, and to be kept without any breach for the service of his majesty, none to break them, or any part thereof, in no manner, upon pain they shall be severely punished, every one according to his estate and offence; all others reserved to our discretion. Made in the Gallion Saint Marten, at the road of Belline[1], the twenty-eighth of May, 1588.

The Authentic Speech of Queen Elizabeth to her Army encamped at Tilbury, under the Command of the Earl of Leicester, in the year 1588, *when these Kingdoms were threatened with an Invasion from Spain.*

This spirited harangue seems to have been preserved by Dr Sharpe, who sent it in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, as what no man had but himself, or such as he had given it to. The letter is published in the *Cabala*, p. 342. The speech is thus introduced:

"I remember in 88, waiting upon the Earl of Leicester at Tilbury camp, and in 89, going into Portugal with my noble master the Earl of Essex, I learned somewhat fit to be imparted to your grace.

"The Queen lying in the camp one night, guarded with her army, the old treasurer Burleigh came thither, and delivered to the Earl the examination of Don Pedro, who was taken and brought in by Sir Francis Drake, which examination the Earl of Leicester delivered unto me, to publish to the army in my next sermon. The sum of it was this.

"Don Pedro being asked what was the intent of their coming? stoutly answered the lords, what, but to subdue your nation and root it out.

"Good, said the lords, and what meant you then to do with the Catholicks? he answered, we meant to send them (good men) directly to heaven, as all you that are hereticks, to hell. Yea, but, said the lords, what meant you to do with your whips of cord and wire? (whereof they had great store in their ships) What? said he, we meant to whip you hereticks to death, that have assisted my masters rebels, and done such dishonors to our Catholick king and people. Yea, but what would you have done with, said they, their young children? They, said he, which were above seven years old, should have gone the way their fathers went, the rest should have lived, branded in the forehead with the letter L. for Lutheran, to perpetual bondage.

"This, I take God to witness, I received of those great lords upon examination taken by the council, and by commandment delivered it to the army.

"The Queen the next morning rode through all the squadrons of her army, as armed Pallas, attended by noble footmen, Leicester, Essex, and Norris, then Lord Marshal and divers other great lords. Where she made an excellent oration to her army, which the next day after her departure I was commanded to redeliver to all the army together, to keep a public fast." *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra.* Lond. 3d. Ed 1691. Fol. p. 343.

My loving People,

We have been perswaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desier to live to distrust my faithful and loving people.

[1] A village three miles below Lisbon.

Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust.

I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.

I know already, for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you in the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people.

The Copie of a Letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza, Ambassador in France for the King of Spaine, declaring the State of Englande, contrary to the Opinion of Don Bernardin, and of all his Partizans, Spaniards, and others.

This letter is supposed to have been addressed to Don Bernardin Mendoza, both because of his former intrigues while ambassador in England, for which he was dismissed from the realm, and also on account of his activity in spreading reports of the victory which the Spaniards for some time alleged to have been achieved by their invincible Armadas. Don Bernardin was indeed not contented to celebrate the supposed and anticipated conquest of England, in a poem of his own composition; but moreover, while the Armada was lying in the narrow seas near Calais, he entered the church of Notre Dame at Paris, with his rapier advanced, crying, "Victory, victory!" in order to countenance a popular rumour that England was subdued, and the queen sent prisoner, over the Alps, where she was barefooted to make a renunciation of her heresy.—STOWE's *Annals*, p. 747. It is hardly necessary to add, that the letter is supposititious.

This letter, although it was sent to Don Bernardin Mendoza, yet, by good hap, the copies thereof aswell in English as in French, were found in the chamber of one Richard Leigh, a seminarie priest, who was lately executed for high treason, [1] committed in the time that the Spanish armada was on the seas.

Whereunto are adjoyned certaine late advertisements concerning the losses and distresses happened to the Spanish navie, aswell in fight with the English navie in the narrow seas of England, as also by tempests and contrary winds, upon the west and north coasts of Ireland, in their return from the northern isles, beyond Scotland. Imprinted at London, by J. Vautrollier for Richard Field. 1588.

[1] At Tiburne, 30 August 1588.

My lord ambassador, though at the time of my last large writing to you of the state of this country, and of our long desired expectation of succours promised, I did not thinke to have had such a sorrowful occasion of any second writing, as now I have of a lamentable change of matters of estate here; yet I can not forbeare (though it be with as many sighes as lines) to advertise you of the truth of our miserable condition, as now to me and others of our partie the same appeareth to be; that by comparing of all things past in hope, with the present now in despaire, your lordship, who have had the principal managing hitherto of all causes of long time both here, and there in France, betwixt the king catholique, assisted with the potentates of the Holy league, and all our countrimen which have professed obedience to the church of Rome, may now fall into some new and better consideration, how our state both for our selves at home, and our brethren abroad, now at this present fallen (as it were) in utter despaire, may be revived and restored to some new hope, with better assurance of successe then hath happened hitherto. For which purpose I have thought it necessary to advertise you in what termes this countrey now standeth, farre otherwise then of late, both we at home, and others abroade, did make accompt of.

In what termes England standeth in the opinion of the Catholiques.

You know how we have depended in firm hope of a change of the state of this countrey by the meanes of the devout and earnest incitations of the pope's holines, of the king catholique, and of other potentates of the Holy League, to take upon them the invasion and conquest of this realme; and by your assurances, and firme promises, we were now of a long season past perswaded, that the king catholique had taken upon him the same glorious act, and thereof from yeare to yeare we looked for the execution; being continually fed and nourished from you to continue our hope, and sundry times solicited by your earnest requests, and perswasions, to encourage our partie at home not to waver, as many were disposed, by sight of continual delayes, but to be ready to joyne with the outward forces, that should come for this invasion. Nevertheless the delayes and prolongations of times appointed for the coming of the king's forces, specially by sea, have bene so many, as untill this last spring, we were in despaire: at what time you advertised us with great assurance that all the king's preparations, which had bene in making ready these three or four years together, were nowe in full perfection, and without faile, would this sommer come into our seas with such mighty strength, as no navie of England, or of Christendome, could resist or abide their force: and for more suertie, and for avoyding of all doubts, to make the intended conquest sure, the same should also have joyned to it the mightie armie which the Duke of Parma had made ready, and kept in readinesse in the Low Countreyes all this yeare past, wherewith he should land, and so both by sea and land, this realme should be invaded, and a speedie conquest made thereof, to the which were alwayes added sundry reasons: whereupon was gathered, that neither by sea, nor by land, there would be any great resistance found here, but a strong partie in this realme to joyne with the forreine force. For otherwise then with such helps, to be assuredly had from hence, I know, it was alwayes doubted, that no forreine force could prevaile against this realme, being (as it is) environed by sea, and notably replenished with more mightie and stronger people then any countrie in Christendome. But with the hope of the landing of these great armies and our assistance in taking part, we here continued all this yeare past in assured hope of a full victorie, untill this last moneth. But alas, and with a deadly sorow, we must all at home, and abroade, lament our sudden fall, from an unmeasurable high joye, to an unmeasurable deepe despaire, and that so hastily fallen out, as I may say, we have seene in the space of eight or nine dayes in this last moneth of July, which was from the appearance of the catholique great navie upon the coast of England, until it was forced to flie from the coast of Flanders near Callice, towards the unknowne parts of the cold north, all our hopes, all our buildings, as it now appeareth but upon an imagined conquest, utterly overthrowen, and as it were with a earthquake, all our castles of comfort brought to the ground,

The Spanish preparations iii. yeares in making.

The Duke of Parma's army in Flaunders.

No forreine force could invade England without a strong party in England.

Hope of victory by the Spanish army, with assistance of a partie in England, this sommer.

All Spanishe hope fallen in nine dayes.

which now (it seemeth) were builded but in the ayre, or upon waves of the sea, for they are all perished, all vanished away even from our thoughtes.

The Catholiques doubt of their cause, seeing the hand of God is against the army.

And herewith I am astonished what I may best thinke of such a worke so long time in framing, to be so suddenly overthrown, as by no reason could proceede of man, or of any earthly power but onely of God. And if it be so (as no body can otherwise impute this late change and fall from our expected fortune, but to God Almighty) then surely our case is either dangerous, or doubtfull how to judge thereof, whether we have bene these many yeares in the right or not. For I do find, and know, that many good and wise men, which of long time have secretly continued in most earnest devotion to the pope's authoritie, begin now to stagger in their mindes, and to conceave that this way of reformation intended by the pope's holines is not allowable in the sight of God, by leaving the ancient course of the church by excommunication, which was the exercise of the spirituall sword, and in place thereof to take the temporal sword, and put it into a monarche's hand to invade this realme with force and armes, yea to destroy the queene thereof, and all her people addicted to her: which are in very truth nowe seene, by great proofe this yeare, to be in a sort infinite, and invincible, so as some begin to say that this purpose by violence, by blood, by slaughter, and by conquest, agreeth not with Christ's doctrine, nor the doctrine of St. Peter, or St. Paule. And to tell your lordship truly, I find presently a great nomber of wise and devout people, though they continue in their former religion, yet do they secretly condemn this intended reformation by blood and force. In so much as I heard a good divine alledge a text of St. Gregorie in these words, *Quid de episcopis qui verberibus timeri volunt canones dicunt benè paternitas vestra novit, pastores sumus non percussores. Nova enim est predicatio, quæ verberibus exigit fidem.* This sentence I obtained from him, because it seemeth to be charitablie written. But leaving this authoritie among doctors, I must needes say that in very trueth, no one thing hath done at this time more hurt to the action, then the untimely hastie publishing abroad in this realme before this armie of Spaine was readie to come forth to the seas, of sundry things written and put in print, and sent into this realme, to notifie to the people, that all the realme should be invaded and conquered, that the queene should be destroyed, all the nobilitie and men of reputation, of honour, and wealth, that did obey her, and would defend her, or that would withstand the invasion, should be with all their families rooted out, and their places, their honours, their houses and lands, bestowed upon the conquerors: things universally so odiously taken, as the hearts of all sorts of people were enflamed, some with ire, some with fear, but all sorts almost, without exception, resolved to venture their lives for the withstanding of all maner of conquest, wherewith every body can say this realm was not threatened these five hundred years and more.[1]

Many English Catholiques mislike of the Pope's reformation by force.

The untimely publishing of the intended conquests before the Spanish navie was ready, did great hurt.

The hearts of all sorts of people enflamed against the Spaniards vaunting to conquer the land.

These reports were brought to this realme with good credit, not in secret but in publique writings and printings, and tooke deepe roote in all kind of people of this land; and in deede was of the more credit, first by reason of a new bull lately published at Rome by the Pope's holinesse (which I have seene) with more severitie then others of his predecessors, whereby the queene here was accursed, and pronounced to be deprived of her crowne, and the invasion and conquest of the realme committed by the Pope to the king catholique, to execute the same with his armies both by sea and land, and to take the crowne to himselfe, or to limit it to such a potentate as the Pope and he should name. And secondly, there followed a large explanation of this bull, by sending hither

The untimely publication of the Pope's bull did hurt to the common cause.

[1] Most of the catholic gentry expressed a determined resolution of defending the liberty and independence of their country, even against what the pope had proclaimed a Holy Crusade. Some of that sect, conscious that they could not expect command or trust, entered themselves volunteers in the fleet and army. Some equipped vessels, of which they gave the command to protestants; others animated their tenants and vassals to embody themselves against the invaders; and all seemed to remember, that they were Englishmen before they were catholics.

a nomber of English bookes printed in Antwerp even when the navie of Spaine was dayly looked for, the originall whereof was written by the reverend father cardinall Allen in April last, called in his owne writing the cardinall of England, which book was so violently, sharply, and bitterly written, yea (say the adversaries) so arrogantly, falsly, and sclaunderously, against the person of the queene, against her father king Henry the Eight, against all her nobilitie, and counsell, as in very truth I was heartily sory to perceave so many good men of our owne religion offended therewith, in that there should be found in one accompted a father of the church, who was also a borne subject of this crowne (though by the adversaries reported to be very basely borne) such foule, vile, irreverent, and violent speeches, such irefull and bloody threatenings, of a queene, of a nobilitie, yea of the whole people of his owne nation.[1]

Cardinall Allen's bookes have done much hurt to the intended invasion and conquest.

Sory, and most sory I am to report the generall evill conceipt of these unordinat and unadvised proceedings of this cardinal, of whose rash choice to such a place, the world speaketh strangly, as though he came to it through corruption of the pope's sister, without liking of the colledge of cardinalles, where otherwise the blessed intention of our holy father, and the desire also of the sayde cardinall, might without such fatall bloody premonitions, and threatenings of future invasions and conquests by the catholique king's noble forces, have taken better place.

The cardinal's rash and violent writing misliked by the Catholiques.

There was also, to adde the more credite to these terrible prognostications, such kind of other bookes printed in Spaine and translated into French, (as it is said by your lordship) containing particular long descriptions, and catalogues of Armados of Castile, of Andalouzia, of Biscaye, of Guipusque, of Portingal, of Naples, of Sicili, of Ragusa, and other countreys of the Levant, with a masse of all kind of provisions, beyond measure, for the said Armados, sufficient in estimation to be able to make conquest of many kingdomes or countreys. And one great argument is published by the adversaries to stirre up the minds of the nobilitie of England against the Spaniards, which is very maliciously invented, to shew the intention of the conquest, not only of England, but of the whole isle of Britayn: moving all men specially to marke by the description of the Armada, that there are specially named such a nomber of noblemen, as princes, marquises, condes, and dons, that are called adventurers, without any office or pay, and such another nomber also of men with great titles of honor, and many of them named captaines, and Alferez, without office, but yet in sold, and therefore called Entertenidos, as all those being for no service in the Armada may be well presumed (say they) to have come to have possessed the roomes of all the noblemen in England, and Scotland: and this fiction hath taken more place then it is worth. And though these armies were indeede exceeding great and mightie, yet they were so amplified beyond all measure in these bookes, as in no preparation of Christendome in former times against the Sarracins or Turks could be greater. By this means this queene, and hir realme, being thus forewarned, and terrified, tooke occasion with the aide of her people, being not onely firmly (as she was perswaded) devouted to her, but throughly irritated, to stirre up their whole forces for their defence, against such prognosticated conquests, as in a very short time all her whole realme and every corner were speedily furnished with armed people on horsebacke, and on foote, and those continually trayned, exercised, and put into bands, in warlike manner, as in no age ever was before in this realme. Here was no sparing of

The multitude of bookes published to shewe the greatnes of the Spanish navie, did also hurt.

The forewarninges of the armada's greatnes caused the queene to put all hir realme in force beyond all former.

[1] William Allen, a Staffordshire man, of mean birth, was educated at Oxford, and in 1558 was made canon of York. Being a rigid catholic, he retired to Louvain on Queen Elizabeth's accession; and was active in procuring the erection of two seminary colleges, one at Doway, and another at Rheims. He was elevated to the dignity of a cardinal by Sextus V., much against the will of the jesuits, to whom he was unfriendly. In the year of the invasion, he compiled a book to be dispersed so soon as the Spaniards should disembark in England. The first part of it was entitled, "A Declaration of the Sentence of Sextus V.," grounded upon the indulgences granted by that pope to all who should arm against Queen Elizabeth. The second part was called "An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England." Cardinal Allen died in 1594.

money to provide horse, armour, weapon, powder, and all necessaries, nor no want of provision of pyoners, cariages, and victuals in every county of the realme, without exception, to attend upon the armies. And to this general furniture every man voluntarily offred, very many their service personally without wages, others money for armour and weapons, and to wage souldiors, a matter strange and never the like heard of in this realme or elsewhere: And this general reason moved all men to large contributions, that to withstand a conquest where all should be lost, there was no time to spare a portion.

The armies made ready in Englande in every quarter of the realme.

The nombers made ready in the realme I can not affirme of mine owne knowledge, but I have heard it reported, when I was greeved to thinke the same to be so true, that there was through England no quarter, est, west, north, and south, but all concurred in one mind to be in readiness to serve for the realme: and that some one countrie was able to make a sufficient armie of twenty thousand men fit to fight, and fifteene thousand of them well armed and weaponed; and in some countries the nomber of fortie thousand able men.

The maritime counties provided, at landing places, with 20,000 men.

The maritime countreis from Cornwall, all along the southside of England, to Kent: and from Kent eastward, by Essex, Suffolke, and Norfolk to Lincolneshire (which countreis with their havens were well described unto you in perfect plots, when Francis Throgmorton first did treat with your lordship, about the same) were so furnished of men of warre, both of themselves, and with resort of aide from their next shires, as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any forrein forces, but there were within eight and fortie houres to come to the place above twenty thousand fighting men on horseback and on foot, with field ordnance, victuals, pioners and cariages, and all those governed by the principal noble men of the countries, and reduced under captaines of knowledge.

All the bands were under the principall knights of the realme, compounded of the most mighty men, being their tenants and servantes.

A strange report of the wealth of a band of souldiours.

And one thing I heard of, that was very politikely ordered and executed at this time, as of many late yeares was not used; that as the leaders and officers of the particuler bands were men of experience in the warres; so to make the bands strong and constant, choice was made of the principal knightes of all countries to bring their tennantes to the field, being men of strength, and landed, and of wealth; whereby all the forces so compounded were of a resolute disposition to sticke to their lordes and chieftaines, and the chieftaines to trust to their owne tenants. And to remember one straunge speech that I heard spoken may be marveilled at, but it was avowed to me for a truth, that one gentleman in Kent had a band of 150 footmen, which were worth in goodes above 150,000 poundes sterling, besides their landes: such men would fight stoutly before they would have lost their goodes, and by likelyhood at this time, many other bandes were made of such principall men, both of wealth and strength. Of these things I am sorry to have cause to write in this sort: but because you may see how heretofore you have bene deceaved with advertisements of many, which had no proofe to know the truth thereof, and so I confesse my selfe in some thinges to have erred, namely in imagining that whensoever any forrein power should be sene ready to land in any part of this realme, there would have bene found but a small nomber resolute to withstand the same, or to defend the queene, but that the same would have bene very unable for the warres, untrayned, rawe, and ignorant in all warlike actions, without sufficient armour and weapons; and that also the noblemen and gentlemen that were in this realme of our religion, whereof, you know, we made accompt when you were here in England of very many, although many of them be dead since that tyme; but at this tyme there are not so many tennes, as we accompted hundreds, whom we thought would have shewed themselves like men of courage for our common cause, and would have sodenly surprized the houses, families, and strength of the heretiques and adverseries.

An error of the Catholique fugitives in the number of their partners in England.

But now, such is our calamitie, that it hath pleased God, as I thinke, for our sinnes, or else for confounding of our bold opinions, and presumptions of our owne strength, to put in the heartes of all persons here, one like mynde and courage to withstand the

intended invasion, aswel in such as we accompted catholiques, as also in the heretiques: so as it hath appeared manifestly that for all earnest proceeding for arming, and for contributions of money, and for all other warlike actions, there was no difference to be sene betwixt the catholique, and the heretique. But in this case to withstand the threatened conquest, yea to defend the person of the queene, there appeared such a sympathie, concourse, and consent of all sortes of persons, without respect of religion as they all appeared to be ready to fight against all straungers, as it were with one hart and one body. And though some fewe principall gentlemen, of whom heretofore you have had the names in such catalogues of catholiques as you have bene acquainted withall, were lately upon the report of the comming out of the armie to the seas, sent to the isle of Ely there to remaine restrayned of their former libertie during the expectation of this intended invasion: yet it hath appeared, that they were not so restrayned for any doubt that would with their powers have assisted our army, but onely thereby to make it known to all our frendes, and countrymen in Spaine, and Flanders, yea even to your selfe (for so I heard it spoken, as accompting you to have bene the most principal author and perswader of this action) that there should be no hope to have any of them, or of their frendes, to assist these great armies. And in very truth, I see now whosoever of our frendes in Spaine, or in Flanders, or elsewhere, made any such accompt of any ayde against the queene, or against hir partie here, they should have bene deceaved if the army had offred to have landed. For I my selfe have heard that the best of those that were sent to Eli did make offers, yea by their letters to the counsell here, signed with their handes, that they would adventure their lives in defence of the queene, whome they named their undoubted Soveraigne Lady and Queene, against all forrein forces, though the same were sent frome the pope, or by his commaundement: yea divers of them did offer that in this quarell of invading of the realme with straungers they would present their own bodies in the foremost rankes with their countrymen against all straungers. Whereupon I heard also by a secret frend of mine in the court, that it was once in some forwardnes of resolution amongst the counsellers, that they should have bene returned and put to their former libertie. But the heat of the warre being kindled with the knowledge of the kinge's Armada, being at that tyme come to the Groigne, and the duke of Parma's readiness with so great an army and shipping in Flanders, dayly looked for to land in England, yea to come to London, and a generall murmur of the people against all such recusants of reputation, was the cause of the staying of these gentlemen at Eli, notwithstanding their offers of their service to the queene:[1] and so they do remain in the Bishop's pallace there, with fruition of large walkes about the same, altogether without any imprisonment, other then that they are not suffered to depart into the town, or countrey: and yet for their religion, I thinke surely they do, and will, remaine constant to the obedience of the church of Rome: for the which neverthelesse they are not impeached to any danger of their lives, but only charged with a penalty of money, because they will not come to the churches: whereby, by the law, a portion of the revenue is alloted to the queene, and the rest left to the maintenance of them, their wives, and children.

A consent and concurrencie of Papists and Protestants to withstand the conquest.

The gentlemen recusants in Eli offer to adventure their lives against all invasions whatsoever, without respect of pope or other potentate.

The recusants are not put in danger of their lives for their religion, but are fined at summes of money.

By which kind of proceedings our adversaries here do pretend, that both these gentlemen, and all other of their qualities, are favourably used, that they are not pursued by death for their religion, as they say it was used in queene Marie's time, and as it is dayly used (as they say) most rigorously and barbarously in Spaine against the Englishmen that come thither, onely in trade of marchandise. And yet I and others sometimes privately speaking with such our adversaries, as we thinke are not malliciously bent to have men prosecuted to death onely for their religion (for to say the truth, and as the pro-

[1] Such of the catholic gentry, as were under circumstances of suspicion, were placed by the queen under a temporary arrest at Ely.

verbe is, not to belye the devill, very many of our contraries are in that point not uncharitable) we do object to them the executions by cruell torments, and deathes, of very many, both here about London and other partes of the realme, whom we accompt as martirs, in that they do witnes by their death their obedience to the pope and the catholique church of Rome.

The Jesuits are not executed for religion but for treasons.

The seminaries for the most part come disguised like ruffians.

To which, these our adverseries, pretending some small drops of charity, do answere us; that no execution hath bene of any, to their knowledge, for their religion, or for profession thereof; but for that they which have bene executed, have bene found to have wandred in the realme secretly, and in a disguised maner, which the adversaries scornfully terme as ruffians, with fethers and all ornaments of light coloured apparel, like to the fashion of courtiers,[1] and do use many meanes to entice all people, with whom they dare adventure to speake, not onely to be reconciled to the pope and church of Rome, but to induce them by vowes and othes to renounce their obedience to the queene; to deny hir to be their soveraigne; and themselves to be discharged of their allegeance; and to repute all magistrates under hir to be unlawfull, and in conscience not to be obeyed; with many mo such matters (which I neverthelesse count to be very vaine calumniations) tending to make the factes of all such holy priestes as are sent with commission to winne men's souls, to be direct treasons against the queene, and the state of the realme.

These defenders of these judgements and executions contend, and doe most earnestly maintaine, that all such priests, jesuites, seminaries, and others, so perswading the people against the queene, the lawes, and the government, and state of the realme, and al others that are so perswaded by them, are manifest traitors; and so they say that their enditements and all processe of law extended and pursued against them, doe manifestly declare the same. Wherein, these our adversaries doe sometimes for maintenance of their arguments, shew the verie copies of their enditements and judgements, wherein there is no mention made of charging them with their religion, but that they have attempted to perswade the queene's subjects to forsake their alleageance, and consequently to be rebels to their queene and soveraigne.

In this sort these men for their advantage, do at all times, with these and many like earnest argumentes, mayntaine their proceedings against the holy priests and jesuites, that have suffered death for their conscience, as just and necessary. And though, where I and others may reply without perill to ourselves (as surely in some small companies we may, using modest words) we object the confession of the catholike faith by the parties at their death, and that with great constancie which our adversaries cannot denie, so as it may seeme they die for their religion; yet is it on the other part against us alleaged, and maintained, that they are neither indited, condemned, nor executed for their religion, but onely for their former treasons in conspiring against the queene, and state of the realme; no otherwise then of late time Babington and all his complices, who were condemned for their attempt to have raised warre in the realme, and to have murdered the queene, and to have set up the queene of Scots, all which the said Babington and all his complices voluntarily confessed, and were condemned and executed, onely for those their great treasons; and yet divers of them at the place of their execution, did in like manner (as these priests and jesuites use to doe) make confession of their catholike faith, with offer to dye for the same; and yet (say our adversaries) it ought not to be affirmed, that Babington and his complices were put to death for religion, but for their treasons.

Babington suffered for his treasons voluntarily confessed, not for religion; though at his death he professed the Roman religion.

And for further maintenance of the coloured arguments, wherewith I, and others my good, faithful, and catholike brethren are often troubled how to answere them, it is alleaged that the great number of gentlemen, and gentlewomen, yea some of honourable

[1] Campion is said to have been seized, when disguised in the habit of a royster or reveller.

calling, and of other meaner degrees, are known manifestly to be of a contrary religion to the lawes of the realme, both nere the court and farre of, and yet they are never pursued by any fourme of law to put their lives in danger, or questioned, or imprisoned, for their opinions in religion, whereby to bring them in any danger. Onely such as are presented or complained of by the parishioners where they dwell, for never comming to any church by the space of certaine monethes in a whole yere, are thereof indited, and afterward being called to answere thereto, if they can shew no such lawful excuse as the lawe hath provided, they are then condemned to pay a penaltie out of their goods and lands, if they have any, and not otherwise punished, nor yet by inquisition any of them examined of their faith.[1] But yet, say these defendors, if they shew themselves by their open deedes and facts to bee reconciled from their allegeance and obedience to the queene, and that they will therein persist, then they are therewith charged and punished according to the lawes therefore provided.

A multitude of gentlemen suspected to be Papists, yet never endangered of their lives.

These arguments in their defence I doe not repeate as allowing of them, but yet surely they do move me, and some others that are wise, to thinke, that indeed the rashness of divers coming secretly into the realme, and professing themselves to be priestes, many of them being both very young, unlearned, and of light behaviour, hath done great harme to the goodness of our common cause; and if they and such others could have temperately and secretly instructed the people, and used more circumspection in their own living and behaviour, there would have been a greater increase of numbers perswaded in conscience to have joyned with us in our profession. Whereof I am the bolder to write to you, my Lorde, that you may conferre with our countrimen that have accesse unto you, and that they also may deale with the fathers of the Jesuits, that more care and choice be had of such Englishmen as are hereafter to bee sent into England, and not to send every young man that hath more boldnesse, then learning and temperance, for such a function.

Many of the priests that are sent into the realm, are young, rash, and of lewd life.

In the former part of this my declaration to you of the universal concurrence of all men of value, wealth, and strength, in the body of the realme, to serve and defend the queen and the realme, I forgot to report unto you the great numbers of ships of the subjects of the realme; as of London and other port townes, and cities, that voluntarily this yeere were armed, able to make a full navie of themselves for an armie, and all at the proper costs of the burgesses, for certaine monthes, with men, victual, and munition, which did joyne with the queen's own navie all this summer, a thing never in any former age heard of, otherwise then that such ships were always hired, waged, and victualed by the kinges of the realm; which argued to the grief of me and some others a most vehement and unaccustomed affection and devotion in the cities and port townes, such, as they shewed themselves therein readie to fight, as it had been *pro aris et focis*.

A great strength of the English navie, by the ships of the port townes that did serve without wages.

Of the number and strength of the queen's own ships of warre, I thinke you have been sufficiently enfourmed many times heretofore. But yet I will make you a true report of the state of them this present summer, what I have credibly heard thereof; because I have bene very sorry to hear how you and others have been therein abused; and that not only in this matter of the queen's ships, but in some other things also of late, whereof some part hath bene here by very many, maliciously, and in common speeches, imputed to your owne invention and publication; whereof in a few words I wil make some digression before I shall shew the estate of the queene's navie.

In this sommer past, there was printed in Paris, by your direction (as it was reported) a notable untruth, which I did see and reade; that the king of Scots had besieged Barwicke, and had won it by assault, and possessed it quietly; whereof no part was true, nor any cause to imagine the same, though I wish it had so bene; but not for any good will

Two notable lyes printed in Paris, and imputed to Don Bernardin Mendoza.

[1] This was originally but a slight mulct, being a shilling only for each Sunday's absence. But, in 1582, it was increased so high as L.20 a month.

that I now beare to that king, but for the trouble to this queen. For in truth there is no good for us to be hoped for from the king of Scots, howsoever the Scottish bishops in France have sought to make you beleeve otherwise, who is so rooted in the Calvinists religion, as there is never hope that he can be recovered to the church of Rome; and so I thinke you are of late duely enfourmed, and by his violent actions against divers catholikes, and against all that favour the Spaniards, may certainly appeare.

A most manifest lie printed in Paris, of a Spanish victory, when it was altogether an English victorie.

Mendacia of Mendoza.

And likewise another great untruth was lately printed [1] (as your enemies say) by your direction also in Paris, that now in July last, when the Spanish fleete and English had met and fought betwixt France and England, the Spaniards had then a great victory, wherein they had sunke the lord admiral of England, with sixteen of the queene's great ships into the bottome of the seas, and that all the rest were driven to flie with the vice-admirall Francis Drake. Upon these two so notable untruths, which the adversaries spitefully called Don Bernardin Mendoza's Mendacia, many who honour you, were right sory, that you should give so hastie credite, to publish the same as (your enemies say) you did; though I have to my power for clearing of your honour given it out, that these and such like have proceeded of the lightness of the French, who commonly print more lies then truths, in such doubtful times, and not of you, whose honour and wisedome I thought would not bee justly touched with so great untruths, and lies; considering alwaies, a small time will discover things that are in facts reported untruly, and bringeth the authors to discredit and infamie. There hath been a speech also reported here, to have proceeded from you in France, that hath caused a great misliking of you in Scotland; which is, that you should in open assembly, and in a bravery say, that the young king of Scots (whom you called in your language a boy) had deceaved the king your master; but if the king's navie might prosper against England, the king of Scots should loose his crowne; and of this the king of Scots hath been advertised out of France, and useth very evil language of you, which I will not report.

The state of the navie of England this sommer.

But now to leave this digression, and to return to let you know the truth of the state of the queene's navie this sommer. The same was in the beginning of the yeere, when the brute was brought of the redines of the king's Armada in Lisbone, and of the armie by land upon the sea coasts in Flanders with their shipping, devided into three companies; the greatest under the charge of Charles Lord Haward high admirall of England, whose father, grandfather, uncles, great uncles, and other of his house, being of the noble house of the dukes of Norfolke, had also bene high admirals afore him, whereof both Fraunce and Scotland have had proofe.

L. Haward, L. Admirall.

L. Henry Seymour.

Another companie were appointed to remaine with the Lord Henry Seymour, second sonne to the duke of Somerset that was protector in king Edward's time, and brother to the now earle of Hartford; and these companies for a time continued in the narrow seas betwixt England and Flaunders, under the charge of the said high admirall, to attend on the duke of Parma's actions.

Sir Francis Drake.

A third company were armed in the west part of England towards Spaine, under the conduct of Sir Francis Drake, a man by name and fame knowen too well to all Spaine, and to the king's Indias, and of great reputation in England; and this was compounded, partly of some of the queene's owne shippes, and partly of the ships of the west parts.

But after that it was certainely understood, that the great navie of Spaine was readie to come out from Lisbone, and that the fame thereof was blown abroad in Christendome

[1] This fabulous gazette of Don Bernardin was reprinted in England under the title of, "A Pack of Spanish lies sent abroad into the world, first printed in Spain, in the Spanish tongue, and translated out of the original. Now ripp'd up, unfolded, and by just examination condemned, as containing false, corrupt, and detestable wares, worthy to be damned and burned, &c." 1588, 4to. Bl. Let. This very curious tract occurs in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. III. p. 368; but being short, it is reprinted at the end of this treatise, to save reference.

to be invincible, and so published by bookes, in print, the queene and all her counsell, I am sure, (whatsoever good countenance they made) were not a little perplexed. as looking certainly for a dangerous fight upon the seas, and after that for a landing and invasion. Whereupon the lord admirall was commaunded to saile with the greatest ships, to the west of England towards Spaine to joyne with Drake, whom he made vice-admirall, and to continue in the seas betwixt France and England, to stoppe the landing of the navie of Spaine. And with the lord admirall went in certaine of the queene's ships, the lord Thomas Haward, second sonne to the last duke of Norfolke, and the Lord Sheffeld, sonne to the admiral's sister, who is wife to the queene's ambassadour in France, with a great number of knights of great livelode; and at that time the Lord Henry Seymour was left with a great number of ships in the narrow seas, upon the coast of Flaunders, to attend on the duke of Parma. [1]

Lord Thomas Haward. Lord Sheffield.

Whilest these two navies were thus divided, I confesse to you, that I and others of our part secretly made a full accompt, that none of all these English ships durst abide the sight of the Armada of Spaine, or if they would abide any fight, yet they should all be sonke at the first encounter. For such constant opinion we had conceived by the reports of the world, that the greatness and number of the ships, and the army of Spaine, being the chosen vessels of all the king's dominions, was so excessive monstrous, beyond all the navies that ever had bene seen in Christendome, not excepting the Armada at Lepanto, that no power could abide in their way. But how farre deceived we were therein, a very short time, even the first day, did manifestly, to the great dishonour of Spaine, discover. For when the catholique armie came to the coast of England, which indeede the English confesse did seeme farre greater then they looked for, and that they were astonied with the sight of them, yet the lord admiral and Drake having but only fifty of the English ships out of the haven of Plimmouth, where the rest remained for a new revictualing, without tarying for the rest of the navie that was in Plimmouth, they did offer present fight, and furiously pursued the whole navie of Spaine, being above 150 ships; so as the same, with the furious and continual shot of the English one whole day, fled without any returning. And after, the English navie being increased to an hundred great and small, renued their fight with terrible great shot all the whole day, gaining always the wind of the Spanish navy. And as I am sory to remember the particularities, which the English have largely written to their owne praise, so to speake all in one word, for nine days together, they still forced them to flie, and destroyed, sonke, and tooke in three daies fight divers of the greatest shippes; out of which, specially out of the principall great ship of Andaluzia, and out of the Admiranta of Guipusque, and thirdly out of the principal great Galliasse of Naples, great numbers were brought (beside many moe killed and drowned) to London, and to sundry other portes of the realme, to the great dishonour of Spaine; amongst which prisoners were a great number of captaines both for land and sea. And besides that which deeply blemisheth the honour of Spaine, and vexeth me at my heart, to consider the inequalitie of fortune, it is vaunted by our adversaries, that in all the time of these fights so many daies, the Spaniards did never take or sink any English ship or boate, or break any mast, or tooke any one man prisoner. A matter that indeed these Spaniards which are taken doe marvaile greatly, and chafe thereat; so as some of them in their anguish of minde let not to say, that in all these fights Christ shewed himself a Lutheran.

The fight of the English navy with the Spanish.

The flying away of the Spanish navie.

The Spaniards prisoners say, that Christ shewed himself a Lutheran in this sommer voyage of the Spanish navie.

And though such speeches be unadvised, and not to be regarded, yet surely it is most manifest, that in all this voiage from the comming of the navie out of Lisbon even to this houre, God did shew no favour to ours any one day, as he did continually to these Lutherans; which percase may be done for our good to correct us, as putting our trust

God shewed no favour to the Spanishe navy from the beginning to the ending.

[1] It was the object of the Armada, to take the prince of Parma's army on board, and then to steer directly for England.

wholy in our worldly strength, and to the confusion hereafter of the Lutherans, by puffing them up, being his enemies, with a prosperitie for time, to be afterwardes the cause of their ruine. And amongst other things reported to the dishonour of the duke of Medina, who, it is said, was lodged in the bottome of his ship for his safetie, and to a great touch to the commaunders of the Spanish navie, that they never would turne their shippes, nor stay them, to defend any of their owne shippes that were forced to tary behind, but suffered divers to perish; as are good witnesses thereof the three great vessels. One wherein Don Pedro de Valdez was taken; another galleon of Guipusque that was spoyled with fire: and the noble Galliasse wherein Hugo de Moncada was slaine; of which lack of care by the duke Medina, these Spaniards that are taken geve very evill report. The like is saide in Zeland by the Spaniards there, that were saved with Diego de Pimentelli, though the galleon wherein he was, being beaten with the English shot, and not succoured by the navie of Spaine, did there perish in their comming to Flushing; and so did another likewise perish for lacke of succour before Ostend.

Don Pedro de Valdez, captain-generall of the armada of Andalusia; Hugo de Moncada, generall of the Galliases of Naples; Diego de Pimentelli, captaine of the galleon named S. Matthew.

And now I must needes thinke that you are stricken with some grief of mind, or rather with some anger towards me, to heare from me so much of those adverse things, although they are too true; and therefore I also imagine you may be desirous, for your better contentation, to understand what opinions we that are here have, being thus frustrate of our expected deliverie, by the defeat of this enterprise; whether we do comfort our selves with a conceit that this action may be, by any probabilitie, once againe renewed this next yeere, for the recoverie of our lost hope this yeere, famously spoken ot by the nomber of 88, and so verified to the losse of all catholiques. Wherein surely for our owne partes, as by secret conference I finde with many with whom I have secretly of late upon this unfortunat accident conferred, we cannot judge of any likelihood of good successe for any long time; and if there should any be hoped for, surely the sea-forces of the king catholique, must of necessitie be more increased, and better also be governed then they were this yeare. For this we here do consider, that this enterprise of invasion and conquest, was alwaies principally grounded upon many probable opinions of the evill state of the realme.

A consideration what may be done the next yeare to renew this action.

1. The 3. hopes conceived against England, are now all frustrated.

First, of the weaknes of the English navie; for so you know you were divers waies this last yeare advertised from hence, and so also many of us here did conceive the same; wherein we see by all this yeare's service with these ships, we did all notably erre.

2. Next, of a supposed evill contentment of a nomber of people in this land to serve the queene, and her government, against her enemies.

3. Lastly, and most principally, of a great strong partie that would be found here in the favour of us for the catholique religion, that should take arms against the queene upon the first sight of the catholique navy on the coasts of England. Of all which opinions, settled in good men's minds in manner of judgements, we know that none in the world did more constantly assure the king thereof then you; which, as the matters have evill succeeded, may, I fear, bring you in danger of his indignation, although I know you meant very well therein.

And as these three opinions have all fayled this yeere, so I assure you, though some of ours on that side the seas may persist in their former opinions against the experience lately sene (as it is likely they may be forced to do, to maintaine themselves in credit, for continuing their necessarie relief from the pope, and the king having no other means to keepe them from sterving or begging) yet because I would not have you further deceived by them, who have not bene present in the realme to see such contrary proofes, against all their conceits, as I and others have done; I will shew you a great nomber of manifest arguments, though I am sory at my hart to remember them, whereby you in your wisedome (if you be not blinded by others) shall see it most certain, that these former opinions, for comfort to be had from hence, will prove the next yeare as strong against

us, and in some part more strong then they proved this yeare, if any accompt should be made thereof.

First, for the navie of England, which hath this yeare to the sight of the world proved to be of great force and value, for those seas, and able to overmatch in their manner of fight, double to their nomber, of the great gallions, carikes, galliasses, or gallies, it is certain that it will be greatly increased this next yeare. For I know, that within these few dayes, bargaines are already made, and imprest of money delivered, and certaine sent into the Estlands, for great store of all maritime provisions. And as for the increase of the nomber of good shippes for the queene's proper use, there is already a great quantitie of timber ready, and order given to fell more in November, and December next, in the countries neare both to the sea, and to Thames, to build a nomber of shippes of warre, equal to these whose service was seene this yeare to have overmatched the great Armadas and castels of Spaine and Italy. And furthermore, to joyne with the navie of England this yeare following, not onely the Hollanders and Zelanders, but also shipes of Denmarke, and other partes of Estland, will certeinly be had in great nombers, whereof there was none at all required this yeare past to joyne with the navie of England. Onely certain Hollanders and Zelanders offred their service, according as they are bound, in the end of this sommer, since the conflict neare Callice, to joyne with some of the English navie in the narrow seas, to defend the issuing of the duke of Parma out of the portes of Flaunders; and in that service, at this time there are above fortie and sixe good shippes of warre, with the vice admirall Justinian of Nassau; a man that agreeth too well with the English nation, and is a sworne enemy to all Spaniards, and catholiques; and as it is reported for certaine, there are lx. more comming out of North Holland to the seas, for the same purpose; so as it is to be doubted, that this realme, this next yeare, will be double as strong as it was this last yeare.[1]

The Englishe navie will be stronger the next yeare.

Offer of Hollanders and Zelanders, to joyne with the English navie.

Justinian Nassau, admirall of Holland, with 46 ships of war, joyned o the English navie, against the Duke of Parma.

As to the second branch of our hope, depending upon opinon of some great miscontentment of sundry persons against the queene, the proofe of the contrary so appeared this yeare, both of her actions to mainteine the liking of all her people, and of the generall earnest devotion shewed to her by all estates, noble and meane, rich and poore, as I thinke no prince christened ever had greater cause of comfort in her people, which I may judge to breede a pride in her. And to recompence the same, she did most notably shew her selfe in this time even when most danger was threatened, in all her actions towards her people, as carefull for their weale, and for the safetie of her realme, without any speciall or particular provision, or regard to her owne person, as ever any prince could doe. First to let her people understand what care she had to make her realme strong against invasion, she politikely, yea most carefully, by her owne frequent directions, caused her whole realme to be put in armes, she tooke accompt thereof her selfe by monethly certificat from such as were made her lieutenants in every shire of her realme; she caused armour, powder, weapon, to be sent to all countries, and ordinance to all maritime countries; there were also sundry armies described, to defend every coast of the sea; and as I heard it reported by some that did know the secrets of the court, was importunate with her counsell to leave no day unoccupied, to bring these services to effect; and yet she did still continue her commissioners in the Low Countries to treat of peace, which surely she desired to have obtained, so that she might have had the same with certaine conditions. So as to content her people, she did both treat and desire peace, and did not in the meane time neglect to make her realme strong for defence, if peace could not be gotten.[2] But in the end when her demaunds were wholy refused, whereof we

Argumentes to prove no miscontentement of the people towardes the queene.

The providence of the queene to make her realme strong.

[1] "The Hollanders," says Stowe, "came roundly in with threescore sail brave ships of war, fierce and full of spleen, not so much for England's aid, as in just occasion of their own defence, knowing the original and ground of this hostility to proceed from themselves with thirty years continued sharp war."

[2] On the rumour of the Spanish Armada being about to sail, Elizabeth commanded her envoy Dale to expostulate with the Prince of Parma concerning the books which Allen had published against her. The prince return-

and all catholiques were most glad, and that she understood very certainely, that the armie of the duke of Parma should come first to destroy the citie of London, she revoked her commissioners, approached London in person, and did lie, as it were, in the suburbs of the same; whereby they of the citie tooke great comfort, having daily in shew and muster of their owne ten thousand men armed and trained of very able men of the citie, and in redines thirtie thousand more, able to fight.

The queene's being in the army in Essex, when moste daunger was threatened by the enemies landing.

She caused an armie to be brought to incampe neere the sea side, upon the river of Thames, betwixt the sea and the citie, twenty miles beneath the citie; and after the army was come thither, she would not by any advise be staied, but for comfort of her people, and to shew her owne magnanimity of heart (as she said, she would so do though she was a woman) she went to that armie lying betwixt the citie and the sea, under the charge of the earle of Leicester, placing herselfe betwixt the enemy and her citie, and there viewed her armie, and passed through it divers times, lodged in the borders of it, returned againe, and dined in the armie; and first, saw the people as they were, by their countries, lodged and quartered in their severall camps, which she viewed from place to place. Afterward, when they were all reduced into battailes, readie, as it were, to fight with any enemie, she rode round about them, and did view them curiously, being accompanied onely but with the generall, and three or four others attending on her. But yet to shew her state, I well marked it, she had the sword carried before her by the earle of Ormonde.

The notable applause of the people to the queene, for her presence in the camp.

There she was generally saluted with cries, with shoutes, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her, as seldom hath bene seene in a campe and armie, considering she was a queene: and all tended to shew a marvelous concord, in a mutual love, betwixt a queen and her subjects: and of reverence, and obedience of subjects to a soveraigne: all which she acquited with very princely thankes, and good speeches. I could enlarge this description with many more particularities of mine owne sight, for thither I went, as many others did; and all that day, wandering from place to place, I never heard any word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately person and princely behaviour, and in praying for her life and safetie, and cursing of all her enemies, both traitors, and all papists, with earnest desire to venter their lives for her safetie.

The singing of psalmes by the English army, in the camp.

And besides such particular acclamations, the whole army in every quarter did devoutly at certain times sing in her hearing, in very tunable maner, divers psalmes put into forme of prayers in praise of Almighty God, no waies to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, I do not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest argumentes, that neither this queene doth discontent her people, nor her people do shewe any discontentation in any thing that they be commanded to do for her service, as heretofore hath bene imagined. She had also an armie of about forty thousand footemen, and of six thousand horsemen, under the charge of the Lord Hunsdon, lord chamberlein, as lieutenant of that army, made ready from the inland partes of the realme, to be about her owne person, without disarming the maritime counties: so as many marched out of sondry countries towards her, at the very time that she was in the camp: some came to the suburbes and townes neere London, whom she remaunded to their countries, because their harvest was at hand, and many of them woulde not be countermaunded, but still approached onward on their owne charges (as they said) to see her person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquere the realme. But though the greatest nomber of the said souldiours were compelled to returne, yet the captains, leaders, and the principal knights and gentlemen, came to the court to offer

An army provided for the queene beside the army readie to withstand the landing of the enemie.

ed an evasive answer; and the conference continued until the Armada had actually taken the sea, when the English commissioners were dismissed.

their service: and those were graciously accepted of her with many thanks, and are now for the more part returned with a ful determination, and firme promise, to continue their bands in such redines, as upon a few houres warning they will assuredly returne with them in good array.

Beside these foresaid argûmentes to disprove the opinion of discontentement of the people, which heretofore hath bene thought a great furtherance to this honourable action, I will also remember you some other more notable actions, to prove both contentacion, and redines, in all the nobilitie of the realme at this time, that were not tyed to abide in their countries by reason of their offices, as lieutenants and governours there for martiall services. For assoone as it was heard that the queene was nere London, and that the armies were in gathering to come out of the countries, for defence of all invasions, and reportes brought from the sea coasts of the appearance of the Spanish navie; all the noblemen in the realme, from east and west, from north and south, excepting onely such great lordes as had speciall governementes in countries, that might not lawfully be absent from their charge, and some fewe that were not able to make forces according to their desire, came to the queene, bringing with them according to their degrees, and to the uttermost of their powers, goodly bands of horsemen, both launces, light horsemen, and such other as are termed carabins or argeletiers, lodging their bandes round about London, and maintaining them in paie at their owne charges all the time, untill the navie of Spaine was certainly knowen to be passed beyond Scotland. And of these noble men many shewed their bandes of their horsemen before the queene even in the fields afore her owne gate, to the great marveile of men of good judgement (as I heard reported) for that the nomber of them was so great, and so well armed, and horsed, as knowing that they were no parcell of the nombers of horsemen limited in every countrie, and put into bandes with the armies described, it was thought before they were seene, that there had not bene so many spare horses of such valour in the whole realme, excepting the north part of England towards Scotland, whose forces consist chiefly of horsemen.

Great power of horsemen brought by the nobilitie, to attend on the queene's person.

The first that shewed his bandes to the queene, was that noble, vertuous, honourable man, the Viscount Mountague,[1] who, howsoever men do judge of him for opinion in religion, yet to tell you the truth, he is reported always to have professed, as now also at this time he did professe and protest solemnly, both to the queene, and to all her court, in open assemblies, that he now came, thoughe he was very sickly, and in age, with a full resolution to live and dye in defence of the queene, and of his country, against all invaders, whether it were pope, king, or potentate whatsoever, and in that quarell he would hazard his life, his children, his lands, and goods. And to shew his mynde agreeably thereto, he came personally him selfe before the queene, with his band of horsemen being almost two hundred; the same being led by his owne sonnes, and with them a yong child, very comely seated on horseback, being the heire of his house, that is, the eldest sonne to his sonne and heir; a matter much noted of many, whom I heard to commend the same: to see a grandfather, father, and sonne, at one time on horseback afore a queene for her service, though in truth I was sorry to see our adversaries so greatly pleased therewith. But I cannot conceale it from your lordship's knowledge, because I think this noble man is known unto you, having bene used as an ambassador to the king catholique many yeares past by this queene (as I have heard) to require confirmation of the treaties of amitie, betwixt both their fathers. And of this noble man's condition, I thinke there be some others of whom there is no accompt to be made that they will geve favour to any attempt against the queene, or to any invasion of the realme.

The Viscount Montague's shew of horsemen was the first.

[1] Brown, Viscount Montague, a Catholic nobleman, and the only one who had zeal enough in the first year of Elizabeth to oppose the bill for abrogating the papal supremacy.

A number of great lordes shewed their horsemen.

There were also many at the same time that made shewes of great nombers of serviceable horses, whereof though it be no comfort to you to heare, yet it is good that you be not abused for lacke of knowledge, how the present state is here: that you may better judge hereafter what may be done to recover this late loss and dishonour. At this time the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lord Windesore, with some knights and gentlemen with them, shewed their bandes, as the Lord Mountague had done: and after them the Lord Chancellor shewed goodly bandes of horsemen and footemen at his owne house, very many and strong. And within one or two dayes after, the Earle of Warwicke, the Lord Burghley lord treasorer, the Lord Compton, and in the end of the day the Earl of Leycester, and the Lord Rich, besides sondry knightes of the realme, shewed every of them severall strong bandes of horsemen, to the great liking of the queene, and of all the people that were there, being many thousands. And within two daies after that, the Earle of Essex being master of the queen's horse, with certeine principall gentlemen, his servants, frends and followers, shewed afore the queene above three hundred horses of all service, and a great nomber of carabins, and a faire band of footemen all musketiers.

Earle of Lincolne.
Lord Windesore.
Lord Chancelour.
Earle of Warwick.
L. Treasorer.
L. Compton.
Earle of Leycester.
Lord Rich.
Sir Walter Mildmay.
Sir Henry Cromwell.
Sir I. Points.
Earle of Essex, with a greate band of horsemen and footmen afore the queen at St James's.

This shewe exceeded in number any other particular band, and the earl him self with a great nomber of launces horsed and armed, did run very many courses, and specially with the Earle of Cumberland, (as they cal it) the Course of the Field, which I had never seene before: and did also him selfe and his company tourney on horseback a very long time, and caused also his carabines, and his footemen to make skirmishes there, to the great liking of the queene, and of the multitude of people, which were many thousands. Amongst whom I heard many vehement speeches against all English papists, calling them all traitors, wishing also that the Spaniards had bene there in that field with treble the nomber, to make proof of the value of English men: all which I heard to my great grief, with many curses against all their countrimen, saying, that they, as arrant traitors to their native countrie, had villanously sold, as far as in them did lye, the liberty of their country to Spaniardes and other papistes. It behoved me not there to have contraried any of them: for surely if I had, their rancour was so stirred up, by the comfort of these faire shewes of horsemen, as they would there in the field in their rage have killed me, and cut me in a thousand pieces.

Course at the field.
Tourney.

Earle of Worcester.
Earle of Hertford.
Lord Audeley.
L Morley.
L. Dacres.
L. Lomeley.
L. Mountjoy.
L. Sturton.
L. Darcie.
L Sandes.
L. Mordant.

Besides these lords above named, there were brought to the towne other faire bandes by the Earle of Worcester, the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Audeley, Lord Morley, Lord Dacres, Lord Lomeley, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Sturton, Lord Darcy, Lord Sandes, Lord Mordant, and by every one that were of the privie counsell: so as by estimation, there were about London at that time above five thousand horses readie to serve the queene, besides all the horsemen that were raised in all other countries for the armies and the sea coasts. And besides these, I heard in a very good place, where I was silent, that there was by accompt twise as many in readines with the noble men that were absent, attending on their charges in their severall lieutenancies. As the Marques of Winchester, one counted to be the strongest man of his owne furniture for horse and armour, who is lieutenant of Hampshire, with the Earle of Sussex captain of Portsmouth, and lieutenant also of Dorcetshire. Next him is in accompt the Earle of Shrowsbury, earle marshal of England, lieutenant of a great number of countries, and of great power of his owne, both for horsemen and footemen, beside the power of the Lord Talbot his sonne. The Earle of Darby also, though he was in Flaunders, from whence he came lately, yet his sonne the Lord Strange, lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, in his father's absence, is said to have raised a great power of horsemen. And to shew the populer affection to this earle in his countrey, I heard it for certaine reported, that when the earle continued longer in Flanders then they liked, and doubting of his return, for that they supposed that the Duke of Parma would stay him, and the other commissioners there, the people of his countrie in a generalitie did amongst themselves determine, that the Lord Strange, the earle's son, and all the manhood of Lancashire and Cheshire, would

Marques of Winchester.
Earle of Sussex.
Earl of Shrewsbury.
L. Talbot.
Earle of Darby.
L. Strange.

go over the seas and fetch the earle home. A matter for no purpose to be spoken of, but to note the force of the love which the people doe beare to the earle, who with his sonne is firmly bent against the pope.[1]

The Earle of Bath also lieutenant of Devonshire, had, as is said, great forces of his own readie to have impeached the landing of any strangers in Devonshire. The Earle of Pembroke also being lieutenant of Somersetshire and Wiltshire, and lord president of all Wales, was readie to have come to the queene with three hundred horsemen and five hundred footemen all of his own retinue, leaving all the countries under his charge fully furnished. Earle of Bath. Earle of Pembroke's noble offer.

I omit here to speake of the bands of horsemen belonging to the Earles of Northumberland and Cumberland, which though they were ready to have bene shewed at the same time, yet the earles hearing of the Spanish armie approaching, went voluntarily to the sea-side in all hast, and came to the queene's navie before the fight afore Callice. Where they being in several ships of the queene's, did with their owne persons valiant services against the king's armada. And to shew the great readines in a generalitie of sundrie others at the same time, to adventure their lives in the said service, there went to the seas at the same time divers gentlemen of good reputation, who voluntarily without any charge, and without knowledge of the queen, put themselves into the queene's navie in sundry ships, wherein they served at the fight afore Callice: of which number, being very great, I remember that the names of some of them were these: Master Henry Brooke sonne and heire to the Lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Cecil sonne and heir to the lord treasurer, Sir William Hatton heire to the lord chancellor, Sir Horratio Pallauicino, a knight of Genua, Master Robert Carie sonne to the Lord Hunsdone,[2] Sir Charles Earle of Northumberland. Earle of Cumberland. Master Henry Brooke. Sir Tho. Cecil. Sir W. Hatton. Sir Horatio Pallauicino. M. Robert Carie.

[1] This hint seems to be given on account of the number of Catholics in both these counties.

[2] Who has left us this account of his expedition: "The next year (1588) the King of Spain's great Armado came upon our coast, thinking to devour us all. Upon the newes sent to court from Plymouth of their certain arrival, my Lord Cumberland and myself took post horse, and rode straight to Portsmouth, where we found a frigate that carried us to sea; and having sought for the fleets a whole day, the night after we fell amongst them; where it was our fortune to light first on the Spanish fleet; and finding ourselves in the wrong, we tacked about, and in some short time got to our own fleet, which was not far from the other. At our coming aboard our admiral, we stayed there awhile; but finding the ship much pestered, and scant of cabins, we left the admiral, and went aboard Captain Reyman, where we stayed, and were very welcome, and much made of. It was on Thursday that we came to the fleet. All that day we followed close the Spanish Armado, and nothing was attempted on either side; the same course we held all Friday and Saturday, by which time the Spanish fleet cast anchor just before Calais. We likewise did the same, a very small distance behind them, and so continued till Monday morning about two of the clock; in which time our council of war had provided six old hulks, and stuffed them full of all combustible matter fit for burning, and on Monday, at two in the morning, they were let loose, with each of them a man in her to direct them. The tide serving, they brought them very near the Spanish fleet, so that they could not miss to come amongst the midst of them: then they set fire on them, and came off themselves, having each of them a little boat to bring him off. The ships set on fire came so directly to the Spanish fleet, as they had no way to avoid them, but to cut all their halsers, and so escape; and their haste was such, that they left one of their four great galeasses on ground before Calais, which our men took, and had the spoil of, where many of the Spaniards were slain with the governor thereof, but most of them were saved with wading ashore to Calais. They being in this disorder, we made ready to follow them, where began a cruel fight, and we had such advantage both of wind and tide, as we had a glorious day of them; continuing fight from four o'clock in the morning till almost five or six at night, where they lost a dozen or fourteen of their best ships, some sunk, and the rest ran ashore in divers parts to keep themselves from sinking. After God had given us this great victory, they made all the haste they could away, and we followed them Tuesday and Wednesday, by which time they were gotten as far as Flamborough-head. It was resolved on Wednesday at night, that, by four o'clock on Thursday, we should have a new fight with them for a farewell; but by two in the morning, there was a flag of council hung out in our vice-admiral, when it was found that in the whole fleet there was not munition sufficient to make half a fight; and therefore, it was there concluded, that we should let them pass, and our fleet to return to the Downs. That night we parted with them, we had a mighty storm. Our fleet cast anchor, and endured it; but the Spanish fleet, wanting their anchors, were many of them cast ashore on the west of Ireland, where they had all their throats cut by the kernes; and some of them on Scotland, where they were no better used; and the rest, with much ado, got into Spain again. Thus did God bless us, and gave victory over this invincible navy; the sea calmed, and all our ships came to the Downs on Friday in safety." *Memoirs of Carey, Earl of Monmouth.*

Sir Cha. Blunt. Blunt, brother to the Lord Mountjoy. But much speech is of two gentlemen of the
M. Thomas Gerard. court that went to the navy at the same time, whose names are Thomas Gerard and
M. W. Harvie. William Harvie, to me not knowen, but now here about London spoken of with great fame. These two adventured out of a ship boate, to scale the great galliasse wherein Moncada was, and entered the same only with their rapiers: a matter commonlie spoken, that never the like was hazarded afore, considering the height of the galliasse compared to a ship boate.[a]

And yet to make it more manifest, how earnest all sorts of noble men and gentlemen
Earle of Oxford. were to adventure their lives in this service, it is reported, that the Earle of Oxford, who is one of the most auncient earles of this land, went also to the sea, to serve in the queene's armie. There went also for the same purpose, a second sonne of the lord
M. Robert Cecil treasurer, called, as I can remember, Robert Cecil: there went also about that time to
L. Dudley. the seas, the Lord Dudley an auncient baron of the realm, and Sir Walter Ralegh a
Sir Walter Ralegh. gentleman of the queen's privy chamber, and in his company a great number of young
M. W. Cecil. gentlemen, amongst whom I remember the names of the heire of Sir Thomas Cecil,
M. Ed. Darcy. called William Cecil, of Edward Darcy, Arthure Gorge, and such others: with the re-
M. Arthure Gorge. hearsall of whom I doe not comfort myselfe, but only to shew you, how farre we have bene deceived, to thinke that we should have had a partie here for us, when as you see both by lande and by sea, all sorts of men were so readie of their owne charges, without either commandment, or entertainment, to adventure their lives in defence of the queen and the realme.

Earle of Huntington. And for the Earl of Huntington's forces, being lieutenant general of the north, it is reported, that he hath put in readines for an army in Yorkshire, and other countries commonly limited to serve against Scotland, to the number of forty thousand well armed footemen, and neare hande ten thousande horsemen, to come to him if any occasion of invasion should be in the north partes: to whom are joyned with their forces three lordes
L. Scroop. in the north, the Lord Scroop, Lord Darcy, and Lord Evers.
L. Darcy.
L. Evers. There are also divers other lordes that are lieutenantes of countries, that have in readines
Earl of Kent. of their proper charges good nombers of horsemen. As the Earle of Kent, lieutenant of
L. Hunsdon. Bedfordshire; the Lord Hunsdon lord chamberleine, lieutenant of Norfolk and Suffolk;
L. Cobham. the Lord Cobham, lieutenant of Kent; the Lord Gray of Buckinghamshire; the Lord
L. Graye. North of Cambridgeshire; Lord Chandos of Glocestershire; Lord S. John of Huntington-
L. North. shire; Lord Buckhurst of Sussex; and so by this particuler recitall not unmeet for your
L. Chandos. knowledge, it is to be noted what disposition the nobilitie of the realme had at this time
L. Saint John. to have withstood all invasion. And if percase you shall pursue your ordinary catalogue
L. Buckhurst. of the great lordes of the realme, you shall finde that these are the substance of all the great lords, saving three young earles within age, Rutland, Southampton, and Bedford;
Earl of Rutland. all three brought up in perverse religion. And so remaineth to be spoken of, the Earle
Earl of Southampton. of Arundell, who is in the Tower for attempting to have fled out of the realme, by provo-
Earl of Bedford. cation of him, that now is Cardinall Allen: who, howsoever he may be affected to the catholique religion, yet I heare most certainly that he offreth his life in defence of the queene against all the world.[b]

And where accompt was made to have a partie in this realme, which by these former relacions appeares could not be possible, the whole nobilitie being assured to the queene, and the force of the people not violently bent that way: in this very time was offered to

[a] This is perhaps the first example of boarding from boats, in which the English seamen are now so expert.

[b] Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, was, however, tried in the following year, not only for the offence mentioned in the text, but for acknowledging the bull of Sextus V., celebrating mass, even while a prisoner, for the success of the Armada, and lamenting its discomfiture with exceeding sorrow, as if, said the charge against him, he had fixed his last hope and confidence in the success of a fleet fitted out to ruin his prince and country. On this charge he was found guilty of treason, and condemned to death; but being reprieved, he died a prisoner in the year 1587, reduced to extremity by religious austerities.

the queene as great a partie for her, to come to her service, and defence of the realme, as out of all Christendome, she could not have to all respects a stronger; which was the King of Scottes, who hearing of the intended invasion of the realme, sent a gentleman to the queene, with his letter, as I credibly heard, to offer her all the power that he had to defend her and her realme: and if she so would, he would come in his owne person, and hazard his owne life, to defend this realme against all invaders for religion, or any other pretence whatsoever. So by this you may see, what accompt may be made of any vaine promises, made in the name of this king. And because you shall perceive that I have good meanes to have intelligence of any other forces of the realme for defence thereof, it is most certaine as I heare, and I have sene a list or rol of a great number both of horsemen and footemen, which the bishops of the realme have of their owne charges, with the contribution of the clergy, raised up in bandes of horsemen and footemen, which are to be led by noble gentlemen at the queene's nomination; and these bandes must be vainely termed *Milites Sacri.*

Offer of the King of Scots to the Queen of England.

Bands of horsemen and footemen erected by the bishops.

As to the last point of the three foundations of the principall hope conceived, whereupon the invasion was chiefly grounded and taken in hand, which was most certeinly and generally beleeved, that there should be found here in the realm a strong partie of catholiques against the queene, to joyne and assist the invaders, upon the appearing of the Spanish navie; by my former relations of the generall great and fervent love of the people towardes the queene, and of the great offers of service now made by the whole nobilitie of the realme, this their foundation may appeare to have bene wrong laied, onely by imaginations, as it were upon a quick-sand, or rather as flying in the air. And yet it appeareth very truely that no small accompt was made hereof by the king of Spaine, and by his principall ministers; for there is nothing at this present more universally, with one lamentable voyce, spoken of, by all the multitude of the Spaniards, now here prisoners, yea by the chiefest of them, then that they now evidently see, that the king their master was with such informations greatly abused, yea rather betrayed. For they say there was no man of value in all this armie, but he heard it constantly affirmed, and so delivered for comfort of all that served therein, before they were shipped, that they should not be afrayed of any resistance to land in England, for that there was good assurance given to the king, that they should find a strong armie of catholiques ready in their favour, assoone as ever their navie should be sene upon the sea coast, and so they all here say they were incouraged to come to this journey; otherwise, many of them sweare they would never have come on shipboard; so unlikely, they say, it was, and against all reason, to invade a realme, with opinion to conquere it, without both some title of right, and a partie also; but specially without a good sure partie.

The third and last hope which the Catholikes had of a partie in the realme was all frustrated.

The Spanishe prisoners condemne the K. purpose, as being abused by the exiled Catholikes, whom the Spaniards call traitours to their countrey.

No possibilitie to invade and conquer a realme, without favour of a partie inward.

And therefore now finding this report very false, many of these prisoners do by name curse you, as being the king's ambassadour; as him, they say, who upon the opinion of the knowledge which you had gotten in England, was therein more credited then any other, and had these many yeares together tempted the king their master, upon hope, and other such like perswasions, to attempt such a matter as this was; being utterly in all wisedome to have bene condemned, without some certaintie of this latter part, specially to have had a strong partie here. They also curse all such Englishmen, as have fled out of this countrie, whom they spare not to call arrant traitors, for offering the sale of their countrie to the pope and the king of Spaine. And these prisoners adde also, that they were borne in hand, that this countrie was so open to march in, and so weake to withstand any force, and the people so miserable, as they thought the conquest thereof had bene of no more difficulty then the overcomming of a nomber of naked Indians was at the beginning of the conquest thereof by king Ferdinand.

The Spanishe prisoners condemne the enterprise and course of Don Bernardin of Mendoza.

And now for strength of this countrie and people; many of these prisoners having bene brought from the sea coastes hether to London, whereby they have observed the countrie and the people, doe speake marvelously thereof, counting the same invincible,

otherwise then by treason of some great partie within the realme. But whether all these speeches which are commonly reported of them proceede from their hartes, or that they speake thus to please the English, because they are well used by them, who also are easily deceived with flattery, I know not; but sure I am they do thus speake dayly, with outward shewe of great passions against such as have bene perswaders to the king for thi journey. Divers of them also which are of good judgment, and have heard of such of the English banished men, as have bene in Spaine, and have knowen some of them there (as of long time Sir Francis Englefield, and of late the Lord Paget and his brother)[1] have curiously inquired, of what power they were and credit here to have a partie. They also inquired of the earle of Westmerland, although of him they confesse he is a man but of smal government.[2] But our adversaries here have so abased these and al the rest to have bene of no credit, to carry any nombers of men, but by the queene's authoritie when they were at their best; as the prisoners wonder how the king could be so deceived, to geve them pencions, otherwise then for charitie, because of their religion. But they confesse they have often heard in Spaine, how the king was once notably deceived, when one Thomas Stukely a private Englishman, that fled out of Ireland for debt, and other lewd actions, into Spaine, and not being worth one penny, his debts being paied, but the second sonne of a meane gentleman, pretended, and was beleeved in Spaine, (so by intitling of him selfe) to be a Duke, a Marquis, and an Earle of Ireland; and so was a long time entertained, as a man that could do great service against the queene of England, until at length the king understood his falshood, and so banished him out of Spaine;[3] and repairing to Rome, he was by the pope also maintayned for a time, untill he was dicovered even by some good catholiques, that could not endure the pope's holines to be so grossely mocked; of whom some of the prisoners using merry speeches, how both the emperour Charles, and afterwards this king and the pope were so notably deceived by this Stukely, doe conclude merely, that they thinke some of these English, that have thus abused the king, have followed Stukely's steppes. And in very truth, I and many others have bene very often ashamed to heare so broade speeches, of the king, and of the pope, yea of the emperour Charles, whom such a companion as Stukely was, could so notably deceive; and the more to be marveiled it was, how he could deceive the king catholique, considering he was knowen to many of his counsell, at the king's being in England, to have bene but a vaunting beggar, and a ruffian, and afterwards a pirat against the Spaniards.

Sir Francis Englefield. Lord Paget.

Earle of Westmerland.

Thomas Stukley's abusing of the King of Spaine and the Pope, newly remembred by the Spaniardes.

[1] Sir Francis Inglefield, master of horse to Queen Mary, fled beyond seas soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession. Lord Paget escaped about the time that Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland was apprehended. His brother, Charles Paget, had long been an agent for Queen Mary.

[2] The Earl of Westmoreland, after his escape to Flanders in 1579, obtained the command of a regiment of English fugitives. But being a man of a violent temper, he seems frequently to have been engaged in disgraceful broils. At one time we find him poniarding Taylor, one of his own officers; at another he is described by an English spy as being, "according to his wont, poor, and regardless of all the world. Capstoak," adds the narrator, "his kinsman, and Lockwood a follower of his, for late murthering of Alexander Snigo, because he took part with Italians against my lord, are lately absolved by his means."—Again "the Lord of Westmoreland being braved a little before at the court of Bruges by a Spanish cavalier, and said that his king had not need of any English Catholics in that action; that he was of himself mighty enough; that the English Catholics would but prove traitors if they were employed, with other like terms of reproach; my said lord not able to endure such terms, drew upon him, and had surely murdered the Spaniard, had not the fray been taken up for the present by such as stood by, and the quarrel afterwards taken up between them by the prince himself." *Copley's Letter to the Lords of Council in Strype's Annals.* From this last anecdote the reader may at once see the temper of Westmoreland, and the slight esteem in which the English Catholics were held by the Spaniards.

[3] Not however until he had spent a considerable sum of Spanish money, as appears from the note of sums issued to English fugitives, printed in Murdin's *State Papers*, Vol I. p. 243.

"The keng gave to Thomas Stucley at tyms, from hys ferst comeng, which was yn Apryll 1570 to August in 1574, and that he spent the keng in howse keping at Madred, at the keng's charge, for on six monethes ther, at 500 ryalls of platt per daye, for the sayed six monethes, and all the rest which Thomas Stucley have reseved at tyms to 27 thowsand doketts, 576 doketts, which ys 27,576 doketts."

The history of Stukeley is given elsewhere. Of his piracies mentioned below I know nothing except that in 1563 he obtained a license to make discoveries in Florida, and to cruize upon the French; and probably, like Drake and others, employed his force against the Spaniards. See *Murdin's State Papers*, Vol. I. p. 401.

Now my lord ambassadour, by these my large relations of the things evil past, and of the opinions of such as I have lately dealt withall, with mine owne conceit also, which I do not vainely imagine, your lordship may see, in the first part, our present calamitie, and miserable estate; in the second part, the state of this queene, her realme, her people, their mindes, their strength, so farre contrary to the expectation of the pope's holines, the king catholique, and specially of you (my lord) and all others, that have bene in hand these many yeres with this action, as I know not what course shall, or may bee thought meete to take, seeing it is seene by experience, that by force our cause cannot bee releeved. Neither will any change amend the matter, when this queene shall end her daies, (as al princes are mortall) for both the universalitie of the people through the realme, are so firmely and desperately bent against our religion, as nothing can prevaile against their united forces. And whosoever shall by right succeed to this crowne after the queene (who is likely to live as long as any king in Christendome) if the crowne should come to the king of Scots, or to any other of the blood royall, as there are very many within this realme descended both of the royall houses of Yorke and Lancaster; there is no accompt to be made, but every one of them, that now live at this day, are knowen to be as vehemently disposed to withstand the authoritie of the pope, as any of the most earnest protestant or heretique in the world. So as to conclude, after all circumstances well considered, for the present I know no other way, but to commit the cause to almightie God, and to all the saints in heaven, with our continuall praiers; and in earth to the holy counsels of the pope, and his cardinals, with our supplications to releeve the afflicted number of our exiled brethren, and to send into the realme discreete, holy, and learned men, that may onely in secrete maner, without intermedling in matters of estate, by teaching confirme us in our faith, and gaine with charitable instruction others that are not rooted in heresie.

A conclusion by the writer, to perswade another course, not by violence.

No hope for furtherance of the Pope's authoritie by any now living that may succeede the queene in the line royal.

A conclusion what is best to mainteine the Catholike religion in England.

And for reliefe of such as are forced to pay yeerely great sommes of money out of their revenue, because they forbeare to come to the church, it were to be charitably considered, whether there might not be some dispensation from the pope's holines, for some fewe yeares, to tollerate their comming to the church, without changing of their faith; considering a great number doe stand therein, not for any thing (as they say) used in this church that is directly contrarie to God's law, but for that the rites and prayers (though they are collected out of the body of the scripture) are not allowed by the catholique church, and the head thereof, which is the pope's holines; and for that cause justly, all true catholiques accompt this church to be schismaticall. By which remedie of tolleration, a great number of such as will bee perpetually catholiques, might enjoy their livings and libertie; and in proces of time, the catholique religion (by God's goodnesse) might with more suretie bee increased, to the honour of God, then ever it can be by any force whatsoever. For so did all christian religion at the first begin, and spread it selfe over the world; not by force, but onely by teaching and example of holines in the teachers, against all human forces. And so I will end my long letters, with the sentence which King David used foure times in one of his psalmes, *Et clamaverunt ad Dominum in tribulatione eorum, et de angustia eorum liberavit eos;* And so must we make that for our foundation to lay our hope upon, for all other hopes are vaine and false.

A tolleration from the Pope for the recusants in England.

At London, the of August, 1588.

After that I had made an end of this my letter, which I found by perusall thereof to have bene at more length then I looked for, although the matters therein conteined did draw me thereto, and that I had made choice of a frend of mine who had more knowledge in the French tong than I, to turne the same into French; my mishap was, that when he had done some part thereof, he fell sicke of a burning fever, whereby my letter remained with him upon hope of recovery for fenne or twelve dayes; and seeing no hope

thereof, I entreated another very trustie and a sound catholike, having perfect knowledge in the French tong, who took upon him to put it into French, wherein was also longer time spent; so as my letter being written in the middest of August, I am forced to end it in September; and thereupon I thought good, whiles my former letter was in translating to adde some thinges happened in the mean time meet for your knowledge.

About the seventh of August, the lord admirall returned with the navie, having followed the Spanish navie (as they reported) as farre as the 55 degree northwardes; the Spanish navie taking a course either to the furthest partes of Norwey, or to the Orcades beyond Scotland; which if they did, then it was here judged that they would go about Scotland and Ireland; but if they should go to Norwey, then it might be, that if they could recover provisions of mastes, whereof the English navie had made great spoile, they might return. But I, for my part, wished them a prosperous wind to passe home about Ireland, considering I despaired of their returne for many respectes, both of their wantes, which could not be furnished in Norwey, and of the lacke of the duke of Parma's habilitie to bring his army on the sea, for want of mariners. Neverthelesse, upon knowledge from Scotland that they were beyond the Orcades, and that the king of Scottes had geven commandment upon all the sea coasts that the Spaniards should not be suffered to land in any part, but that the English might land and be releeved of any wantes; order was geven to discharge all the navie, saving twenty shippes that were under the Lord Henry Seymour's charge, to attend upon the duke of Parma's attemptes either towardes England, which was most unlikely, or toward Zeland, which began to be doubted. But within three or four daies after this, suddenly there came report to the court, that the Spanish navie had refreshed it self in the islandes beyonde the Orcades, both with water plentifully, and with bread, fish, and flesh, as for their money they could get; and would return hether once againe, to attend on the duke of Parma's armie, to conduct it by sea into England. Whereupon grew some new busines here, wherewith I know the queene and her counsell was not a little perplexed what to do, but in the end, order was geven to staie the disarming of her navy, and so the whole navie was very speedely made ready againe, onely upon the former reportes; wherewith I and many others were very glad, to see them thus newly troubled, and upon every light report put to great charges. But this lasted not past eight or tenne dayes; for upon more certain knowledge by two or three pinnases, that were sent to discover where the Spanish fleet was, which certified that they were beyond the Orcades, sailing towardes the west, in very evill case, having many of their people dead in those north partes, and in great distresse for lacke of mastes, and also of mariners; a new commaundment was geven to dissolve the navie, saving that which should attend on the duke of Parma; and so the lord admirall returned with the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Henry Seymour, Lord Sheffeld, Sir Francis Drake, with all the captaines to the court, saving such as had charge of the fleete, that was under the Lord Henry. And upon the returne of these sea men to the citie, there are spread such reports, to move the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, gentlewomen, and all other vulgar people of all sorts, into a mortal hatred of the Spaniards, as the poore Spanish prisoners were greatly afraid to have bene all massacred; for that it was published, and of many beleeved, that the lordes of Spain that were in the navie, had made a special division amongst themselves, of all the noblemen's houses in England by their names, and had in a sort quartered England among themselves, and had determined of sundry manners of cruell death, both of the nobilitie, and of the rest of the people. The ladies, women, and maidens, were also destined to all villainie; the rich merchants houses in London were put into a register by their very names, and limited to the companies of the squadrons of the navie for their spoil. And to increase more hatred, it was reported, that there were a great number of halters brought in the Spanish navie, to strangle the vulgar people, and certain irons graven with markes, to be heated for the marking of all children in their faces, being under seven yeeres of age, that they might be knowen hereafter, to have

Orders taken by the K. of Scots in favour of the English.

Great murmurs of all sortes against the Spaniards.

Report of the horrible cruelties intended by the Spaniards.

bene the children of the conquered nation.[1] These were commonly reported by those that came from the English navie, as having heard the Spaniards confesse the same; so as for a time there was a general murmure, that the Spanish prisoners ought not to be suffered to live, as they did, but to bee killed, as they had purposed to have done the English. But the wiser sort of men, and such as had the charge of the prisoners, having no commandement from the counsel, did straitly looke to the safetie of the prisoners, as a matter not to be so rashly suffered. But to content the people with some other matter, there was upon Sunday last, at the request of the mayor and his brethren, a great number of banners, streamers, and ensignes, which were wonne from the Spanish navie, brought to Paul's church-yard, and there shewed openly in the sermon time, to the great rejoysing of all the people,[2] And afterwards they were carried to the crosse in Cheap, and afterwards to London bridge; whereby the former rage of the people was greatly asswaged, the fury generally converted into triumph, by boasting in every place, that this was the act of God, who had heard the fervent prayers of the people, and was pleased with their former prayers and fastings; to have such banners, and streamers which the Spaniards meant to have brought and set up in all places of the citie, as monuments of their triumphes, by his good providence in punishing the pride of the Spaniards, now to be erected by the English, as monuments of their victories, and of perpetual shame to the Spaniardes. Upon these shewes great rejoycing followed; and as in June and July past, all churches were filled daily with people exercised with prayers and shewes of repentance, and petitions to God for defence against their enemies; and in many churches continually thrice in the week exercises of praiers, sermons, and fastings al the day long from morning to evening, with great admiration to see such general devotion (which I and others did judge to proceede more of feare then of devotion) so now, since the English navy is returned, and the Spanish navie defeated, and intelligence brought of the disorders in Flaunders; of the discentions betwixt the Spaniards, and the other soldiers; of the contempt of the duke of Parma by the Spaniards, being thereto maintained by a duke called the duke of Pastraw, the king catholique's bastard; and of the departure and running away of the duke's mariners,[3] here is a like concourse of the people to sermons in all churches; wherein is remembred the great goodnes of God towards England, by the delivery thereof from threatned conquest, and praiers also publikely to give thanks to God for the same.

Banners, streamers, and ensignes of the Spaniards, shewed to the people.

Daily praiers.

Publike praiers and giving of thanks.

At London, this of September, 1588.

[1] See introduction to Queen Elizabeth's speech at Tilbury, page 429.

[2] "The eyght of September, the preacher at Paules crosse mooved the people to give God thankes for the overthrow of our enemyes the Spanyardes; and there were shewed eleven ensignes or banners taken in the Spanish shippes by our men; these ensignes were set upon the lower battlements of Paules church, before the preacher and the audience, (which was great) all saving one streamer, wherein was an image of Our Ladie, with her Sonne in her armes, &c. and this was helde in a mans hand over the pulpit.

"And the same banners were on the next morrow hanged on London bridge towards Southwarke, where then was kept Our Lady fayre, for all beholders, to their great rejoycing."—STOWE's *Chron.* p. 750.

[3] The mariners who had been provided to navigate the vessels in which the prince of Parma was to have embarked his army, absconded in great numbers, when they perceived how little protection the Armada of Spain was likely to afford the convoy.

The Printer to the Reader.

Although it be well known, that neither the first writer of these letters nowe by me printed, nor yet the Spaniard Don Bernardin, to whome they are directed, had any desire to heare of any good successe to the state of England: as may appeare in the writer, by shewing himselfe grieved, to make any good report of England, other then of meere necessitie he was urged: and in Don Bernardin, who was so impudent, or at the least, so blindly rash, as to disperse in print, both in French, Italian, and Spanish, most false reports of a victorie had by the Spaniards, even when the victorie was notiable on the part of England, and the Spanish vanquished: yet whilest I was occupied in the printing hereof, a good time after the letters were sent into Fraunce, there came to this citie certaine knowledge, to all our great comfort, of sundrie happie accidents, to the diminution of our mortall enemies in their famous fleete, that was driven out of our seas about the last of July, towards the farthermost north partes of Scotland. Wherefore I have thought it not amisse to joine the same to this letter of Don Bernardin, that he may beware not to be so hastie of himselfe, nor yet to permit one Capella, who is his common sower of reports, to write these false things for truthes.

The particularities whereof are these: The fleete was by tempest driven beyond the Isles of Orkney, about the first of August, which is nowe more then sixe weekes past, the place being above threescore degrees from the North Pole: an unaccustomed place for the yong gallants of Spaine, that never had felt stormes on the sea, or cold weather in August. And about these north islands their mariners and souldiers died daily by multitudes; as by their bodies cast on land did appeare. And after twentie dayes or more having spent their time in miseries, they being desirous to returne home to Spaine, sayled very farre southwestward into the ocean to recover Spaine. But the almightie God, who alwayes avengeth the cause of his afflicted people which put their confidence in him, and bringeth downe his enemies that exalteth them selves with pride to the heavens, ordred the winds to be so violently contrarious to this proud navie, as it was with force dissevered, on the high seas west upon Ireland; and so a great number of them driven into sundrie dangerous bayes, and upon rockes, all along the west and north parts of Ireland, in sundrie places distant above an hundred miles asunder, and there cast away, some sonke, some broken, some runne on sands, some burned by the Spaniards themselves.

As in the north part of Ireland towardes Scotland, betwix the two rivers of Loughfoile and Lough Swilley, nine were driven to land, and many of them broken, and the Spaniardes forced to come to land for succour amongst the wilde Irish.

In another place, twentie miles southwest from thence, in a bay called Calbeggy, three other ships were driven also upon rocks. In another place southward, being a bay, called the Borreys, twentie miles north from Gallowey, belonging to the Erle of Ormond, one special great ship, of a thousand tonne, with fiftie brasse peeces, and foure canons, was sonke, and all the people drowned saving sixteene; who by their apparell, as it is advertised out of Ireland, seeme to be persons of great estimation.

Then to come more to the sowthward, thirty miles upon the coasts of Thomond, north from the river Shennan, two or three mo perished, whereof one was burned by the Spaniards them selves, and so driven to the shore: another was of S. Sebastians, wherein were three hundred men, who were also all drowned saving three score. A third ship with all her lading was cast away at a place called Breckan.

In another place afore Sir Tirlogh Obryne's house, there was also another great ship lost, supposed to be a Galliasse. These losses above mentioned, were betwixt the fifth and tenth of September, as was advertised from sundrie places out of Ireland: so as by accompt, from the one and twentieth of July, when this navie was first beaten with the navie of England, untill the tenth of September, being the space of seven weeks, and more, it is most likely that the sayde navie had never good day, nor night.

Of the rest of the navie, report is also made that many of them have bene seene, lying off and on, upon the coast of Ireland, tossed with the winds in such sort, as it is also doubted that many of them shall hardly recover Spaine, if they be so weakened with lacke of victuals and mariners, as part of their companies that are left on land do lamentably report. These accidents I thought good to adde to the printed copies of the letters of Don Bernardin; that he may see how God doth favour the just cause of our gracious Queene, in shewing his anger towardes these proud boasting enemies of christian peace; as the whole world, from Rome to the uttermost parts of Christendome, may see, that she and her realme, professing the gospel of his sonne Christ, are kept and defended, as the words of the Psalme are, Under the shadowe of his wings from the face of the wicked, that sought to afflict her, and compasse her round about to take away her soule: which, I doubt not, by thankfulnesse yeelded by her majestie and her whole realme, will alwayes continewe.

The of Octob. 1588.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes sent abroad in the World; first printed in Spaine, in the Spanish Tongue, and translated out of the originall. Now ripped up, unfolded, and, by just examination, condemned, as conteyning false, corrupt, and detestable Wares, worthy to be damned and burned. "Thou shalt destroy them that speak lies, the Lord wil abhorre the bloody aud deceitfull man." Psalm v. ver. 6.—*Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queene's most excellent Majestie.* 1588. Quarto, in black letter, containing thirteen pages.

From the HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

1. The true relation of the success of the Catholike armie[1] against their enemies, by letters of the post-master of Logrono of the fourth of September, and by letters from

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

1. "It is wel knowen to all the worlde how false all this relation is, and either falsely coloured by the letters remembred, or els both the post-master of Logrono, and

[1] The Invincible Armada in 1588.

Roan of the one-and-thirtieth of August,[2] and by letters from Paris of the king's embassadour there; wherein he declareth the imprisonment of Francis Drake, and other great nobles of England, and how the queene is in the fielde with an armie,[3] and of a certain mutinie which was amongst the queenes armie, with the successe of the said Catholike armie since they entred in the Groyne, till they came on the coast of England, with two ballets, compounded by Christopher Bravo, a blind man[4] of Cordowa; printed, with lycence, by Gabriel Ramos Beiarano, printer.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spain.

By a Letter of Diego Peres, chiefe Postmaster of Logrono, dated the 2d of September 1588.

2. The newes of England is confirmed here, by a letter of the governour of Roan. He writeth, he hathe in his power the chief pilote of Captaine Drake, and that he knoweth that all the English armie remained overthrowen, having sunke two and

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

2. "The governour of Roan is accompted a worthy noble man, and therefore he shall do wel to make this report of him to be knowen for a lye; for so surely he knoweth it to be, that there was never either a chiefe pilote, or the value of a boy the writers from Roan, ought to be waged as intelligencers for the devill, the father of lyes, whom they have herein trulye served; and if they so continue in mayntenance thereof against the known trueth, their damnation is certaine, and hell is open for them."

[2] The letters from the king's embassadour, whose name is Mendoza, agreeable to their master's name, being the reporter of *Mendacia mendacissima;* and considering that he hath written, That Francis Drake is imprisoned, and many nobles of England, if Mendoza will stand to his letters, so as he would gage, and, by his hande-writinge, assure but his worst jennet and his belles, he shall be answered for the said Sir Francis Drake's person, or any nobleman, gentleman, or page, so taken in the fight betweene the two armies, for the ransom of every of the said prisoners fortie-thousande crownes, in the Royal Exchange of London. But the trueth is, Sir Francis Drake was so farre off to be a prisoner, that he was the taker; for he tooke Pedro de Valdez, and four hundred more Spanish prisoners, at one time. And, to prove this to be true, Mendoza shall have, if he will require it, Pedro Valdez owne hande, to shewe that he is prisoner to Sir Francis Drake, and four hundred more taken with him, and not one Englishman taken in that service.

[3] It is so false, that there was any mutinie in the queene's armie, that she herselfe was there, with the greatest honour, love, and applause received, that coulde be imagined for a lady and a queene. She rode round about her armie, and passed through every part thereof, to their inestimable comfort; she lodged and did eat in the campe as quietly as ever she did in her owne chamber. In the armie was never any fray or discord; exercise of armes was daily used and shewed before her, to her great honour; yea, and with an universall extolling of God's name every day, morning and evening, in loude prayers and psalmes; and the like song, in her owne hearing, against all tyranny, by invasion of God's enemies; and this every man may judge to be farre from any colour of mutinie.

[4] It was a meete occupation for a blinde man, to put lyes into songs: and, if he knewe how false his verses were when he published them, it were to be wished that he had his eyes restored to see his lyes, and then his tongue cutte out that uttered them, and his eyes cleane plucked out of his head, that he should never see any more written lyes. As for his cares, it were good to have them open, to heare men call him, justly, a notable blinde lyar.

twentie shippes, and taken fourtie,[5] and imprisoned Francis Drake, having given them chase almost as hie as Abspurge,[6] and slaine many by the sword; and likewise sayeth, that there was found, in Captaine Drake's shippe, a piece of ordinance of five-and-twentie foote long, which discharged a shotte of a hundreth weight at once, made of purpose, with one onely shot, to sinke our Spanish admirall; and it pleased God, although she was somewhat battered, yet was she repaired againe, and overthrewe the English armie.

of Captaine Drakes, taken and brought to him as a prisoner.

" The governours of Bollen and Calleis can informe the governour of Roan how false a report it was, that the English armie remained overthrowen afore Calleis: The English armie fought with the Spanish; chased the Spanish as a brace of greyhounds would a herde of deere; the Spaniards ships were beaten, spoyled, burnt, sunke, some in the maine seas afore Dunkirke, some afore Flushing, and the rest chased away; so as they fledde continually afore the English navie in their best order for strength, without daring to abide any fight: yea, some one of the English shippes fought with three of their galleasses; the Spaniards never attempting to board any English, but as many of them as could saile away, fled with all their sailes, and were followed by the English, until they were chased out of all the English seas, and forced them to runne a violent course about Scotland, and so to Ireland, where a great number of their ships are drowned, their men taken, and many killed by the savage people for their spoyle; and the English navie, upon good consideration, left them, when they sawe them so hastily to flie desperatly into the northern daungerous seas, where the English navie did very certainely knowe, that there would be no safety for them to follow the Spanish. Why durst any report, that twenty-two English shipes were sunke, and fortie were taken, when, in trueth, there was not any one of the English shippes sunke or taken? A strange disposition, to forge such great lyes, whereof there was no ground nor colour. If any one or two of the English had been sunke, a lyar might have put the number of twenty for two, and excused the lye by error of figuring; but of none in nomber no nomber can be made but by falshood. The go-

[5] If Drake's shippes were taken, if there was such a piece of ordinance of such a length, In what port is that shippe? In whose possession is that piece? Drake is returned with honour; his shippe, called the Revenge, is in harborow, ready for a revenge by a new service. No shippe lost; no ordinance missing.

[6] The foolish lyar maketh mention of Abspurge in Scotland. In all Scotland is no such place. In Germanie is a countrey called Habspurg; but any wager may be layd, that none of the Spanish came ever thither. Every line, or every sentence, conteineth a lye.

vernour of Roan, being a man of great honour and vertue, ought to revenge this shamefull lye made upon him; for Lucian never did, in all his lyes, use more impudencie, then these Spanish lyars doe report of him."

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Copie of a Letter that John Gamarra wrote from Roan, the 31st of August, of the same Yeere.

3. The English have lost above fortie ships in one encounter, where they coulde not flie, which was in Luxaten,* a haven in Scotland, to the which place, since the departure of the Spanish armies from Calleis, the English armie followed; and, supposing they went to take that haven, they got before ours to defend the entrance: we seeing them so neere the English fleete, and that they coulde not retire, as they alwayes did, when they pleased, to the English havens, they set upon them so valiantly, that they sunke twenty of their shippes, and they tooke twenty-six whole and sound; and the rest, seeing their destruction, fled away with great losse of men, and their shippes very much battered; and with this, they say, the Spanish armie tooke the haven, where they are very well lodged, as every one affirmeth, and so the newes is here; I pray God give them good successe. We understande, by the post come from Calleis, that in England it is forbidden, upon paine of deathe and losse of goods, that nobody doe write newes from thence to any place; which confirmeth the newes above.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

3. "All this is likewise as full of lyes as lines. John Gamarra may be what he is; but if there be such a man, and that he wrote as is mentioned, except he be a professed member of the devill to forge lyes, he knoweth that he wrote falsely."

The Duke himselfe is returned, let him confirme this untrueth, that he overthrewe the English armie; it cannot be imagined, that he, being a person of so great honour, will allow so notorious a lye to be taken for a trueth; for if he had such a victorie, Why did he not land to conquere England? Why did he never enter into any part of England? Why did he never cary any ensigne of England into Spaine, to shew, as very many of the Spanish were brought into England.

* He noteth also a haven in Scotland, called Luxaten; none such was ever knowen there. In Utopia there may be such a one. No Spaniard can saye they tooke any haven in Scotland. It is altogether vaine otherwise to reprove this; but al that is reported are lyes; and so let Gamarra repent, or follow the devill, his master, the father of malicious lyes.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Coppie of a Letter that Pedro de Alva did write from Roan, the first of September of the same Yeere.

4. I do not write newes of the Spanish armie, because they are divers, and woulde gladly write the very trueth. Nowe, by the newes which runneth from divers places, as Calleis, Deepe, and Hollande, and presumptions from England, and other places, it is holden for certaine, that they have fought with the English, and broken their heads, having sunke many of their shippes, and taken others; and the rest, which they say were twenty-seven shippes, returned, very much battered, to the river of London, which are all those that coulde escape. There goeth with this post another post of Iorge Seguin of Calles, which saith, that certaine masters and mariners of Zeland did affirme to the governour of Calleis, Mounsieur de Gorden, that our fleete is in a haven, or river, in Scotland, called Trifla,[1] where they say there may ride two thousand shippes; this is that which commonly is currant here.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

4. "This Pedro Alva coulde be content to send lyes, but he is more warie in the avowing of them; he reporteth lyes, as he saith, that came from other places; but, of all other places, none coulde make a truer report then Calleis, where the governour and all the inhabitants saw the Spanish armie mightily beaten by the English; and it was affirmed, by men there of great judgement, that never was seene, by any man living, such a battery, so great for nomber, so furious, and of so long continuance, as the English made against the Spanish. Calleis sawe the Spanish armie first driven from their ancres with fire; they sawe the greatest galliasse of the Spanish, whereof was commander that worthy nobleman Moncada, spoyled, and himselfe slaine in the galliasse by the English. Calleis did see, the next day, that the English navie fought, and did beat the Spanish Armada from eight of the clocke in the morning untill four in the afternone, without any ceasing.

"Calleis sawe the Spanish hoyse up al their sayles, and flie as faste as winde could drive, and the English to follow and pursue them; and yet Calleis saw a sufficient navie of England left afore Dunkirke, able to master all the shipping that the Duke of Parma had provided."

[1] The last part of this report is a like lye to the other; there is no such port in Scotland, called Trifla; neither did any of the Spaniards take succour in any haven, nor yet coulde have done, by reason of the contrary windes.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Advise from London, which the Embassadour of our Soveraigne Lord the King, resident in Paris, had from thence.

5. By newes from London, of the twenty-sixth of August, it is knowen for most certaine, from persons of credit, that the queene's admirall-generall was arrived in the river of London with twenty-five ships onely, without his admirall shippe,[1] which was taken by our Admirall Saint John; and it is well knowen in England, that, to hide the losse of their admirall shippe, they say he put himselfe in a smaller shippe, the better to follow our armie; and it is knowen for certaintie that he saved himself in a boat, when he lost his shippe; that Drake for certaintie is taken or slaine. The same is confirmed by the way of Holland, by a pinnasse of theirs. And from Austerland, that the queene commanded, upon paine of death, that nobody shoulde speake of her fleete; and that there was great sorrow in those parts of England; and that the queene had in the field thirty thousand raw souldiers, betwixt Dover and Margate; and that the Catholikes,[2] understanding that all their fleete was dispersed, moved a certaine mutinie, which forced the queene to go herselfe into the fielde; and for certaine it is knowen, that there is not brought into England neither ship nor boat of ours more then the ship of Don Pedro Valdez; and that our fleete was gone into Scotland, and arrived in a haven called [3]Trapena Euxaten.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

5. "Here followeth the mountain of lyes. It is reason, that if there were lyars in London, they should send them to Mendoza; for so Mendacia are of more price with him then true reportes, and so was he accustomed when he was embassadour in England, to buye more lyes, because he liked them better then trueths.

"If one should make a section, or anatomie of this mountaine and body of lyes, there is no piece, nor joint, to be found sound."

[1] The admirall shippe, which was called the Arke Royall, was safely brought home by the Lord Admirall of England, Lord Howard; he never changed her; she is, thanked be God, safe with other the queene's royal ships. She is able, with the lord admirall, to match in fight with the Duke of Medina, or any prince of christendome, in any shippe that the King of Spaine hath. This is not spoken for ostentation; but God's favour is assured to England, in the justice of the quarrel against any invadour.

[2] If there were a mutinie of Catholikes, they should have bene hanged or punished; but it was not knowen that one Catholike did stir this summer, with hand or tongue, to moove offence; neither was any one imprisoned, or otherwise punished.

[3] The last line is a lye, with like errour as the former; for there is no haven in Scotland called Trapena Euxaten. This Mendoza was very curious to forge a strange name, as it appeareth he had read of some such in Peru, or in New Spaine.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

By a Letter of the chiefe Postmaster of Bourdeux, written to the French Embassadour, the second of September 1588.

6. After that I had written this, here is arrived a Scottishman, which saith, that all the Spanish fleete is arrived in Scotland, and that the Scottishmen have taken armes against the English.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

6. " This Scottishman, I thinke, hath no name; a manifest lye it was, that Scottishmen had taken armes against the English. Such a lye did Mendoza publish some yeeres past, that the king of Scots had besieged and wonne Barwicke. I trust he remembreth now, how false a lye it was; but yet he hath no grace, as it seemeth, to forbeare from forging of lies, for his chollerike appetite. But a manifest trueth it is, that the king of Scots, at the tyme meant, made a generall proclamation, that no Scottishman should victual any Spaniard; for that the king did knowe they came to have conquered both England and Scotland. And on the other side, the king, by proclamation, commanded, that all succours should be given to the armie of England, as being the armie of his sister and confederate, and the prince whom he knew to be invaded most unjustly. Many Scottishmen might, at Bourdeux, have reported this for a trueth."

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Relation of that which hath passed till this day, the fifth of September 1588, *till three of the clocke in the afternoone, knowen by the Relations and Advise come to his Majestie from the happie Fleete, whereof is Generall the Duke of Medina, in the Conquest of England.*

7. That upon the thirtieth of July, without seeing any sayle of the enemies in the sea, he came to the Channell, sixe leagues

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

7. " All these untrue newes are sayde to have come from the Spanish fleete to the king's majestie. By this time it is sure,

from Plimmouth, where understanding the enemies were, he gathered together, and set in order all the fleete; and, sayling the first of August, there was discovered some sayles of the enemies, the which, the second day, were nombred to be lx sayle; of which the duke tooke the wind, and passed without any fight, although he presented the same to them: Howbeit, they began to shoot at the rereward; but the duke, in the galleon, S. Martin, set the prow of his shippe against the biggest of the enemies; the which, being succoured by twenty others, fled away. Of this fight and first encounter, there was sunke three galleasses,[1] and foure mighty galleons of the queenes; there was burnt of ours, by negligence of a gunner, the admirall of Oquendo; and the enemies took the chiefe ship of Don Pedro Valdez, which, being entangled with some others under his charge, was left without tackle, and so neere the enemies, that she coulde not be succoured by others.

With this, our fleete seeing that the enemie, in every point, did flie from giving battle, they sailed with some calme weather, and the enemies after them, shooting alwayes at the rereward, until the seventh, that our fleet ancored in the roade of S. John, betwixt Calleis and Bollin, nine leagues from Dunkerke; and the enemies did the like, the neerest they coulde to England.

The night being approched, the enemies got up their ankers to get the wind, and not to suffer our shippes to goe out of the roade to sea, because they had trimmed viii. shippes of fire, which, with the corrent of the water, should have put themselves amongst our shippes, to have burnt them. But my lord the duke, foreseeing the danger, prevented them, with commandement that the shippes that were neerest should cut their cables, and to take up the others

that the Duke of Medina can tell the king his master some other contrary matters; for else he had no cause to flie aboute Scotland and Ireland."

[1] He also will not say, That either three galleasses, and foure galleons of England, were sunk; or that ever he coulde see one shippe, or one boate of England sunk. He can tell the king, with great griefe, That he never had fortunate day, from his comming from the Groine, till he returned with the losse of as many shippes, men, victuals, treasure, and ordinance, as might have made a good armie by sea. And great pitie it is for Christendome, that both that which is lost, and that which remaineth, had not been used by the King Catholike against the infidels; and not, with ambition, to imploy such kinde of forces to invade christian countreys therewith; who, if he would live in peace with them, would be readie to joine their forces with his, to dilate the fines of Christendome, and forbeare spending of Christian blood amongst Christians.

with a readinesse uncredible; and with this the enemies pretence was hindered; and so got the sea most bravely, and with such good fortune, that, if he had not done it, our armie should have ben in evil case; for, in the very place which we left, there was shotte off by them, out of those fierie shippes, such fires, and other engins, that were sufficient to burne the sea, much more shippes, which are made of wood and pitch.

In this departure, the captaine of the galleasses had a great mischance; for, getting up her anker, a cable fel foule of her helme, that she could not follow the rest; which caused one of her sides to lie so hie, that her ordinance could not play, and so xxv. pinnases came and battered her; and withall this, if the mariners, souldiers, and rowers, that were in her, had not cast themselves into the sea, it is holden for certain, that Don Hugo de Moncada[1] had defended her, as he did untill she came into Calleis, where, at the entrance thereof, he was killed of two caliver-shot. The people on shore defended the galleasse, and all that was in her, and delivered the same to our soveraigne lord the king's ministers.

At this time, the duke had a very franke wind, and the like had the queene's fleete; and so they both passed by the sight of Dunkerke, insomuch as they on land knew the galleon S. Martin, and others, that went fighting with the English armie; and in this order they went till the twelfth.

Afterwards they write, That there came into Calleis a shippe, which saith, that the xii. day,[2] they did see the two fleetes together in sight. Another, which came afterwardes, said he had seene some shippes spoiled and torne, and from them they threw out their baggage,[3] which they saved in boats; which argueth they were shippes of the enemies, for that our men had no place to save themselves, nor there were none of them arrived into Flanders, which was their place of returne.

[1] This nobleman was killed with a smal shot in the galleasse, where, in very trueth, he remained in defence of the galleasse, and sought not to flie away, as a great number did.

[2] If it be meant the xii. of August, the untruth is apparent; for there was never fight after that afore Calleis, which was the xix. of Julie, *Novo Stilo*, or the xxix. *Stilo Antiquo*.

[3] It is very true, that the Spaniards ships, to make themselves light to flie, did cast away their boates, and threw their moiles and horses into the seas.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

8. Out of Englande was advise given, that, on the xiii., arrived fifteene of the queene's ships; and they sayd, that the galleon Saint Martin, wherin my lorde the duke is (whom God preserve) had encountered with Drake, and had grapled his ship, and captived his person, and other noble Englishmen, and taken other fifteene ships, beside others that were distressed; and the duke, with his fleete, followed his way to Scotland, because the winde was not come about.

With these newes his majestie resteth verie much contented, and caused them to be sent to the empresse, by the hands of Francisco Ydiaquez, his secretarie of estate.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

8. "This that is sayd of the duke's grapling with Drake's ship, and taking of him captive, and many other noblemen of England, is like all the rest of the lyes.

"The duke, after he went from Calleis towards Scotland, never came neere to offer fight with any English ship, never turned backe to the English that followed him, but fledde away, as winde and sayle could serve him.

"If he had this fortune thus falsely reported, it is sure that he would have brought both Drake, and some of the noblemen home with him into Spaine, to have beene presented to the king, and not have gone home to his owne house, without sight of the king. But, in truth, there was not one nobleman, or gentleman of any marke, that went to the sea, that was either slaine or taken; all are living, and are as willing, by God's favour, to adventure their lives, as ever they were, against any of the queen's enemies, when she shal command them.

"And, where these newes did much content the king, it is likely that, if he thought them true, he was glad thereof; for so had his majestie cause; but he is thought too wise to have thought, that, after he understoode, that the duke and all his armie had fled from the coast of Flanders and England, that ever they were like to have any victorie of the English. No, contrariwise, the king and all his wise counsellors had cause to lament the dangers, whereunto of necessitie his Armada should fall, by passing the dangerous coastes, ilandes, and monstruous rockes of Scotland and Ireland; of more danger for his navie to passe, then to have passed from Lisbone to the Moluccas, and home againe.

"It is to be thought, that if the empresse gave the secretarie, Ydiaquez, any rewarde for the newes, as it is likely she did, she may justly require it againe from

him, and give him charge, not to bring her majestie, nor the king his master, any such notorious lyes hereafter; for, if he use it often, he is unworthie to be secretarie to so great a king."

Imprinted in Sevil, in the House of Cosmo de Lara, Printer of Bookes, by Lycence of the Counte of Orgaz, assistant in Sevil.

Imprinted at London, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queene's most excellent Majestie.—1588.

IOAN. viii. 44.

" Ye are of your father the devil, and the lustes of your father ye will doe: He hath bene a murtherer from the beginning, and aboade not in the trueth, because there is no trueth in him. When he speaketh a lye, then speaketh he of his owne; for he is a lyer, and the father thereof."

ZACH. viii. 26.

" These are the things that ye shall doe: Speake ye every man the trueth unto his neighbour."

EPHES. iv. 25.

" Wherefore cast off lying, and speake every man trueth unto his neighbour; for we are members one of another."

A Speech made by Queen Elizabeth (of famous Memory) in Parliament, Anno 1593*: and in the Thirty-fifth Year of her Reign, concerning the Spanish Invasion.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

This kingdom hath had many wise, noble, and victorious princes; I will not compare with any of them in wisdom, fortitude, or any other virtues; but saving the duty of a child, that is not to compare with his father in love, care, sincerity, and justice, I will compare with any prince that ever you had, or shall have.

It may be thought simplicity in me, that, all this time of my reign, I have not sought to advance my territories, and enlarge my dominions; for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect; but though it hath not been hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to keep the things so obtained; and I must say, my mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any; I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just princess.

Yet the king of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller, and the beginner of all these wars; in which he doth me the greatest wrong that can be, for my conscience doth not accuse my thoughts, wherein I have done him the least injury; but I am perswaded in my conscience, if he knew what I know, he himself would be sorry for the wrong; that he hath done me.

I fear not all his threatenings; his great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me; for though he come against me with a greater power than ever was his invincible navy, I doubt not (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) but that I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. I have great advantage against him, for my cause is just.

I heard say, when he attempted his last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, and flew up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance: but, I swear unto you,[1] if I knew those persons, or any that should do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause.

The subsidies you give me, I accept thankfully, if you give me your good wills with them; but if the necessity of the time, and your preservations, did not require it, I would refuse them; but let me tell you that the sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a princess to have so much always lying in her coffers for your defence in time of need, and not to be driven to get it, when we should use it.

You that be lieutenants and gentlemen of command in your countries, I require you to take care that the people be well armed, and in readiness upon all occasions You that be judges and justices of the peace, I command and straightly charge you, that you see the laws to be duly executed, and that you make them living laws, when we have put life into them.

A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queenes Majestie of England to prepare and send a Navy to the Seas for the defence of her Realmes against the King of Spaines Forces, to be published by the Generals of the saide Navy, to the intent that it shall appeare to the World that her Majestie armed her Navy onely to defend herselfe, and to offend her Enemies, and not to offend any other, that shall forbear to strengthen her enemie, but to use them with all lawfut favours. Imprinted at London, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most Excellent Majestie. 1596.

To all Christian people, to whom this declaration shall come to be read or heard, greeting. We Robert, Earl of Essex and Ewe, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferriers of Chartley, Bourgheer, and Lovane, &c. And Charles Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, lord high admirall of England, &c. having the charge of a royall navy of ships, prepared and sent to the seas, by the most excellent princesse the lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c. doe give all men knowledge, that the said navy under our charge is by her majestie prepared and sent to serve on the seas, for defence of her majesties realms, dominions, and subjects, against such mightie forces, as we are advertised from all parts of Christendome, to be already prepared by the king of Spaine, and by farther provisions of men and ships dayly sent for, are to be mightily increased, to invade hir majesties realmes as heretofore in the year of our Lord 1588, was attempted (even when there was a treaty continued by both their commissioners for a peace) with a greater army then ever before in his time was sent to the seas: though by Gods goodnesse, and the valour and wisedome of her noble and faithful subjects, the same was notably made frustrate. And because her majestie hath good intelligence of perfite amitie with all kings and princes of Christendom, saving with the king of Spaine, who hath this many yeeres most unjustly professed openly great enmitie by divers actions, both against her royall person, and her people, and countries, without any just cause first given on her majesties part: Therefore we the said earle and lord admirall, doe ascertaine all persons, that wee are most straightly commanded by her excellent majestie, to forbeare from offending in this our voyage of any manner of persons of what nation soever, except the said kings naturall subjects, or such others born strangers, as shall give to the said king manifest aide, with men, ships, artillerie, victual, and other warlike provisions for invasion of her majestie. Which her majesties commandment we mean duetifully to observe; and do therefore give straight charge to al persons that shal serve in this navy underneath us, upon paine of extreme punishment, to observe the same. Yet to avoyde

[1] The Queen protests she will punish cowards.

all occasions that may breede question, who they are, being not the king of Spaines subjects, that shall be charged by us to be manifest aiders for the furnishing and strengthening of the kings forces, provided either by land or sea, to attempt any invasion of her majesties countries; we do for the liquidation of this doubt, earnestly, in Gods name, require and charge all persons, that are not the saide kings naturall subjects, and yet that have given ayde with their ships, victuall, and munition, as is above saide, to withdrawe all their said ships prepared for the warre, and all their provisions of hostilitie, out of any havens of Spain or Portugall, or from the company and service of the kings ships against our navy, and therewith to returne either to their owne countries, or, if they so shall like, to come to our navy; to whom, in the reverend name of our soveraigne lady the queenes majestie, we do promise all securitie, both for their persons and goods to be used and defended as friends, and to suffer all their ships and provisions, that were either taken by the king of Spaine, or intended for his service, or that shall bee by the owners withdrawen from his ayde, to remaine in their owne free dispositions, so as the same be used in all forces as friendes, and not as enemies to the queenes majestie, and to us her generals. And if any shall upon knowledge of this her majesties most honourable order, and of our promise, (to observe the same as favourably as we may), willingly and manifestly refuse to accept this our offer, and shall not endeavour to perfourme this reasonable request, tending to their good and liberty, wee shall then be justly moved, as by the lawe of armes we may, to take and use all such so refusing this our offer, as manifest ayders of the king of Spaine, with forces to invade her majesties dominions, and so manifest enemies: and in such case of that refusall, if any harm shall happen by any attempt against their persons, ships, and goods, by any of our navie, for the ayding of the said king; there shall be no just cause for them hereafter to complaine, or to procure their naturall princes and lords to solicite restitutions or amends for the same. And for the more notification hereof, we have thought good to have the originall hereof to be signed with our hands and with our seales, to be seen by any that will require to reade or see the same: and likewise we have put the same in print, in French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish, and have also caused the same to be distributed into as many ports of Spaine and Portugall, as conveniently might be for the better knowledge to be had in the saide portes, as also in all other portes under his subjection.

R. Essex, C. Howard.

A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores, the last of August 1591, *betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesties Ships commanded by Sir Richard Granvill, commonly called Grenvill,*[1] *Vice-Admiral, and an Armada of the King of Spain. Penned by the Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt. Printed at Oxford,* 1643.

Queen Elizabeth, in 1591, dispatched to the Azores a squadron of seven ships of war under Lord Thomas Howard, with the purpose of intercepting the homeward bound India fleet of the Spa-

[1] In the Whig paper called the Medley, October 11th 1710, is a curious notice respecting the mode of spelling this name. "The only gentleman that gave a negative to the first bill for establishing the Protestant succession, who was then of that House, though soon after called up to the other, saluted Sir Ma------ Dud------y, when this division was over, in these words, How fare ye, Minheer D------y? Upbraiding him by that expression for having voted for the interest of the house of Hanover, which the late king and the Dutch had espoused; to which the other replied, *Fort bien*, Mounsieur Granville, alluding by that to his vote, which he took to be for the French interest, as well as to his French name, which had been changed not many years before from a plain English one, as it is still printed in the history of the Earl of Clarendon."—*The Medley for the year* 1711. Lond. 1712, 8vo. p. 18.

niards. But Philip having been informed of her purpose, dispatched an armada of no less than fifty three ships to escort home the galleons. The squadrons met, and owing to the obstinacy of Sir Richard Grenville, the vice admiral, who refused to seek safety in flight, the Spaniards took the only ship which they had captured during the long war. It would seem, that it was the subject of much misrepresentation, and Sir Walter Raleigh's pen was employed to do justice to the memory of the gallant Grenville.

The tract was first published in 1591, printed in Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. and again republished at Oxford in 1643, probably in compliment to the brave Sir Bevill Grenville, distinguished as a loyalist in the civil wars. It is omitted by Dr Birch in his Collection of Raleigh's Works.

Because the rumours are diversly spread, as well in England, as in the Low-Countries, and elsewhere, of this late encounter between her majesties ships and the armada of Spain; and that the Spaniards, according to their usual manner, fill the world with their vain glorious vanity, making great appearance of victories, when, on the contrary, themselves are most commonly and shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hopeing to possess the ignorant multitude, by anticipating and fore-running false reports; it is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to overcome falshood and untruth; that the beginning, continuance, and success of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Granvill, and other her majesties captains, with the armada of Spain, should be truly set down and published, without partiality, or false imaginations. And it is no marvel, that the Spaniard should seek, by false and slanderous pamphlets, advices, and letters, to cover their own loss, and to derogate from others their due honour, especially in this fight, being performed far off; seeing they were not ashamed, in the year 1588, when they purposed the invasion of this land, to publish in sundry languages, in print, great victories in words, which they pleaded to have obtained against this realm; and spread the same in a most false sort over all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere. When shortly after it was happily manifested in very deed to all nations, how their navy, which they termed Invincible, consisting of a hundred and forty sail of ships, not only of their own kingdom, but strengthened with the greatest Argosies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other countries, were by thirty of her majesties ships of war, and a few of our own merchants, by the wise, valiant, and advantagious conduct of the Lord Charles Howard, high admiral of England, beaten and shuffled together; even from the Lizard in Cornwall, first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty ship; from Portland to Cales, where they lost Hugo de Moncado, with the gallias, of which he was captain, and from Cales, driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where for the sympathy of their barbarous religion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crusht against the rocks; and those other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slain, and taken, and so sent from village to village coupled in halters, to be shipped into England; where her majesty of her princely and invincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them; they were all sent back again to their countries, to witness and recount the worthy atchievements of their invincible and dreadful navy; of which the number of soldiers, the fearful burthen of their ships, the commanders names of every squadron, with all other their magazines of provisions, were put in print, as an army and navy unresistable, and disdaining prevention. With all which so great and terrible an ostentation, they did not in all their sailing round about England, so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace or cock-boat of ours, or ever burnt so much as one sheepcote of this land; whereas, on the contrary, Sir Francis Drake, with only eight hundred soldiers not long before, landed in their Indies, and forced St. Jago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the fort of Florida.

And after that, Sir John Norris marched from Peniche in Portugal, with a handful of soldiers, to the gate of Lisbon, being about forty English miles. Where the Earl of Essex himself, and other valiant gentlemen, braved the city of Lisbon, encamped at the very gate; from whence, after many days abode, finding neither promised party, nor provision to batter, they made retrait by land, in despight of all their garrisons, both of horse and foot. In this sort I have a little digressed from my first purpose, only by the necessary comparison of their and our actions; the one covetous of honour without vaunt of ostentation; the other so greedy to purchase the opinion of their own affairs, and by false rumors to resist the blast of their own dishonours, as they will not only not blush to spread all manner of untruths; but even for the least advantage, being but for the taking of one poor adventurer of the English, will celebrate the victory with bonfires in every town, always spending more in faggots than the purchase was worth they obtained; when as we never thought it worth the consumption of two billets, when we have taken eight or ten of their Indian ships at one time, and twenty of the Brazil fleet. Such is the difference between true valour and ostentation; and between honourable actions, and frivolous vain-glorious vaunts. But now to return to my purpose.

The Lord Thomas Howard, with six of her majesties ships, six victuallers of London, the bark Ralegh, and two or three other pinnaces, riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the westerly islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence, by one Captain Middleton, of the approach of the Spanish armada. Which Middleton being in a very good sailer, had kept them company three days before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more, as also to give advice to my Lord Thomas of their approach. He had no sooner delivered the news, but the fleet was in sight: many of our ships companies were on shore in the island; some providing ballast for their ships; others filling of water, and refreshing themselves from the land, with such things as they could either for money or by force recover. By reason whereof, our ships being all pestered and romaging every thing out of order, very light for want of ballast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one half part of the men of every ship sick, and utterly unserviceable: For in the Revenge there were ninety diseased; in the Bonaventure, not so many in health as could handle her main-sail. For had not twenty men been taken out of a bark of Sir George Careys, his being commanded to be sunk, and those appointed to her, she had hardly ever recovered England. The rest, for the most part, were in little better state. The names of her majesties ships were those as followeth: The Defiance, which was admiral; the Revenge, vice-admiral; the Bonaventure, commanded by Captain Crosse; the Lion, by George Fenner; the Foresight, by Mr Thomas Vavasour; and the Crane, by Duffild; the Foresight and the Crane being but small ships, only the other were of the middle size; the rest, besides the bark Ralegh, commanded by Captain Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none. The Spanish fleet having shrowded their approach by reason of the island, were now so soon at hand, as our ships had scarce time to weigh their anchors, but some of them were driven to let slip their cables and set sail. Sir Richard Granvill was the last that weighed, to recover the men that were upon that island, which otherwise had been lost. The Lord Thomas, with the rest, very hardly recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Granvill not being able to do, was persuaded by the master, and others, to cut his main-sail, and cast about, and to trust to the sailing of the ship; for the squadron of Sivil were on his weather-bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the enemies, alledging that he would rather choose to dye, then to dishonour himself, his country, and her majesties ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons, in despight of them, and enforce those of Sivil to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprang their luff, and fell under the lee of the Revenge. But the other course had been

the better, and might right well have been answered, in so great an impossibility of prevailing. Notwithstanding, out of the greatness of his mind, he could not be persuaded. In the mean while, as he attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the wind of him, and coming towards him, becalmed his sails in such sort, as the ship could neither make way, nor feel the helm: so huge and high-charged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tuns, who after laid the Revenge aboard.* When he was thus bereft of his sails, the ships that were under his lee luffing up, also laid him aboard: of which the next was the admiral of the Biscaines, a very mighty and puissant ship, commanded by Britandona; the said Philip carried three tire of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tire. She shot eight forth-right out of her chase, besides those of her stern-ports.

After the Revenge was entangled with this Philip, four others boarded her: two on her larboard, and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon, continued very terribly all that evening. But the great San Philip having received the lower tire of the Revenge, discharged with cross bar shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundred, but we cannot report it for truth, unless we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companys of souldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners, in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all besides the mariners, but the servants of the commanders, and some few voluntary gentlemen only. After many enterchanged vollies of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Revenge, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed souldiers and musketters, but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own ships, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of London having received some shot thorow her by the armadas, fell under the lee of the Revenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers and of small force: Sir Richard bid him save himself, and leave him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted, and some hours of the night, many of our men were slain and hurt, and one of the great gallions of the Armada, and the admiral of the hulks both sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechless for a time ere he recovered; but two of the Revenge's own company, brought home in a ship of Lime from the islands, examined by some of the lords, and others, affirmed, that he was never so wounded as that he forsook the upper-deck, 'till an hour before midnight; and then being shot into the body with a musket, as he was a dressing, was again shot into the head, and with all, his chirurgion wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by Sir Francis Godolphin, of four other mariners of the same ship being returned, which examination, the said Sir Francis sent unto Master William Kellegrue, of her majesties privy-chamber.

But to return to the fight: The Spanish ships which attempted to board the Revenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less then two mighty gallions by her sides, and aboard her; so that ere the morning, from three of the clock the day before, there had fifteen severall armadas assailed her, and all so ill approved for their entertainment, as they were by the break of day, far more willing to hearken to a composition, then hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day encreased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew

* The Spaniards, as was seen at the time of the armada, built their vessels of a huge and unmanageable size, of which this is a remarkable instance.

more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one small ship called the Pilgrim, commanded by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the success; but in the morning bearing with the Revenge, was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous hounds, but escaped.

All the powder of the Revenge, to the last barell, was now spent, all their pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sick, laid in hold upon the ballast. A small troup to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the vollies, boardings, and entrings of fifteen ships of war, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were alwaies supplied with souldiers brought from every squadron; all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the masts all beaten over board, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper work altogether rased, and in effect evened she was with the water, but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left over-head either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteen hours fight, the assault of fifteen severall armadas, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation, eight hundred shot of great artillery, besides many assaults and entries; and that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him, (the Revenge not able to move one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billows of the sea) commanded the master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship, that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards: seeing, in so many hours fight, and with so great a navy, they were not able to take her, having had fifteen hours time, above ten thousand men, and fifty and three sail of men of war to perform it withall; and perswaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else; but as they, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their nation, by prolonging their own lives for a few hours, or a few days. The master gunner readily condescended, and divers others; but the captain and the master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them, alledging, that the Spaniards would be as ready to entertain a composition, as they were willing to offer up the same; and that there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortall, they might do their country and prince acceptable service hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alledged, that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of her majesty, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves, they answered, that the ship had six foot water in hold, three shot under water, which were so weakly stopped, as with the first working of the sea she must needs sink, and was, besides, so crusht and bruised, as she could never be removed out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons, the master of the Revenge (while the captain wan him the greater party) was conveyed aboard the General Don Alfonso Bazan. Who (finding none over hasty to enter the Revenge again, doubting least Sir Richard would have blown them up and himself, and perceiving, by the report of the master of the Revenge, of his dangerous disposition) yielded, that all their lives should be saved, the company sent for England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear, and in the mean season to be free from galley or imprisonment To this he so much the rather condescended, as well, as I have said, for fear of further loss and mischief to themselves,

as also for the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Granvill, whom for his notable valour he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answer was returned, and that safety of life was promised, the common sort being now at the end of their perill, the most drew back from Sir Richard, and the master gunner, being no hard matter to disswade men from death to life. The master gunner finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force with-held, and locked into his cabin. Then the generall sent many boats aboard the Revenge, and divers of our men fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the General, and other ships; Sir Richard thus overmatched, was sent unto by Alfonso Bazan to remove out of the Revenge, the ship being marvellous unsavory, filled with blood and bodies of dead and wounded men, like a slaughter-house. Sir Richard answered, that he might do with his body what he list, for he esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the ship he swooned, and reviving again, desired the company to pray for him. The general used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valour and worthiness, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being unto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution seldom approved, one ship turn towards so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge armadas, and to resist and repell the assaults and entries of so many souldiers. All which, and more, is confirmed by a Spanish captain of the same armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being severed from the rest in a storm, was, by the Lion of London, a small ship, taken, and is now prisoner in London.

The general commander of the armada was Don Alphonso Bazan, brother to the Marquess of Santa Cruz. The admiral of the Biscaine squadron was Britandoña, of the squadron of Sivil the Marquess of Arumburch. The hulks and flyboats were commanded by Luis Cautinho. There were slain and drowned in this fight, well near one thousand of the enemies, and two special commanders, Don Luis de Sant John, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spanish captain confesseth, besides divers others of special account, whereof, as yet, report is not made.

The admiral of the hulks, and the Ascension of Sivil, were both sunk by the side of the Revenge; one other recovered the rode of Saint Michael, and sunk also there; a fourth ran her self with the shore to save her men. Sir Richard died, as it is said, the second or third day aboard the General, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land, we know not: the comfort that remaineth to his friends is, that he hath ended his life honourably, in respect of the reputation won to his nation and country, and of the same to his posterity, and that being dead, he hath not outlived his own honour.

For the rest of her majesties ships that entered not so far into the fight as the Revenge, the reasons and causes were these: There were of them but six in all, whereof two but small ships; the Revenge ingaged past recovery: The island of Flores was on the one side, 53 of the Spanish, divided into squadrons, on the other, all as full filled with souldiers as they could contain: almost the one half of our men sick and not able to serve; the ships grown foul, unromaged, and scarcely able to bear any sail for want of balast, having been six months at the sea before. If all the rest had entred, all had been lost; for the very hugeness of the Spanish fleet, if no other violence had been offered, would have crusht them between them into shivers. Of which the dishonour and loss to the queene had been far greater then the spoil or harm that that enemy could any way have received. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas[1] would have entred between the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend,

[1] Lord Thomas Howard.

and the master of his own ship offered to leap into the sea, rather then to conduct that her majesties ship, and the rest, to be a prey to the enemy, where there was no hope nor possibility either of defence or victory. Which also, in my opinion, had ill sorted or answered the discretion or trust of a generall, to commit himself and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope, or any likelyhood of prevailing; thereby to diminish the strength of her majesties navy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemy. The Foresight of the queen's, commanded by Mr Thomas Vavisor, performed a very great fight, and staid two hours as near the Revenge as the weather would permit him, not forsaking the fight, 'till he was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, and with great difficulty cleared himself. The rest gave divers vollies of shot, and entred as the place permitted, and their own necessities, to keep their weather-gage of the enemy, untill they were parted by night. A few days after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and Indie ships, there arose so great a storm from the west and north-west, that all the fleet was dispersed, as well the Indian fleet which were then come unto them, as the rest of the armada that attended their arrival, of which 14 sail, together with the Revenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were cast away upon the isle of St Michael, so it pleased them to honour the burial of that renowned ship the Revenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she atchieved in her life time. On the rest of the islands there were cast away in this storm 15 or 16 more of the ships of war; and of an hundred and odd sail of the Indie fleet expected this year in Spain, what in this tempest, and what before in the Bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odd consumed and lost, with those taken by our ships of London, besides one very rich Indian ship, which set herself on fire, being boarded by the Pilgrim, and five other taken by Master Wats his ship of London, between the Havanah and Cape St. Antonio. The fourth of this month of November we received letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are three thousand bodies of men remaining in that island, saved out of the perished ships; and that by the Spaniards own confession, there are ten thousand cast away in this storm, besides those that are perished between the islands and the main. Thus it has pleased God to fight for us, and to defend the justice of our cause, against the ambitious and bloody pretences of the Spaniards, who seeking to devour all nations, are themselves devoured. A manifest testimony how unjust and displeasing their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witness, by the success of their affairs, his mislike of their bloody and injurious designs purposed and practised against all christian princes, over whom they seek unlawful and ungodly rule and empire.

One day or two before this wreck happened to the Spanish fleet, when as some of our prisoners desired to be set on shore upon the islands, hoping to be from thence transported into England, which liberty was formerly by the general promised; one Morice Fitz-John, son of old John of Desmond, a notable traytor, cousin german to the late earl of Desmond, was sent to the English from ship to ship, to persuade them to serve the king of Spain; the arguments he used to induce them were these; the increase of pay which he promised to be trebled; advancement to the better sort; and the exercise of the true catholick religion, and safety of their souls to all. For the first, even the beggarly and unnatural behaviour of those English and Irish rebels, that served the king in that present action, was sufficient to answer that first argument of rich pay. For so poor and beggarly they were, as for want of apparel they stripped their poor countrymen prisoners out of their ragged garments, worn to nothing by six months service, and spared not to despoil them even of their bloody shirts, from their wounded bodies; and the very shooes from their feet; a notable testimony of their rich entertainment and great wages. The second reason was hope of advancement if they served well, and would continue faithful to the king. But what man can be so blockishly ignorant ever to expect place or honour

from a foreign king, having no other argument of persuasion than his own disloyalty; to be unnatural to his own country that bred him, to his parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true prince, to whose obedience he is bound by oath, by nature, and by religion; no, they are only assured to be imployed in all desperate enterprizes, to be held in scorn and disdain even among those whom they serve. And that ever traytor was either trusted or advanced I could never yet read, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man could have less becomed the place of an orator for such a purpose, than this Morice of Desmond. For the earl his cousin being one of the greatest subjects in that kingdom of Ireland, having almost whole countries in his possession; so many goodly manors, castles, and lordships; the count palatine of Kerry, five hundred gentlemen of his own name and family to follow him, besides others, (all which he possessed in peace for three or four hundred years,) was in less than three years after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holds, not so many as ten gentlemen of his name left living, himself taken and beheaded by a soldier of his own nation, and his land given by a parliament to her majesty, and possessed by the English; his other cousin, Sir John of Desmond, taken by Master John Zouch, and his body hanged over the gates of his native city to be devoured some place; the third brother, Sir James, hanged, drawn, and quartered in the air by ravens.[1] If he had withal vaunted of his success of his own house, no doubt the argument would have moved much, and wrought great effect; which because he for that present forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalf. For matter of religion it would require a particular volume, if I should set down how irreligiously they cover their greedy and ambitious pretences with that veil of piety. But sure I am, that there is no kingdom or commonwealth in Europe, but if they be reformed, they then invade it for religion sake, if it be as they term catholick, they pretend title; as if the kings of Castile were the natural heirs of all the world; and so between both, no kingdom is unsought. Where they dare not with their own forces to invade, they basely entertain the traytors and vagabonds of all nations; seeking by those and by their runnagate jesuits to win parts, and have by that means ruined many noble houses and others in this land, and have extinguished both their lives and families. What good, honour, or fortune, ever man yet by them atchieved, is yet unheard of, or unwritten. And if our English papists do but look into Portugal, against which they have no pretence of religion, how the nobility are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a prey, and all sorts of people captived, they shall find that the obedience even of the Turks is easy and a liberty, in respect of the slavery and tyranny of Spain. What have they done in Sicill, in Naples, Milane, and in the Low Countries, who hath there been spared for religion at all? and it cometh to my remembrance of a certain burger of Antwerp, whose house being entered by a company of Spanish soldiers, when they first sacked the city, he besought them to spare him and his goods, being a good catholick, and one of their own party and faction; the Spaniards answered, that they knew him to be of a good conscience for himself; but his money, plate, jewels, and goods, were all heretical; and therefore good prize. So they abused and tormented the foolish Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had been a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither have they at any time, as they protest, invaded the kingdoms of the Indies and Peru, and elsewhere, but only led thereunto, rather to reduce the people to christianity, than for either gold or empery; when as in one island called Hispaniola, they have wasted thirty hundred thousand of the natural people, besides many millions else in other places of the Indies; a poor and harmless people created of

[1] See, for the issue of this rebellion, and the fate of the family of Desmond, a preceding tract, entitled, The Execution of Justice in England, p. 202. Raleigh himself, and Sir Warham St Leger, were the commissioners by whom James of Desmond was tried and ordered for execution. See the Continuation of Hollingshed's Chronicle by Hooker, where many of Sir Walter's military exploits in Ireland are commemorated.

God, and might have been won to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as ever were persuaded thereunto; the story whereof is at large, written by a bishop of their own nation, called Bartholomew de las Casas, and translated into English, and many other languages, intitled, "The Spanish Cruelties." Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of ravenous strangers, and especially in those Spaniards which more greedily thirst after English blood, then after the lives of any other people in Europe, for the many overthrows and dishonours they have received at our hands, whose weakness we have discovered to the world, and whose forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by sea and land, we have even with handfuls of men and ships, overthrown and dishonoured. Let not therefore any Englishman, of what religion soever, have other opinion of the Spaniards, but that those whom he seeketh to win of our nation, he esteemeth base and traiterous, unworthy persons, or unconstant fools; and that he useth his pretence of religion for no other purpose but to bewitch us from the obedience of our natural prince; thereby hoping in time to bring us to slavery and subjection, and then none shall be unto them so odious and disdained as the traytors themselves, who have sold their country to a stranger, and forsaken their faith and obedience, contrary to nature and religion, and contrary to that humane and general honour, not only of christians, but of heathen and irreligious nations; who have always sustained what labour soever, and embraced even death itself, for their country, prince, or commonwealth. To conclude, it hath ever to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her majesty, to break the purposes of malicious enemies, of forsworn traytors, and of unjust practices and invasions. She hath ever been honoured of the worthiest kings, served by faithful subjects, and shall, by the favour of God, resist, repell, and confound all whatsoever attempts against her sacred person or kingdom. In the mean time, let the Spaniard and traytor vaunt of their success, and we her true and obedient vassals, guided by the shining light of her vertues, shall always love her, serve her, and obey her to the end of our lives.

His Majesties[1] Royal Warrant to the Earl of Bath, then Sir John Granvill, at Brussels, immediately before his Restauration.

CHARLES R.

In consideration of the many services done us by our right trusty and well-beloved servant Sir John Granvill, (one of the gentlemen of our bed chamber,) and his father, the most valiant and loyal Sir Bevill Granvill, who most honourably lost his life at the battle of Landsdown, in the defence and service of the crown, against the rebels, after he had performed many other great and signal services.

But more especially in consideration of the late most extraordinary services (never to be forgotten by us or our posterity) which the said Sir John Granvill hath lately rendered us in his person, in his secret, prudent, and most faithful transactions and negotiations, in concluding that most happy treaty which he had lately, by our special command and commission, with our famous and renowned general Monk; and wherein he alone (and no other) was intrusted by us, concerning the said treaty, about those most important affairs for our restauration; which he has most faithfully performed with great prudence, care, secresy, and advantage for our service, without any conditions imposed upon us beyond our expectation, and the commission we gave him; whereof we doubt not, but by God's blessing we shall see the effects of our said happy restauration. We are pleased to promise, upon the word of a king, that as soon as we are arrived in England, and it shall please God to restore us to our crown of that kingdom, we will confer upon our said right trusty and well-beloved servant Sir John Granvill, the place and office of

[1] King Charles II.

groom of our stole, and first gentleman of our bed-chamber, (with all fees, pensions, and perquisites thereunto belonging,) together with the title and dignity of an earl of our kingdom of England; and the better to support the said title of honour, and to reward, as we ought, those many great services, and to recompence the losses and sufferings of him and his family; we are further graciously pleased to promise, upon our said royal word, to pay all the debts that he the said Sir John Granvill, or his father, have contracted in the late wars, in our service, or in our royal father's of blessed memory; and also to bestow and settle, in good land in England, an estate of inheritance to the value of at least 3000l. *per annum*, upon him the said Sir John Granvill, and his heirs, for ever; to remain as a perpetual acknowledgment for his said services, and as a testimony of our grace and favour towards him, and that ancient and loyal family of the Granvills, unto all posterity.

Given at our court at Brussels, the 2d of April, in the 12th year of our reign, 1660.

By his Majesties command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

FOURTH CLASS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

RESPECTING

FOREIGN HISTORY, REMARKABLE INCIDENTS, LITERATURE, &c.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

RESPECTING

FOREIGN HISTORY, REMARKABLE INCIDENTS, LITERATURE, &c.

A Declaration of the Lyfe and Death of John Story, late a Romish Canonicall Doctor by Professyon. 1571, *Imprinted at London, by Thomas Colwell. Octavo, containing thirty-two Pages.*

John Story, whose life and death are related in the following tract, and related by a protestant, perhaps without that candour and impartiality which the protestant religion prescribes, was a man of great eminence and authority in the time of Queen Mary, and contributed very much to kindle the flames of persecution in that cruel reign; although, with whatever detestation he may be mentioned by this writer, he is by some of the Romanists celebrated as a Saint.

Of the justice of the proceedings against him, it is not necessary here to dispute. It is certain, that he had given great provocation in the reigns of Edward and Mary, first, by his opposition, and afterwards by his cruelty; in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he renewed his struggles against the establishment of the Reformation.

His speech in Queen Elizabeth's first parliament was of a nature peculiarly insolent. The subject in agitation was the proposed change of religion; and the bloody executions of Queen Mary's time were objected to by Story personally, as he had been a principal instrument of Bonner's cruelties. Hollinshed thus gives his reply:

"But namelie, amongst all others, not onlie the industrious courage of Doctor Storie, but also his wordes in this parlement, are woorthie to be known of posteritie, who, like a stout and furious champion of the Pope's side, to declare himselfe how lustie he was, and what he had and would doe in his maister's quarell, shamed not openlie, in the said parlement-house, to burst out into such impudent sort of words, as was wonder to all good ears to heare, and no lesse woorthie of historie.

"The summe of which his shamelesse talke was uttered to this effect:—First, beginning with himselfe, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonlie abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great dooer, and a setter forth of such religion, orders, and proceedings, as of his late sovereigne that dead is Queene Marie were set foorth in this relme, he denied nothing the same; protesting, moreover, that he had doone nothing therein, but that both his conscience did lead him thereunto, and also his commission did as well then command him, as now also dooth

discharge him for the same; being no lesse readie now also to doo the like, and more, in case he by this queene was authorised likewise, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore, as I see (saith he) nothing to be ashamed of; so lesse I see to be sorie for: but rather said that he was sorie for this, because he had doone no more than he did, and that in executing those lawes, they had not beene more vehement and severe. Wherein he said, there was no default in him, but in them, whome he both oft and earnestlie had exhorted to the same; being therefore not a little greeved with them, for that they labored onelie about the yoong and little sprigs, while they should have stroken at the root, and cleane have rooted it out, &c. And concerning his persecuting and burning them he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an earewig (for so he termed it) at Uxbridge, where he tost a fagot at his face as he was singing psalmes, and set a wine bush of thorns under his feet, a little to prick him; with manie other words of like effect. In the which words he named, moreover, Sir Philip Hobbie, and another knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counsell was to plucke at, and to bring them under Coxam; wherein (said he) if they had followed my advise, then had they doone well and wiselie. —This or much like was the effect of the shamelesse and tyrannical excuse of himselfe, more meete to speake with the beast, than of a man."—*Holinshed's Chronicles.* Ed. 1808. Vol. IV. p. 177, 178.

The author, who has recounted Storie's cruelties with so much acrimony, has forgotten to inform his reader, that part of his severity was repaid; for he was cut down so soon from the gallows, that, when the executioner began to quarter him, he rose up and gave him a blow on the ear; but, notwithstanding his sensibility, they proceeded to dismember him.

The speciall Contents of this Declaration.

First, wherefore John Story was imprisoned in the Queenes Benche.
His breaking of that prison, and flying into Flaunders.
His trayterous and naughtie delyng there.
The cause and maner of his conveyance from thence into England.
The maner of his arainement and judgement.
The maner of his death and execution.
An epilogue or short conclusion of his lyfe.

GENTLE reader, in this short declaration, I purpose briefely to note unto thee part of the lyfe, and the maner of death of John Story, late a Romish and canonicall doctor by professyon. If I should discourse the common places of discription of persones, hys parentes, hys educatyon, and bringyng up, hys sundrie outragious doings executed by him, in the persecutynge of the membres of Christ, and the maner of hys life, from tyme to tyme, namely in the time of King Henry the Eight, when the statute of sixe articles was first set foorth, and all his cruelty used sithens, to the daye of hys death, it would ask a volume as greate as the booke of martyrs; a great part of which booke is stuffed with hys tyrannous and cruell tragedies, executed against God and hys poor membres.

As for the wilfull and wicked course of hys yonger yeres, a great parte wherof he spent in the universitie of Oxforde, to reporte all the partes, it would require a longer story.

One pranke may stand instead of many. And although christian charitie requyre us alway, and of all men, to reporte the best, speciallye of them that be departed; yet no charytie forbyddeth a man with sobryetie and modestye to reporte the truthe, for the benefite of good example to other; or els all writyng of histories after the parties death

(when they be most truely written) should bee condemned, and the bridle of just infamy perilously taken away from wicked men.

About the yere of our Lord 1529, Story, being a student of the civill law in Hinksete-hall in Oxforde,[1] and on a tyme lodging abroade alone, as often tymes his maner was to do, in the company of a woman, whome hee had at his commandment, was fet home from thence late in the night, and caried alofte through the open streetes with a solemne procession of the whole companie of his house, every man caryenge a candell burninge before hym, as a token of hys virginytye, and syngyng merelye together,

Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,
Sobrius, castus fuit, et quietus,
Vita dum presens, &c.

as if they had been S. Nicholas clerkes.[2]

After that, about the yere of our Lord 1538, the sayde Story, beyng then doctour and pryncypall of Broadgates in the sayde universitie of Oxforde, and mistrustinge a yonge gentleman for over familiar resorting to hys acquaintaunce in the towne, gave him earnest charge, with terrible threates, as he loved his life, to come there no more, for love and lordship can brooke no fellowshipp.

Therfore on a certaine tyme, for hys good chaste purpose, takynge occasion to walke abroade, and having his man with his sworde wayting upon him, and passing through the church-yarde of St Olaves, he met the sayde yonge gentleman retorning home from the towne, beeyng utterly without weapon, and having onlie his study gowne cast upon him. And he imagining that he cam from such places, as he had so often forbidden him, in great furie and heate of mind, beeyng also fired with jelosie towards his love, he raught backe sodenlye unto hys man, and drew hys sworde, and, having the gentleman at advantage in the corner of two walles, ran him thorowe both sydes, and lefte him for dead.

Imediatly a cry was raysed, the people assembled, Doctor Story was apprehended by the officers, and layd in bocardo, wher he continued untill it was perfectly knowen, that the yonge gentleman so wounded was past all danger. For God, by his gracious provydence, so directed the sworde, that, notwithstanding it pearced through both sides, yet it perished not one parte of all the entrailes.

He that writeth these wordes is a witnes hereof, and sawe the partie dressed, and the towells drawen through his bodie.

The partie so wounded is named N. Brierton, and is yet alive.

These are the fyrst fruites of Doctor Stories good docterly doings, agreeable with his lyfe that folowed afterwarde.

A kyndly beare wylle bite by tyme.

Now I wyll begyn the rest of this declaration at the begynning of the reigne of the most virtuous, godly, learned, and hopeful prince, king Edward the Sixt, who after the death of the most noble and famous prince, king Henry the Eight, his father, tooke upon him, as of right appertayned unto him, the regall state and government of this realme. And first, and before all other things, he, seekynge the high advauncement of goddess honour, restored unto us the sincere doctrine of the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and made most godly lawes, for the abbolyshynge of all superstycion and idolatry. At

[1] Anthony a Wood calls Hincksey Hall an ancient hostle for civilians in St Aldgate's parish, Oxford.

[2] St Nicolas was the patron saint of scholars. But the phrase St Nicolas clerks is by Shakespeare and other ancient dramatists, applied to robbers.

whiche tyme, John Storye being then of the parliament house, and a great enemy to the glorious light of Christes gospel, did vehemently inveigh against the godly doynges of that vertuous prince, namely for settynge foorth the book of common-prayer and administration of the sacraments in Englysh, where he did not only slaunderouslye speak of the doctrine, but also maliciouslye and sediciouslye spake of that godly prince; alleging the sentence of Ecclesiastes, "that wo is to that realme, whose kynge is but a childe," wrestynge the same text against that noble prince, even to the same sence that gave cheefe occasion to the rebellion in the same kinges tyme, and meaning that both the prince, and the realme, did they wyst not what.[1]

And shortly after, that he had thus declared hys rebellious hart, and canckered judgement, he then fledde this realme into the partes beyond the seas, and there abode all the lyfe of that virtuous prince.

After his death as sone as the late queen Mary possessed the crowne, the aforesayd Story retorned again from beyond the seas, and obtayned of Queene Mary by the helpe of bishop Boner, that he became a commissioner, and a cruel persecutor of Christes members, wherin he travelled with such vehemency and in such a tyrannous maner, as never was there any before him did, and in that state he contynued al the dayes of queene Maryes lyfe.[2]

After the death of queene Mary, so sone as our most dere sovereigne lady came to the possession of the crowne, and that she had called a parliament, chieflye for the restitucyon of Gods blessed worde, and the true administracion of the sacramentes to Goddes high honor, and also for the amendment of the decayed state of this realme; the said Story beyng of the parliament-house, who was an enemy to al godly reformations, did wyth great vehemency speake against the bill that was there exhibited for the restytucyon of the book of common-prayer, and sayd these wordes; "I did oftentymes, in queene Maries tyme, saye to the bishops, that they were too busie with *Pecora campi* (for so it pleased him to terme the poore commons of England) chopping at twiges; but I wished to have chopped at the roote, which if they had done, this gere had not cum now in question," and herein most traiterously he ment the destruccion of our dere and soveraigne lady Queene Elizabeth. For the which wordes, spoken in such an audience and in such vehement maner, there was no honest nor true heart, that hard him, but did utterly abhorre him.

And sone after that he had declared his trayterous heart to the queenes highness, and hys conscience accusing him, he fled and lurked about in sondry corners, as did Cain when he had murdered his brother Abell. But, at the last, he was taken in the west countrye, rydyng before a male, in a frise coat lyke a serving-man, and was apprehended in the highwaie by one master Ayleworth, a gentleman, one of the queenes servauntes, and brought before the counsaill, and after sent to prison to the Queenes-Bench (for more than suspicion of treason) in the fyrst yere of her highnes reigne.

And after the sayd Story had remained there a whyle, he espyenge hys tyme, and by the helpe of his frendes (as commonly such lewde papistes lacke none) he brake the sayd prison and fled againe beyond the seas, namely, into Flaundyrs, and there not onlv practised diverse wicked and treyterous enterprises towards our sovereign lady, the queenes majestie, and the state of this realme, by sondry conferences that he had, with such as have of late rebelled and conspired the destruccion of the same; but also he became an open and comon enemi to every good subject of this realme of England, and obteyned in Flaundyrs, of the duke of Alva, a commission and aucthoritie to practise his old crueltie, and to arest and aprehend al such Englishmens goods, as shold arrive in those countries, or did traffique out of England, into those partes, or from thence into England,

[1] Burnet says, that Story was indicted and sent to the Tower for his expressions on this occasion, but released on his submission.

[2] Even in her halcyon days it was his fate to be rebuked, for speaking in parliament against licence from Rome.

and to confiscate the same; by reason of which aucthoritie, he used there such extremytie, that he was the spoiler and undoer of diverse merchauntes, and of more would have bene, if he had longer continued; wherfore the sayd merchauntes were enforced to study and devyse some remeady, and to practise some waye or meane howe to remove this combersome man from them. [1]

And among other devises, they, having experience of hym to be a gredy and ravenous wolfe, put into hys head (by such as he suspected not) that ther was a praye for hym of English goodes, in a ship that lay in a certain place, which was named unto him, where he should fynd such a treasure of goods to be confiscate, as would be sufficient for him, during his lyfe. The wolfe beynge hongry, and desyrous of this great praye, set forward, and came into a shyp that promysed to brynge hym to the place, where the praye was. But, to be short, assone as he was entred the shyp, [2] the same brought hym cleane awaye out of Flaundyrs into England, and landed him at Harwyche, in the moneth of Auguste last paste.

And sone after, knowledge being geven to the queenes honourable counsaill of his landynge, he was brought to London, and there he was committed to prison to the Lollardes tower in Powles, where he continued a whyle, that he might well peruse that place wherein he had most cruelly tormented many a good Christyan. But he lacked there one thing, which was the monstrous and houge stockes, that he and Boner, his old faithfull frend, had used to turmoyle and persecute the poore and innocent christians in, hanging sum therin by the heles so high, that only thyr heades laye on the ground.—Some wer stocked in both feet and armes, some also were stocked by both thir feet and by both thir thombes, and so did hang in the stockes. And some also were stocked by both theyr fete, and chyned by the necke wyth collars of iron made fast behynde theim to a post in the wall, and suche other develishe and tyrannus engynes and devyses by hym practised; these at his being in the Lollardes tower he myssed, and great pitie it was, that he had not tasted of theym; but alack, the good bishop Gryndall, late bishop of London, had brent and consumed theym with fire.

But to returne where I left, after that Story had continued a certaine of tyme, in the Lollardes tower, and had ben divers times examined, he was from thence removed to the Tower of London, wher he remayned until the xxvi. day of Maye, 1571. And then was hee brought from thence into Westminster-hall, before the judges of the queenes-benche, and there arayned. And after the indictment had ben read unto hym, the effect thereof was, that wher as Rychard Norton, [3] Thomas Markenfelde, [4] Christopher Nevyll, [5] Frances Norton, and Thomas Jenny, alias Jennings, [6] with other traytors, after their offences committed in the north, and being thereof indicted in the xii. yere of the queenes highnes raigne before the right honourable Thomas Erle of Sussex, lorde president of the queenes counsaill in the north partes, John Lorde Darcye, &c. they, after their indictment, did, the xxiii. of June, in the yere aforesaid, embarke theimselves in sundry shyppes, and fled this realme unto Antwarpe in Brabant, which is under the government

[1] This special commission entitled him to search for heretical books and contraband goods.

[2] Which belonged, says Wood, to one Parker, an Englishman. See *Athenæ Oxon.* i. p. 167.

[3] Richard Norton of Norton-Coniers, an aged gentleman, who, in the insurrection of the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, carried their banner, on which was displayed the five wounds of Christ. He is generally said to have been executed after the rebellion was suppressed, but in truth escaped into Scotland with his eldest son Francis, and from that into Flanders. See *Sadler's State Papers*, Vol. II. p. 113.

[4] Thomas Markenfeld of Markenfeld, in the county of York. He fled abroad upon the alteration of religion, but returned in the 11th of Queen Elizabeth, and was active in stirring the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland to a rising. After their bands were dispersed, he also escaped to Scotland, and thence to Flanders.

[5] Sir Christopher Neville of Hippiswel in Yorkshire. He was an uncle of the banished Earl of Westmoreland, and a fugitive on account of his share in the rebellion.

[6] Another English fugitive in the pay of Spain.

of king Phylip, and ther, contrarye to ther allegiance, did lead their lives; and the aforesayd John Story, D. W. P. and J. P. being borne in England, and the queenes subjectes, did with theim conspire, compasse, and imagin the queenes death, and her highnes to depose and depryve.

And by divers perswasions and letters, did also procure straungiers to invade this realme of England, and to levy warre against the queene, and her hyghnes to depose. And, that the aforesaid John Story, &c. knowing the abovesaid Norton, and others, to have committed thyr treasons here in England, did receave, comfort, and helpe theim at Antwerp aforsaid, agaynst theyr allegeaunce, &c.

And after the indictment read, he being called upon by the courte to answere to the same, pleaded, that he was not the queenes subject, nor had not been these vii. yeres, but was the subject of the most Catholicke and mighty prince, kyng Philip, kyng of Spaine, to whome he was sworne, and had in fee of him one hundred pound by the yere; therefore, said he, I am not bound to answere unto that indictment, neyther will I answere unto it.

And here he used many pretie tauntes, as well to the judges, as also pleasyng himselfe with givinge of pretie nippes and girdes.

And verye stowtlye he maintayned his former plea, affirming also, that they were not his lawfull judges, neither that they had law to procede against him, being none of the queenes subjectes.

And then beyng demaunded where he was borne? he answered, in England.

Then sayd they, it followeth that you are subject to the lawes of thys realme, and should be so to our queene.

Whereunto he replyed and sayd, "That God commaunded Abraham to go foorth from the land and countrey where he was borne, from his friendes and kynsfolke, into another countrey." And so he followynge his example, for conscience sake in religion, did forsake his countreye, and the lawes of this realme, and the prince also, and had wholy geven himselfe to the service of a foreyne governour, kyng Philip, kyng of Spaine.

And hereupon he stood very stoutlye, but to small purpose.

Then, when he perceaved that they would proceed in judgement against him, he sayde, they had no law so to do. And with that he turned him about to the people, and said; Good people, I trust ye see, howe violently I am used, and how unjustly and contrary to all justice and equitie they use mee.

And he added, that he had good hope, that he was not destitute of some friendes there, that would give notice and knowledge to the most Catholycke prince his maister how cruelly they dealt with him.

And then, again beyng called upon to answere, one said unto him, Maister Storye, because you thynke it violence that is shewed unto you instead of lawe and justice, you shall knowe that we doe nothyng but that wee maye do both by lawe and equitie.

And then one of the judges said: This is Scarborowes case. Nay, said Story, my case is not Scarborowes case; but indeede I had Scarborowes warnynge[1] to come to this arraignment, for I knew nothynge therof untyll vij. of the clocke in the mornynge.

Then there was a booke delyvered hym to read, wherin he might see what they might doo by lawe; and, after he had read it, the judge demaunded of him how he liked it?

[1] "Scarborow warning is said, proverbially, to mean, "first knocking a man down, and then bidding him stand." There is, in Jamieson's Collection of Ballads, Edinburgh, 1806, Vol. II. a ballad on the taking of Scarborough Castle, in Queen Mary's time, having to each verse this, or a similar burden:

"God saith, Let Scarborow castle alone,
"And take Scarborow warning everichone."

and he answered, God have mercie upon mee. Then the lorde chiefe justice gave him judgement to be drawen, hanged, and quartered, and so was he agayne sent unto the Tower. [1]

And as he went by the way, certayne persons in severall places met with him, and one sayd: Oh Story, Story, thou art a strange Story: Remember Maister Bradford, [2] that godly man, his blood asketh vengeaunce on thee, Story, repent in tyme. Another cryed on hym and said, Story, call to minde the rigour that thou shewedest upon maister Read [3] a gentleman whom thou diddest utterly destroy; aske God forgivenesse, Story, for that wicked deede.

Another cryed unto hym and saide; Blessed be God, Story, that hath made thee partaker of such breade, as thou wast wont to deale to the innocent membres of Jesus Christe.

Another also cryed upon him, and said; Story, Story, the abhominable cup of fornication and filthynes, that thou hast given other to drinke, be heaped up topfull, that thy plagues maye be the greater at the terrible daye of Gods wrath and vengeaunce, unlesse thou aske mercy for thy filthy, corrupte, and stinkyng lyfe. And yet again, another cryed out unto him and said; I pray God that thy hart be not hardened, as was Pharaos, and made harder than the adamant stone, or the steele, that, when he woulde he could not repent and call for grace.

And, among al the rest, one came to him at London Stone, and saluted him with this meeter, saying

"Maister Doctor Story,
For you they are right sory,
The Court of Lovaine and Rome.
Your holy Father, the Pope,
Cannot save you from the rope,
The hangman must have your gowne."

To which he answered not one word.

[1] Camden gives this account of his trial, being somewhat different from that in the text:

"As soon as the parliament broke up, in the beginning of June, a consultation was held about John Story, doctor of law, one of the D. d'Alva's searchers (of whom mention was made before in the year 1569), wherein it was debated, Whether he, being an Englishman born, who in Brabant had consulted with a forein prince, about invading his own country, and had informed him how it might be invaded, were not guilty of high treason? The ablest lawyers said he was. Whereupon being arraigned, and charged with high-treason, for having consulted with one Prestal, a great magician, against his prince's life, for having conspired the death of her and the King of Scots, cursed her daily in his grace at meats, and informed the Duke d'Alva's secretary, how to invade England, raise a rebellion in Ireland, and, at the same time, send the Scots into England. He refused to submit himself to trial, and to the laws of England; affirming that the judges had no power over him, since he was not a sworn subject to the Queen of England, but to the King of Spain. However, he was condemned according to the ordinary form of *nihil dicit*, (because no man can relinquish his country where he was born, nor abjure his native soil, or his prince, at his pleasure), and suffered the death of a traitor."—*Camden's Annals, apud Ann.* 1571.

[2] John Bradford, a clergyman and martyr for the protestant faith, was burned alive in Smithfield in 1555. He was held in high esteem for his learning; and Fox narrates at great length the disputations which he held while in prison with the catholic bishops and priests. A visitor, offering to solicit for his life, he only answered, "Forsooth that ye will do, do it not at my request; for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her; if she will banish me, I will thank her; if she condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her; if she burn me, still will I thank her." There is no mention made of Storie having any particular concern with Bradford's suffering.—*Fox's Martyrology*, Vol. III. p. 280.

[3] Thomas Read, with three martyrs, was burned at Lewes in June 1556.—*Fox's Martyrology*, Vol. III. page 706.

The first daye of June, the saide Story was drawn upon an herdell from the Tower of London unto Tiborn, wher was prepared for him a newe payre of gallowes made in triangular maner. And, by the way, as he went, many people spake unto hym, and called upon hym, to repent his tirrannie and wickednes, and wylled him to call upon God for mercy; but he lay as though he had ben asleepe, and woulde not speake to any person.

And, when he was taken from the herdell and set in a carte, he made there a solempne protestation, and said:

I am come hither to die; and truely, if this death were ten times more fierce and sharp then it is, I have deserved it.

I have lyved the space of threescore and vi. yeres, and now my body must abyde this temporall payne and punishment prouyded for mee here in this lyfe, by meane whereof my daies shall be cut off. But, where at the first I stoode in feare of death, I thanke God, this night passed I have ben comforted with good and godly men, that the feare of death is taken from my sight. And now I appeale to God the Father, trusting in the passion of his Sonne Christ Jesus, and hopynge, by the shedding of his blood only, to be saved. And althoughe of a long tyme I could not applie the vertue of his passion and death to the use and benefite of my soule, because of my longe hoverynge in feare; yet nowe, I thanke God, I know how to applye this medicyne, as for example:

A pothecarye maye have a medicine lying in his shop vij. yeres, that maye helpe a sicke or diseased man by the counsayle of a physicion; but if this medicyne be not applyed to the pacient, but styl remaineth in the pothecaries shop, it profiteth nothyng; no more (said he) coulde the benefite of Christes death healpe mee; because, though I knew the medicyne good, I did not applie it unto my souls helth; but now that it hath pleased Almightye God to call mee to accompt of my lxvij. yeres, which now must have an end, and this corrupt body must feele a temporall punishment, for my sinnes have deserved it (as I sayd before) I am now come to the proofe of this medicine.

David, when he had committed adulterie with Barsabe, the wife of Urias, (whose husband also he caused to be put in the front of the batell, and so was he murthered,) he for that trespass felt a temporall punishment by the losse of the lyfe of his son, whiche he loved tenderly.

Also, when he nombred his people, he greatly displeased God; and for his offence and transgression, he felt a temporall payne; and choyce was geven unto him from above, to choose one of these iij temporall and bodily punishments; that is to saye, three daies pestilence; the sworde, that is to say, bloodie battels vij yeres; or famyne vij yeres.

And he thought to choose the least; and he chose three daies pestilence. But this scourge tooke away an infinite nombre of his subjectes. So nowe as my sinnes deserve a temporall payne, whiche here have an end, even in this flesh; I am of the same minde that the prophet David was, and with him I agree, saying, *Inuoco te Domine, &c.* "Lord, I call upon thee in this day of my trouble, heare me, O Lord, out of thy dwelling place," &c.

But nowe to speake a little of my arraignment; when I was at Westminster, I alleaged in my plea that I was no subject of this realme, as I did likewise before the queenes commissioners, Sir Thomas Wrath, Maister Thomas Wilbraham, late recorder of the citie of London, Maister Peter Osborne, Maister Marshe, and Maister Doctor Wattes, where the recorder of London made lyke demaunde as was demaunded of me at Westminster; and that was, whether I was born in England, or no? wherunto I answered, I was.

Then sayde he, it followeth that you are and ought to continue the queenes faithfull subject. Whereunto I replied, then as I do nowe, saying, I am sworne to the noble kyng, defendour of the auncient Catholike faith, kyng Philip, kyng of Spaine; and he is sworn againe by a solempne and corporall othe to maintayne and defende the universitie of Louvaine, whereof I am a member, and therefore no subject of this realme, ne yet subject to any lawes therof.

For it is well knowen, that I departed this realme beynge freelye licensed therunto by the queene, who accounted me an abject and castawaye, and I came not hether agayne of myne owne accorde; but I was betrayed.

And although I had an inckelyng given mee before of such a thing pretended towardes mee, yet I could not shun nor escape it. For sure it was God that made dym myne understandyng, and blinded myne eyes, so that I could not perceyve it. But holye writ commandeth mee to love my enemies, and here I forgeve theme freely with all my hart, beseechyng God that they take no harme for me in another countrey; I would be right sorye they should, although they betrayed me.

I travayled with them from shyp to shyp, by the space of eight daies, and mistrusted no perill to be at hand, untyll I was clapt fast under the hatches.

But sure, sure, it was God that wrought it; yea, and although I was accompted a poller of the Englyshemen of your countrey; I stand nowe here before God, and by the death I shal die, I had never out of any shyp more then two peeces of golde, and fortie dallers that was laid in my hand.

But once agayne, to my arraignment, where there were certain letters laid to my charge, wherein I should go about to provoke the Nortons, the Nevilles, and others to rebell, I never meant it; yet will I discharge my conscience freely and frankly, and tell you trueth. There was a commission for a lyke matter sent into Scotland, which I wrote with myne owne hand; but it conteyned a proviso, wherein the queene of England and her dominions were excepted.

There are yet two thinges that I purpose to talke of; namely, for that ther are here present a great nombre of youth; and I would to God I might saye or speke that which might bring all men to the unitie of the church; for there is but one church, one flocke, and one shepherde; if I could this do, I would think myselfe to have wrought a good worke.

The first poynct toucheth my cruelty, wherwith I am sore burdened; and the second concerneth my religion.

As touchyng the first, there were three in commission, of the whiche I was one that might do least, for I was the last of the three. And thoughe I might by perswasion assaye to cause them to revoke the articles that they had maintayned, and to confesse the presence, wherein I stande; ye know that he that chydeth is not worthy to be condemned for fighting: no more am I worthy to be counted cruel for chydynge; it was the bishop that pronounced the sentence *Excommunicamus*, and against that I could not do, for I was one of the layetie.

Yet oftentimes the bishop, to whom I was servant, was bold with mee when he had so many prisoners that he could not well bestow them. For at one tyme the Lorde Riche sent him out of Essex xxviij, and at another tyme xxiiij, also at another tyme xvi, and xiiij, and some of them were sent to mee, whiche I kepte in my house with suche fare as I had provided for myselfe and my famylie, at myne owne cost and charge.

And, to prove that I was not so cruell as I am reported to bee, let this one tale suffice; there were at one tyme xxviij condempned to the fire, and I moved the deane of Paules to tender and pitie their estate, whiche after was abbot of Westminster, a very pitiful minded man; I thincke the most parte of you know him, it is Mr. Fecknam, and we went up and perswaded with them, and we found them very tractable. And Mr. Fecknam and I laboured to the Lorde Cardinal Poole, shewynge that they were

Nescientes quid fecerunt.

The cardinall and we did sue together to the queene, and layd both the swordes together, and so we obteyned pardon for them al, savynge an old woman that dwelt about

Paules Churchyard; she would not convert, and therefore she was burned. The rest of them receyved absolution, and that with al reverence; serch the register, and you shall finde it.

Yea, and it was my procurement that there should be no more burnt in London; for I saw well that it woulde not prevaile, and therefore we sent them into odde corners into the countrey.

Wherefore I pray you, name me not cruell; I would be loth to have any suche slaunder to ron on mee. But, sith I dye in charitie, I pray you al of charitie to pray for mee, that God maye strengthen mee with patience to suffer my death; to the whiche I yelde most wyllyngly.

And here I make a peticion to you my frendes, that woulde have bestowed any thyng on me, I beseeche you, for charitie sake, bestow it yeerly on my wife, who hath foure small children, and God hath nowe taken me away, that was her staffe and stay; and now my doughter Weston and her three chyldren are gone over unto her, and I know not how they shal do for foode, unlesse they go a beggynge from door to door for it; although indeede no English persons do begge but of English, beyng helped by the Lady Dorm, and Sir Francisco; I have good hope that you wyll be good unto her, for she is the faythfullest wife, the lovyngest, and constantest, that ever man had. And twise we have lost all that ever we had, and nowe she hath lost me to her great griefe I knowe.

The second poynct, that I thought to speke of, is concerning my religion, for that I know manie are desirous to know what faith I will dye in, the whiche I will briefely touch: I saye with Sainct Iherome, that auncient father and piller of the old auncient, catholique, and apostolicke churche, grounded upon the patriarkes, prophetes, and apostles, that, in the same faith that I was borne in, I purpose to dye. And as the arcke, that Noe and his family did possesse, figured the ship of Christes church, out of which ship whosoever is, cannot be saved; in that ship am I. Example: A ship, that is tossed on the floods, is often in daunger of losse on the sandes, and sometimes on the rocke. But, when the men that are in the ship espye present peryll at hande, there is a cockboat, at the tayle of the ship, whereunto they flye for succour; so likewise I, beyng in the ship of Christ, once fell out of the same ship, and was in present peryle and great danger; but then I, followynge the example of a good maryner, tooke the cockboat, thinkynge to drive to lande, and at the last, beynge in the boat, I espied three oares, that is to wit, contricion, confession, and absolution; and I held al these fast, and ever sence I have continued in the ship of Christ, of whiche the apostle Peter is the guide and principall, and in the faith catholike of my kynge I dye.

Then sayde the earl of Bedford, are you not the queenes subject? No, sayde Story, and yet I do not exclude the queene, but I pray for her, her counsaile, and the nobilitie of this realme, longe to continue.

Then sayde the Lorde Honsden, Are you not the queenes subject, you were borne in England? then sayde Story, every man is free borne, and he hath the whole face of the earth before him to dwell and abyde in, where he liketh best; and, if he can not lyve here, he may go els where. Then was there (as I thinke one of the ministers) hearying him to make so light of our noble queene and countrey, demaunded of him, whether she were not, next and immediatelye under God, supreme head of the churches of Englande and Irelande? whereunto he answered; I come not hither to dispute, but if shee bee, shee is; my nay wyll not prevayle to prove it otherwise.

And then they cryed, awaye with the carte; and so he was hanged according to his judgement.

An Epilogue, or a brefe Conclusion of the Lyfe of the aforesaid John Story.

The aforesaid John Story, beside that he was an obstinat papist and a rancke traitour, he was also in Queen Maryes time the cruellest tirant and persecutor of the innocent membres and blessed professors of Christ, that ever was to his power, sithen that cruell tirant Nero. For his whole delectation and pleasure was, in rackyng, stockyng, whippyng, manaklyng, and burnyng of innocents, without respect either of age, vertue, learnyng, weakenes of wyt, or of a simple boy, or childish wenche; and all was fish that came to the net.

And he often and openlie sayd (in the herynge of manie) in the time of Queene Mary, that the burnynge of heretiques (as he termed them) was too gentle a death; for they had too muche scope to prate and talke what they lust; but, sayde he, if I lyve, I wyll have a close cage of iron made for them, with a doore in the side, lyke to the brasen bull of Perillus, where they be enclosed, and the doore made fast, and the fire to be made under them. And then (sayde he) they shall know what frying is, and their mouthes shall be stopped from blowyng out their pestilent doctrine. So that, by the premises, it maye manifestly appeere, that there hath not ben a wickeder man towarde God, his prince, and countrey, then he hath ben. God save the queene, and confound her enemies.

Seen and allowed, &c.

The Earl of Northumberland's Challenge sent unto Sir Francis Veere, in April —— on St George's Day, anno 1602.[1] *Taken from a Manuscript out of the Cottonian Library, with Sir Francis Veere's account of the same.*

Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, son to the eighth Earl, whose lamentable fate formed the subject of a preceding tract, was, in 1601, at the celebrated siege of Ostend; and conceiving that Sir Francis Vere, the governor of that town, treated him with less respect than his rank demanded, and countenanced certain reports to his prejudice, he determined to call him to account when he should be divested of his public character. Accordingly when Sir Francis Vere came to England in 1602, the following transaction took place between them. To do justice to so illustrious a character as that of Sir Francis Vere, as well as that the reader may have both sides of the question before him, there is here added the account which he thought it necessary to publish in vindication of his character. It is taken from that which Collins has given in his Peerage, from an original in possession of the Duke of Northumberland.

The Right Honorable the Earl of Northumberland,[2] having just cause to call Sir Francis Veere in question for divers wrongs done unto him, as by the report of sundry men of

[1] This date is supplied from the copy printed by Collins, from an original in the records of the Duke of Northumberland.

[2] Henry, ninth earl of Northumberland. He was fined L. 30,000 in the Star Chamber for his kinsman Thomas Percy's share in the Gunpowder Plot, and was imprisoned for more than fifteen years in the Tower, till two-thirds of the sum was extorted from him. This time he spent in the wisest and noblest manner, encouraging, by his munificence, the pursuits of Henry, Allen, Hughes, Dee, and other mathematicians of the age, by which he acquired the name of Henry the Wizard. Yet neither his long confinement, nor his abstracted studies, tamed the

good credit, he was enforced, on Saturday the 24th of April, to send him [x] a letter or challenge, by Captain Whitlocke, with this superscriptive on the outside:

"To the valorous and worthy Captain, Sir Francis Veere, [y] Lord Governor of the Brille, and Commander of the Englishe under the States." Of which letter, this under-written is the true copy.

"I TOLD you at Ostend, that there was no fit time to expostulate matters; now I hold it proper to call you to an accompt for those wrongs you have done me; you love to take the air, and to ride abroad; appoint therefore a time and place to your liking, that I may meete you; bring your friend with you; I will be accompanied with another, that shall be witness of the things I will lay to your charge; if you satisfy me, we will return good friends; if not, we shall do as God shall put in our minds; I will eschew all bitter words, as unfit for men of our occupation; seek not frivolous shifts, to divert this course of satisfaction; for all other means than this that I have prescribed, I shall call an affirmation of that I have heard, which will cause me to proceed in righting myself, as the wrongs require; make no replies by letters, but send me your will by this bearer directly, that you will or will not; (for from me you shall have no cause of noises in the world to hinder this course, lest you baffle your own reputation.) Whatsoever else I shall do in this just cause of offence, fewer words I would not have used to have expressed my mind."

After he (Sir Francis Veere) had received and read this letter, he asked captain Whitlock, if he had nothing to deliver him by word of mouth; who replied, that in case Sir Francis Veere should offer to write, and answer by him, then the earl of Northumberland gave him charge to say, that he was forbidden to take any letter, but to crave a direct answer by word of mouth, which the earl did assure himself Sir Francis Veere would not refuse to send. Then Sir Francis Veere, reading the letter out over-again, he willed captain Whitlock to signify unto the earl of Northumberland, that, upon such a subject as it was, he could not so suddenly give an answer either by word or writing; but that he would think upon it, and send him one; whereupon captain Whitlock asked, if he should not name to the earl any prefixed time? And he, Sir Francis, told him again, in these express words, "That he could not name the time precisely; for in his resolutions, when he took them, he was sudden, and therefore he knew not how soon he should be ready to answer him." Thus Captain Whitlock parted with him. The Sunday morning, the 25th, Captain Ogle came to the Earl of Northumberland's lodgings, and told his lordship, that Sir Francis Veere, upon the receipt of his letter, had no disposition to lay himself so open to the bearer thereof, as to let him understand his mind; but that he had advised since with himself, and sent him answer of his letter in another, which Captain Ogle intreated his lordship to receive.

To this the earl replied, that he was resolved to stand to that he had set down in his letter sent by Captain Whitlock; that he would receive no letter, but a direct answer, appointing the time and place where they should meet, and bring either of them a friend with them, that should be witness of that should be said betwixt them both. His lordship asked him withal, whether he had any thing to say by word of mouth? and he answered, That Sir Francis Veere willed him to say, that his lordship tied him to conditions that were over-hard, by calling him to any such place abroad; to which the Earl of

fiery temper which he displayed in his contests with Sir Francis Vere; for Wilson informs us, that when Buckingham, in the plenitude of royal favour, was drawn about with six horses, (then a novelty, and accounted an instance of mastering pride,) "this stout old earl, then just got loose, drove through the city to Bath with eight horses, in defiance of the favourite" The Earl of Northumberland died in 1632, aged seventy.

[x] These words were added by the editor to make good the sense.

[y] For some account of Sir Francis Vere, see a note upon the article respecting him in Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia.*

Northumberland answered, That it was no disparagement to Sir Francis Veere to say a truth in any place, or in any men's presence; and if he would justify himself in any thing that should be laid to his charge, there was no place fitter than such as he required. Captain Ogle answered, that Sir Francis Veere would bring nobody with him, but was desirous to meet his lordship alone, so that it might be in a place where, for the respect whereof, there ought to be no scuffling, or drawing of swords.

To this the Earl of Northumberland replied, that he would not stick to meet with him alone; but to stand upon any respect of place, it was no purpose; for neither his own house, nor Sir Francis's, nor the court, nor the market-place, were fit for the deciding of their controversies; and that he might be sure, wheresoever he should meet him, he would not go without the weapons he did ordinarily wear; neither would bar the use of them, if it were requisite. With this, Captain Ogle, being upon his departure, offered to deliver his letter the second time, saying, he knew not how to acquit himself of his duty towards Sir Francis Veere, if he did not deliver it according as he gave him in charge.

The Earl of Northumberland asked him, whether he bad him leave the letter in his chamber, if in case he would not receive it? He answered, yes; that he bad him expressly lay it down upon the table: which he had no sooner done, but the said earl, stepping to his sword that was hanging upon the wall, he drew it half out, and bad Captain Ogle carry back the letter, saying, with his hand upon his sword, this is sufficient for your discharge of duty towards Sir Francis. Captain Ogle then took the letter up again, and went down. When he was gone so far as into the street, the earl made him be called back again, and bad him tell Sir Francis, that he staid in London, expressly from his business elsewhere, to have an answer, whether he would appoint a time and place or not. Captain Ogle, taking his leave, made yet the third time an offer to deliver Sir Francis's letter; but the earl bad him he should not offer it any more, unless he had a fancy that they two should have a thrust together. And thus Captain Ogle parted with the earl the Sunday morning.

The same Sunday, after dinner, Captain Ogle came to the earl with a new discourse that Sir Francis Veere was willing to satisfy his lordship; but that he was desirous to meet him in London, either of them accompanied with a man of gravity and of some rank in the state, and named, for his choice, Sir Edward Stafford, or some such like. To this the earl replied, that he thought it no fit course to trouble such men; for that knight, and another his equal, were men likely enough to acquaint the queen and council, if they saw any difference betwixt them that might cause farther contention, and bring them both under the power of her majesty's command, by their information: again, if they should not do this, at the least, they would hinder them from going together into the field, if either party should have just cause so to do; a proceeding flat against his meaning, because he desired no noise, but privately to be satisfied, as in his letter did appear; and because he held Sir Francis for a gallant gentleman and a worthy commander, he was resolved to deal with him in the stile of a soldier; and, to be short, lest Sir Francis should, in his scoffing vein, say, that he knew how to handle a lord, he would not accept of a statesman, but wild Captain Ogle; and to tell him, that he would be stedfast to his first design to bring with him a gentleman and a soldier, over whose sword he was assured he had absolute authority for this time, and in this matter betwixt them two, and could command him in honourable courtesy not to draw, but only to be witness of their conference and appointments; lest Sir Francis, or himself, after they were parted, should say more or less of each other than indeed had been said; such another he willed Sir Francis to bring with him; and also, that he should once again remember the contents of his letter, to send him an absolute answer, whether he would do so or no. The same Sunday, towards the evening, for the last time that Captain Ogle came to the Earl of Northumberland, he brought word, that Sir Francis thought it not reasonable to satisfy him after the manner he did require, and therefore he would not do it; but desired to have, under his

hand, the particular causes for the which he found himself aggrieved. The earl replied, that to write would be tedious, and against his promise in his letter; and that he would not make his wrongs known, unless he might be assured of satisfaction either by word or sword, in such place as was fit for a nobleman that professed arms to receive it; and that he should tell Sir Francis, how, by his refusal, he was thoroughly perswaded he had done him those wrongs which he meant to lay to his charge; that he would lay up this injurious dealing in his heart, and right himself thereafter as he should think fit.

This matter rested thus for three days. But on Thursday following, Sir Nowell Caronne, agent for the States, and chief dealer for the business Sir Francis Veere hath now in hand, did acquaint the queen and council with these differences; and, suddenly, it pleased her highness to send an honourable personage, one of the Earl of Northumberland's dear friends, to lay her commandment upon him, to forbear any attempt against Sir Francis, at this instant employed in her service, which he, in all humility, did accept of; making no reckoning of any thing touching this particular, in respect of her majesty's service and commandment: only he made the company there present to understand, that he referred himself to all men to judge that made profession of honour; and that he hoped they would not blame him, if, in attending his better satisfaction, he protested, that Sir Francis Veere was a knave and a coward, that, in fleering and geering, like a common buffoon, would wrong men of all conditions, and had neither the honesty nor courage to satisfy any.

Sir Frauncis Veere his Aunswere to the Earle of Northumberland's Challenge.

"The Earle of Northumberland makeing profession to hate Sir Frauncis Veere uppon dyvers sinister reportes made by base and factious persons, where hee might have drawne from Sir Frauncis Veere satisfaction in the matters hee were to objecte, eyther by worde or sworde, *without any hinderaunce or daunger of the lawes*, never called him to accompte, nor charged him directlye, with any matter, though Sir Frauncis Veere did offerr to gyve him satisfaction, knoweing himselfe cleere ffrom wronginge the earle in his reputation; though hee must and will confesse, uppon the certayne knowledge he had of the countenaunce and ffavor the earle shewed to certayne meane persons, and the contentment hee tooke in their backbyteinge of Sir Frauncis Veere, that hee grewe into contempte of this humor of the earle's, and afforded him little respecte."

'Their first meetinge in England was in the courte, the xiii. of Aprill, Sir Frauncis Veere being sent to her majestie by the states, as a publique person uppon verye waighty and important affaires; where the earle, passing by Sir Frauncis Veere, asked softlye, yf he went to London that night. Whereunto Sir Frauncis Veere answered, hee knewe not: it beinge well knowne to a gentleman of greate worthe in courte, that Sir Frauncis Veere attended the comeinge of a councellour to courte, throughe whose handes, of necessitye, his businesse must passe; and was determyned, yf hee came earlye, after speeche with him, to goe to London; yf late, to have stayed in courte that night.

'The earle made no replye, but passed; whereuppon Sir Frauncis Veere followed him, askinge him, yf hee would commaund him any servyce, yf hee went to London?

'To which the earle made no aunswere at all. Sir Frauncis Veere, who tooke this as the earle meant, whoe since confessed to Captayne Ogle, that he purposed to sett uppon Sir Frauncis Veere uppon the waye, fforsakinge his former resolution of attendinge the arryval of the honorable personage, passed towardes his lodgeinge, and on the greene before the courte, hee saw the Earl of Northumberland: and soe soone as his coache was made readye, Sir Frauncis Veere went to London, and ffound noe encounter.

'Heereuppon a rumor was spread, both in courte and cittye, that the Earle of Northumberland had challenged Sir Frauncis Veere.

'The xxiii. of Aprill, in the eveninge, aboute six of the clocke, one Captayne Whitt-

locke came unto Sir Frauncis Veere's chamber, and, after some speeche of other matters' hee drewe a letter out of his pockett, and said the Earle of Northumberland sent it to him.

'Sir Frauncis Veere tooke and read the same twyce: Whittlocke requyring an aunswere, Sir Frauncis Veere tould him, the matter was of too great moement to be soe suddenlye aunswered.

'Hee asked, when the earle might expecte an aunswere?

'Sir Frauncis Veere replyed, that his speed would be more then ordinarye.

'The same eveninge hee framed his aunswere; butt wantinge a convenyent messenger, for hee was to choose one, to whome hee might communicate his letter, itt was not sent untill the next morninge, and then he gave the same to Captain Ogle, his Lieutenant-collonel, willinge him, yf the Earle of Northumberland refused the letter, to delyver by worde the contents thereof; which was as followeth:

"Your lordshipp requyred, in the letter sent mee by Captayne Whittlocke, that I should retourne a direct aunswere, by worde of mouthe, to the contents; which at the instant I forbore, the matter beinge of momente, and not to bee resolved of soe suddainly; and nowe, for good respects, I chose rayther to lett your lordship to knowe my mynde by writinge, than by any man's reporte.

"Yf your lordship's meaninge bee, by the meetinge you appoynte, to drawe a verball satisfaction from mee, in the objections you are to make; the manner of the meetinge, in my opinyon, is not the best, in regard that truthe, delivered where swordes might bee drawne, is subjecte to hard construction, which I desire to avoyde. Your lordshipp shall therefore be pleased to nominate some fitt place for communication, whither I will repayre with much willingness, to cleare myselfe of havinge given your honour the first cause of offence, for truthe's sake; for the respect of your greatness requyred, and for that I despise private combatinge, especially att this tyme, that I am ingaged in soe greate and important an action, as your lordship knoweth. This course rejected by your lordship, I shall not leave to follow the occasion that drew mee, with the poor trayne attending mee ordinarilye, confident that your lordship will attempte noethinge unfitting yourselfe uppon mee, that have alwayes lived in good reputation, and am descended from a grandfather of your owne ranke. From my lodginge in Aldersgate-streete, this 25th of Aprill.

"Frauncis Veere."

"Whereoff the superscription is,

"*To the Right Honourable the Earl of Northumberland, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter.*"

'The earle refused the letter; and Captayne Ogle layinge the same on the board, the earle tooke his sworde, &c. and Captayne Ogle, as I had instructed him, tooke the letter, and delyvered the contents by worde. The earle replyed, that there was noe place priviledged from drawinge of swordes, butt the queen's chamber of presence, the garden, or market-place; and that theis were noe places to speak in.

'And with this Captayne Ogle retourned to Sir Frauncis Veere, whoe said to Captayne Ogle, that to him all places were alyke, yf the distinction therein was proper for treatye and expostulation; and that it was indifferent to him where it were, and whatt companye on the earle's parte were present, "soe he might have some gentleman qualliffyed, such as Sir Edward Stafford," to bee a wytnesse what should passe.

'With this aunswere, Captayne Ogle retourned to the Earle of Northumberland the third tyme, to signiffye unto him, that since his lordship would accept of noe indifferent and convenyent place of meetinge ffor communication, that Sir Frauncis Veere was resolved not to satisfye in the manner he requyred: and, moreover, to let him understand, that where and whensoever the earle should meete Sir Frauncis Veere, where there were noe privilege against draweinge of swordes, and should expostulate with Sir Frauncis

Veere, hee would never aunswere him to his demandes, butt willinglye laye his hand on his sworde. And soe the negotiation of Captayne Ogle brake of.

'Within some ffew dayes, her majestie had knowledge whatt had passed, it beinge divulged by the earle's ffollowers, that hee had sent Sir Frauncis Veere a challenge.

'Whereuppon, the 30th of the fforesaid month, her majestie sent commandment unto the Earle of Northumberland, not to have to doe with Sir Frauncis Veere.

'Then the earle, as by circumstances appears, having brought matters to the passe hee desired, published the manner of his proceedinge in the Englishe, Frenche, and Italyan, whereof Sir Frauncis Veere could not procure any coppye tyll some ffew dayes beffore his departure, nor aunswere the same soe presentlye as hee willinglye would for his affayers otherwise; and for that in the same, the earle went beyond the true grounds of judgemente and honnour, Sir Frauncis Veere thought it necessarye to send to the Earle of Northumberland this letter following, which hee offereth to the worlde, with the rest of his proceedinges, to be judged.

"Because I refused to meete you, uppon your peremptorye and foolishe summons, you conclude mee, in a discourse sent abroade under your name, to bee a knave, a coward, and a buffoone; whereuppon you have procured mee to set aside all respecte to your person, and to saye, that 'you are a most lyinge and unworthy lord,' You are bounde, by her majestie's commandmente, not to assayle mee, and I, by the business committed to mee, not to seeke you. When you shall bee freer, as God shall make us meete, I will maintayne it with my sworde.

"FRAUNCIS VEERE."

'Examined with the coppye which Sir Frauncis Veere sent unto mee. Att the very ffirst daye taken fforth of it, whych was even uppon his departure out of London ffor the Lowe Countryes. Hee went all the waye by land ffrom London to Thames, wheere hee tooke shippinge. Mr. White, his man, brought it unto mee.'

A Letter from Sir Henry Sidney to his Son, Sir Philip Sidney, consisting of Rules in his Conduct in Life. MS.

Sir Henry Sidney, whose excellent instructions to a most deserving son are here preserved, was educated at Court with Edward VI. and was one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber. In the subsequent reigns, he was Lord President of Wales; four times Lord Justice of Ireland; and thrice, by special commission, Lord Deputy. He was bold in the field, and discreet, grave, and judicious, in council; friendly, easy, and courteous in society; well read in history and antiquities; and a master of ancient and modern languages. The maxims of such a parent, addressed to a son like Sir Philip Sidney, are well worthy heedful marking.

Son Philip,

I HAVE received two letters from you, the one written in Latin, the other in French, which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practice of learning often, for it will stand you in stead, in that profession of life which you are born to live in: and now, since that this is my first letter that ever I did write to you, I will not that it be all empty of some advices, which my natural care of you provoketh me to with you, to follow as documents to you in this tender age. Let your first action be the lifting up of

your hands and mind to Almighty God, by hearty prayers, and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer with continual meditations and thinking of him to whom you pray; and use this at an ordinary hour, whereby the time itself will put you in remembrance to do that thing which you are accustomed in that time.

2. Apply to your study such hours as your discreet master doth assign you earnestly, and the time, I know, he will so limit, as shall be both sufficient for your learning, and safe for your health; and mark the sense and matter of that you read, as well as the words; so shall you both inrich your tongue with words, and your wit with matter; and judgment will grow, as years grow on you.

3. Be humble and obedient to your master; for, unless you frame yourself to obey, yea, and to feel in yourself what obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others how to obey you hereafter.

4. Be courteous of gesture, and affable to all men with universality of reverence, according to the dignity of the person: there is nothing that winneth so much with so little cost.

5. Use moderate diet, so as after your meat, you may find your wit fresher, and not duller; and your body more lively, and not more heavy.

6. Seldom drink wines, and yet sometimes do; lest, being forced to drink upon the sudden, you should find yourself inflamed.

7. Use exercise of body, but such as is without peril of your bones or joints; it will much increase your force, and inlarge your breath.

8. Delight to be cleanly, as well in all parts of your body, as in your garments; it shall make you grateful in each company, and otherwise loathsome.

9. Give yourself to be merry; for you degenerate from your father, if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to do any thing, when you be most merry; but let your mirth be ever void of scurrillity and biting words to any man; for a wound given by a word, is harder to be cured, than that which is given by a sword.

10. Be you rather a hearer and bearer away of other men's talk, than a beginner, or procurer of speech, otherwise you will be accounted to delight to hear yourself speak.

11. Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuffed of light fellows for a maiden shamefacedness, than of your sober friends, for pert boldness.

12. Think upon every word you will speak before you utter it, and remember how nature hath, as it were, rampired up the tongue with teeth, lips, yea, and hair without the lips, and all betoken reins and bridles to the restraining the use of that member.

13. Above all things, tell no untruth, no not in trifles; the custom of it is naught: and let it not satisfy you, that the hearers, for a time, take it for a truth; for afterwards it will be known as it is to shame; and there cannot be a greater reproach to a gentleman, than to be accounted a lyar.

14. Study, and endeavour yourself, to be virtuously occupied; so shall you make such a habit of well doing, as you shall not know how to do evil, though you would.

15. Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by your mother's side, and think, that only by a virtuous life, and good actions, you may be an ornament to your illustrious family, and otherwise, through vice and sloth, you may be esteemed *Labes Generis*, one of the greatest curses that can happen to a man. Well, my little Philip, this is enough for me, and I fear too much for you at this time; but yet, if I find that this light meat of digestion do nourish any thing the weak stomach of your young capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with tougher food. Farewel; your mother and I send you our blessing, and Almighty God grant you his; nourish you with his fear, guide you with his grace, and make you a good servant to your prince and country.

Your loving Father,

HENRY SIDNEY.

A Letter written by Sir Phillip Sidney, to a Brother of his, touching the Direction of his Travayle. MS.

This letter was probably addressed by the celebrated writer to his younger brother Robert Sidney, created by James I. Viscount L'Isle and Earl of Leicester. He had all the martial ardour of his brother, but not his more elegant accomplishments.

The excellent observations on the use of foreign travel, are worth the consideration of the numerous Englishmen who, as Sir Philip expresses it, "in travelling for the sake of travel, prove pilgrims to no Saint."

How jealous Sir Philip Sidney was of any one seeing his letters but those they were designed for, may be judged from the following letter to Edward Mollineux, secretary to his father, lord deputy of Ireland. The temperate, affectionate, and at the same time spirited answer of Mollineux, is admirably contrasted with the fire of the young warrior.

"Mr Mollineux,

"Few woordes are beste. My lettres to my father have come to the eyes of some. Neither can I condemne any but yow for it. If it be so, yow have plaide the very knave with me; and so I will make yow know if I have good proofe of it. But that for so muche as is past. For that is to come, I assure yow before God, that if ever I know yow do so muche as reede any lettre I wryte to my father, without his commaundement, or my consente, I will thrust my dagger into yow. And truste to it, for I speake it in earnest. In the meane time, farewell. From courte, this laste of May, 1578. By me, PHILIPPE SIDNEY."

Indorsed, Mr Philippe Sidney to me, brought 1578, by my L. Chauncellor, received the 21. of June.

EDWARD MOLLINEUX, *Esq. to* PHILIP SYDNEY, *in Answer to the above said Letter.*

"SIR,

"I have receaved a lettre from yow, which, as it is the first, so the same is the sharpest that ever I receaved from any; and therfore it amaseth me the more to receave suche a one from you, since I have (the world can be judge) deserved better somwhere, how so ever it pleasethe you to condempne me now. But since it is (I protest to God) without cawse, or yet just grownde of suspicion you use me thus, I beare the injurie moore patiently for a tyme, and mine innocencie, I hoope in the ende, shall trie mine honestie: and then I trust you will confesse you have done me wronge. And since your pleasure so is expressed, that I shall not henceforthe reade any of your lettres; althoughe I must confesse, I have heretofore taken bothe greate delight and profet in readinge some of them; yet upon so harde a condition (as you seeme to offer) I will not hereafter adventure so greate a perill, but obey you herein. Howbeit if it had pleased you, you might have commaunded me in a farre greater matter, with a farre lesse penaltie. From the castell of Dwblin, the first of Julie 1578.

"Yours, when it shall please you better to conceive of me, humble to commaunde,

E. MOLLINEUX."

My most Deare Brother,

You have thought unkindnes in me, I have not written oftener unto you. I have desired I should write something of my owne opinion, touching travayle, you being perswaded my experience therein to be somethinge, which I must needs confesse, but not as you take it; for you thinck my experience of the good thinges I have learned, but I

knowe the only experience I have gotten, is, to find indeed how much I have missed for want of havinge directed my course to the right end, and by the right me anes. I thinck you have read Aristotle's Ethickes; if you have you knowe it is the beginning and foundation of all his workes; the good end to which every good man doth and ought to bend his greatest actions. I am sure you have imprinted in your minde the scope and marke you meane by your paines to shoot at; for if you should travayle, but to travayle, or to say you have travayled, certainly you should prove a pilgrim to no saint. But I presume so well of you, that though a great number of us never thought in ourselves why we went, but only of a certaine ticklinge humour to do as another man hath donne, your purpose is, being a gentleman borne, to furnish yourselfe with the knowledge of such thinges as may be serviceable to your country, and fitt for your calling, which certainly stands not in the change of ayre, for the warmest sunne makes not a wise man, noe nor in learninge languages, (although they be of good serviceable use) for wordes are but wordes in what language soever they be, and much les in that, all of us come home full of disguisements, not only of our apparell, but of our countenances, as though the credit of travellers stood all upon his outsides. But in the right enformyng your mind with those thinges which are most notable in those places you come to, of which as the one kinde is so veine as I thinck eare it be longe the magnificos in Italy, we travellers shall be made sporte of comedyes, soe I may justly saie, who travells with the eye of Ulysses doth take one of the most excellent wayes of worldly wisdome, for harde sure it is to knowe England without you knowe it by comparing it with others, noe more than a man can knowe the swiftnes of his horse without seeing him well matched; for you, that are a logitian, knowe, that as greatnes of itselfe is a quantity, so yett the judgment of it, of might, riches, &c. stands in the predicament of relation; soe as you cannot tell what the queen of England is able to do defensively, or offensively, but by through compareing what they are able to doe with whome she is to be matched. This therefor is one notable use of travayle, it stands in the mixed and corelative knowledge of things; in which kinde come in the knowledge of all leagues between prince and prince; the topographicall discription of each country; how the one lyes by situation to help or hurte the other; how they are to the sea well harboured or not; how stored with ships, how with revenewe, how with fortifications and garrisons, how the people warlikely trayned or kept under; with many other such conditions: which as they confusedly come into my mynde, soe I for want of leisure sett downe. But these things as I said are these of the first kind which stand with the ballancyng of the one thing with the other, the other kinde of knowledge is of them which stand in the things which are of themselves, either simply good, or simply evill; and soe either for a right instruction or a shining example of these Homer meant in his verse, *Qui multorum hominum mores cognovit et urbes;* for he doth not meane *mores*, howe to look or put of ones cap with a new found grace, although truly behaviour is not to be despised. Marry my heresay is, that the English behaviour is best in England, and the Itallyan in Itallye; but *mores* he takes for that whereout morall philosophy is soe called, which conteyneth the true concerning of mens minds, both in vertuous passions and vices; and when he saith *Cognovit urbes*, (if I be not deceyved) he meanes not to have seene townes, and marked their buildings, for houses are houses in every place; they do but differ *Secundum majus et minus;* but he intends the knowing of their religious policies, lawes, bringing up of children, discipline both for warres and peace, and such like I take to be of the second kynde, which are ever worthy to be knowne for their owne sakes; as surely in Turkey, (though wee have nothing to doe with them) yet their discipline in warre matters, *propter se*, are worthy to be learned; nay in the kingdome of China, which is almost as far as our antipodes from us, there good laws and customes are to be learned; but to knowe their riches and power it is of little purpose for us, since it can neither advantage us, nor hinder us, but in our neighbour countreys. But those thinges

are to be observed, as well the latter, which construe things for themselves, as the former, which seeks to knowe both theise and their riches, &c. which may be unto us avayleable or otherwise, the countryes fittest for both these are those you are going to, France above all others moste needful for us to marke, especiallye in the former kinde; next it Spaine, and the Low Countryes; then Germany, which in my opinion excells all the other, as much in the latter consideration, as the other doe in the former; for neither are void of neither; for as Germany, methinkes, doth notably in good lawes, and well administring of justice, soe yet are wee likewise to consider in it the many princes to whom wee may ave league, the places of trade as the meanes to draw both soldier and furniture from hence in time of need. Soe likewise in France and Spaine, wee are principally to marke how they stand towards us, both in power and inclination, soe are they not without good and fitt thinges, even in the generality of wisdome to be knowne, as their course of parliament, their subalterne jurisdictions, and their continuall keeping of so many provinces under them, and by what manner with the poyles of honour, wherein sure they have the openest conceit; wherein if they seeme over curious, it is an easie matter to cut of when a man sees the bottom. Flanders likewise, besides the neighbourhood with us, and the annexed considerations thereunto, hath divers things to be learned; especiallye their governing their merchants, and the lower trades. As for Italy, I knowe not what wee have or can have to doe with them, but to buy their silks and wines; and for other provinces, excepting Venice, whose good lawes and customes wee can hardly proportion to ourselves, because they are quite of a contrary government; there is little there but tyrannous oppression, and servile yielding to them that have little or noe rule over them; and for the men, you shall haunt them, although some indeed be excellently learned, yett are they all given to love counterfeit learning, as a man shall learne of them more false grounds of things then in any place else I do know; for from a tapester upwards they are all discoursers in fine certayne qualities, as horsemanship, weapons, musicke, and such like, are better there then in those other countries; for others, more sound, they doe little excell other places. Now resteth in my memory but this point, which indeed to you is the chiefest of all others, which is the choice of what men you are to addict yourself unto to learne theise thinges; for it is certaine no vessell can leave a worse taste to the liquor it containes, then a wrong teacher infects an unskillfull hearer with that which afterwards will hardly out. I will not tell you the absurdities I have heard some travellers tell, I dare swear, from the mouthes of some of their hosts; be sure therefore of his knowledge of whome you desire to learne: taste him well before you drink too much of his doctrine, and when you have heard it, trye well what you had heard before you hould it for a principle; for one errore is the mother of a thowsand; but you may saie, how shall I get excellent men to take paines to speake with me truly in fewe words? Either much expence or much humbleness.

Your assured loving brother,

PHILIP SIDNEY.

Valour Anatomized in a Fancie. By Sir Philip Sidney. 1581.

Valour towards men, is an emblem of ability; towards women, a good quality signifying a better. Nothing draws a woman like to it. Nothing is more behoveful for that sex; for from it they receive protection, and in a free way too, without any danger. Nothing makes a shorter cut to obtaining; for a man of arms is always void of ceremony, which is the wall that stands betwixt Piramus and Thisby, that is man and woman; for there is no pride in women but that which rebounds from our own baseness (as

cowards grow valiant upon those that are more cowards;) so that only by our pale asking we teach them to deny; and by our shamefacedness we put them in mind to be modest. Whereas indeed it is cunning rhetorique to perswade the hearers, that they are that already which the world would have them to be. This kind of bashfullness is far from men of valorous disposition, and especially from soldiers: for such are ever men, (without doubt) forward and confident, losing no time lest they should lose opportunity, which is the best factor for a lover. And because they know women are given to dissemble, they will never believe them when they deny. Certainly before this age of wit and wearing black brake in upon us, there was no way known to win a lady, but by tilting, turneying, and riding to seek adventures through dangerous forrests; in which time, these slender striplings with little legs[1] were held but of strength enough to marry their widdowes. And even in our days, there can be given no reason of the inundation of serving men upon their mistresses, but only that usually they carry their masters' weapons, and their valour. To be accounted handsome, just, learned, and well favoured, all this carries no danger with it. But it is better to be admitted to the title of valiant acts; at least, that imports the venturing of mortality; and all women delight to hold him safe in their arms, who hath escaped thither through many dangers. To speak at once, man hath a privilege in valour. In cloathes and good faces we do but imitate women; and many of that sex will not think much (as far as an answer goes) to dissemble wit too. So then these neat youths, these women in men's apparel, are too near a woman to be beloved of her, they be both of a trade; but he of grim aspect, and such a one a lass dares take, and will desire him for newness and variety. A scar in a man's face, is the same that a mole is in a woman's; and a mole in a woman's is a jewel set in white, to make it seem more white. So a scar in a man is a mark of honour, and no blemish; for 'tis a scar and a blemish in a soldier to be without one. Now as for all things else which are to procure love, as a good face, wit, cloathes, or a good body, each of them (I must needs say) workes somewhat for want of a better; that is, if valour corrive not therewith. A good face avayleth nothing; if it be on a coward that is bashful, the utmost of it is to be kist, which rather increaseth than quencheth appetite. He that sendeth her gifts, sends her word also, that he is a man of small gifts otherwise; for wooing by signs and tokens implies the author dumb. And if Ovid (who writ the law of love) were alive, as he is extant, and would allow it as a good diversity, then gifts should be sent as gratuities, not as bribes, and wit would rather get promiss than love. Wit is not to be seen; and no woman takes advice of any in her loving, but of her own eyes, or her waiting-woman's; nay, which is worse, wit is not to be felt, and so no good bed-fellow. Wit applied to a woman, makes her dissolve her simperings, and discover her teeth with laughter; and this is surely a purge for love; for the beginning and original of love, is a kind of foolish melancholy. As for the man that makes his taylor his bawde, and hopes to inveagle his love with such a coloured suite, surely the same man deeply hazzards the loss of her favour upon every change of his cloathes. So, likewise, the other that courts her silently with a good body, let me tell him, that his cloathes stand allways betwixt his mistris eyes and him. The comliness of cloathes depends upon the comliness of the body, and so both upon opinion. She that hath been seduced by apparel, let me give her to weet, that men always put off their cloathes before they go to bed; and let her that hath been inamoured of her servant's body, understand, that if she saw him in a skin of cloath (that is, in a suit made to the pattern of his body) she would discern slender cause to love him ever after. There are no cloathes fit so well in a woman's eye, as a suite of steel, though not of the fashion: and no man so soon surpriseth a woman's

[1] The fashion of the dress, in Queen Elizabeth's time, went to diminish the size of the leg in outward appearance. It is always mentioned as a quality of a fashionable gentleman usher, in the old plays, that he should have little legs.

affections, as he that is the subject of whisperings, and hath always some twenty stories of his own atchievements depending upon him. Mistake me not; I understand not, by valour, one that never fights but when he is backt by drink or anger, or hissed on by beholders; nor one that is desperate; nor one that takes away a serving man's weapons, when perhaps they cost him his quarter's wages; nor one that wears a privy coat of defence, and therein is confident[1]: for then such as make bucklers, would be accounted the very sum of the common-wealth. I intend one of an even resolution, grounded upon reason, which is always even, having his power restrained by the law of not doing wrong.

PHILIP SIDNEY.

WOOING-STUFF.

FAINT Amorist, what, do'st thou think
To taste love's honey, and not drink
One dram of gall? or, to devour
A world of sweet, and taste no sour?
Do'st thou ever think to enter
Th' Elysian fields, that dar'st not venture
In Charon's barge? A lover's mind
Must use to saile with every wind.
He that loves, and fears to try,
Learns his mistris to deny.
Doth she chide thee? 'tis to shew it,
That thy coldness makes her do it;
Is she silent? is she mute?
Silence fully grants thy sute;
Doth she pout, and leave the room?
Then she goes to bid thee come;
Is she sick? Why then be sure,
She invites thee to the cure;
Doth she cross thy sute with no?
Tush, she loves to hear thee woo;
Doth she call the faith of man
In question? Nay, 'uds-foot, she loves thee then;
And if e'er she make a blot,
She's lost if that thou hit'st her not.
He that after ten denialls,
Dares attempt no farther tryals,
Hath no warrant to acquire
The dainties of his chast desire.

PHILIP SIDNEY.

[1] While the sword and buckler fight continued in fashion, brawls were fought with much noise and little bloodshed, in all parts of London. West Smithfield, in particular, was for many years called Ruffians' Hall, as the common scene of these affrays; "when every serving-man, from basest to best, carried a buckler at his back, which hung by the hilt, or pommel, of his sword."—*Stowe.* Two yeomen, or retainers, thus accoutred, may be seen engraved in Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare. The serving-men found these weapons at their own cost. See the *London Prodigal.* "Our year's wages and vails will scarcely pay for broken swords and bucklers that we use in our quarrels." Act II. Scene 4.

Sir Francis Walsingham's Anatomizing of Honesty, Ambition, *and* Fortitude. *Written in the Year* 1590.

What it is directly that I will write, I know not. For, as my thoughts have never dwelt long upon one thing, and so my mind hath been filled with the imagination of things of a different nature; so there is a necessity that this offspring of so uncomposed a parent must be mishaped, answerable to the original from whence it is derived. Somewhat I am resolved to write, of some virtues, and some vices, and some indifferent things. For, knowing that a man's life is a perpetual action, which every moment is under one of these three heads; my imaginations have ever chiefly tended to find out the natures of these things, that I might (as much as my frailty, the inseparable companion of mans nature, would give me leave) wear out this garment of my body, with as little inconvenience to my soul as I could, and play this game of conversation (in which every one, as long as he lives, makes one) with the reputation of a fair gamester, rather than of a cunning one.

And first, I will write of Honesty; not in its general sense, (in which it comprehends all moral virtues) but in that particular in which (according to our phrase) it denominates an honest man.

Honesty is a quiet passing over the days of a mans life, without doing injury to another man.

There is required in an honest man, not so much to do every thing as he would be done unto, as to forbear any thing that he would be content to suffer; for the essence of honesty consists in forbearing to do ill: and to good acts is a proper passion, and no essential part of honesty. As chastity is the honesty of women, so honesty is the chastity of men. Either of them once impaired is irrecoverable. For a woman that hath lost her maidenhead, may as easily recover it, as a man that hath once taken liberty of being a knave, can be restored to the title of an honest man. For honesty doth not consist in the doing of one, or one thousand acts never so well; but in spinning on the delicate threads of life, though not exceeding fine, yet free from bracks, and staines. We do not call him an honest man, but a worthy man, that doth brave eminent acts; but we give him the title of an honest man, of whom no man can truly report any ill.

The most eminent part of honesty is truth, not in words, (though that be necessarily required) but in the course of his life; in his profession of friendship; in his promise of rewards and benefits to those that depend upon him; and grateful acknowledging those good turns that he receives from any man.

The greatest opposite to honesty is falshood; and as that is commonly waited upon with cunning and dissimulation, so is honesty with discretion and assurance.

It is true that custom makes some apparently false; some through impudence, and too much use; and other some for want of discretion, which if they had had, should have been employed in covering it. And there be some, in whom (though it be impossible honesty should be a fault in society) their indiscreet managing of it, makes it holden for a thing that's meerly a vice, a wonderful troublesome companion.

An honest man is as near an aptitude to become a friend, as gold is to become coin: He will melt with good offices well done, and will easily take the stamp of true friendship; and having once taken it, though it may be bended and bruised, yet still will

keep his stamp clean without rust or canker, and is not ashamed to be enclosed in it, but is contented to have all his glory seen through it only.

It is of itself a competent estate of virtue, able to supply all necessary parts of it to a mans own particular; and a man that is born to it, may raise himself to an eminency in all virtues; though of itself it will not furnish a man with the abilities of doing any glorious thing. It is a pity that honesty should be abstracted from the lustre of all other virtues. But if there be such an honesty, the fittest seat for it is the country, where there will be little need of any greater ability, and it will be least subject to corruption. And therefore, since it is the foundation upon which a man may build that part of his life which respects conversation, he that builds upon it (let his actions be never so mean) shall be sure of a good, though not of a great reputation; whereas letting it perish, let the rest of the building of his life be never so eminent, it will serve but to make the ruin of his good name more notorious.

Of Ambition.

Love, honour, and praise, are the greatest blessings of this world: All other contents reflect primarily upon the body; and please the soul only because they please some one or more senses. But those therefore only delight the senses, because the soul by discourse was first pleased with them. For in itself there is more musick in a railing song, thrust upon a good aire, than in the confused applause of the multitude. But because the soul, by discourse, finds this clamour to be an argument of the estimation which those that so commend it have of it, it likes itself better, and rejoyceth the more in itself, because it sees other men value it. For there are two ways of proving; the one by reason, and the other by witness; but the more excellent proof is that of reason: for he that can by reason prove any thing to me, makes his knowledge mine, because by the same reason I am able to prove it to another; but if 20 men should swear to me they saw such a thing, which before I did not believe, it is true, I should alter mine opinion, not because there appeared any greater likelihood of the thing; but because it was unlikely that so many men should lie: And if I should go about to make others of the same opinion, I could not do it, by telling them I knew it, or I saw it; but all I could say were, I did believe it, because such and such men told me they saw it. So, in the comfort a man takes of himself, (which grows out of the consideration of how much itself deserves to be beloved) a virtuous wise fellow will take enough comfort and joy in himself, (though by misfortune he is troubled to carry about him the worlds ill opinion) by discoursing that he is free from those slanders that are laid upon him, and that he hath those sufficiencies and virtues which others deny. And on the contrary side, he, without deserving it, (having the good fortune to be esteemed and honoured) will easily be drawn to have a good opinion of himself; as, out of modesty, submitting his own reason to the testimony of many witnesses.

Ambition, in itself, is no fault; but the most natural commendation of the soul, as beauty is of the body. It is in men, as beauty is in women. For, as to be naturally exceeding handsome is the greatest commendation of the sex, and that for which they most desire to be commended; so that ambition, by which men desire honour the natural way, (which consists in doing honourable and good acts) is the root of the most perfect commendation that a moral man is capable of.

Those only offend in their ambition, who, out of the earthliness of their minds, dare not aspire to that true honour which is the estimation of a man, being, as it were, the temple wherein virtue is inshrin'd; and therefore settle their minds only upon attaining titles and power; which, at the first, were, or at least should be the mark whereby to

distinguish men according to the rate of their virtues and sufficiencies; but are now only arguments of a mans good fortune, and effects of the princes favour.

It is true that power is a brave addition to a worthy man; but a fool, or a knave that is powerful, hath (according to the degree of his power) just that advantage of a virtuous prudent man, that Adam, before he fell, had of the Angels that stood; an ability to do more ill.

As for titles, (which at first were the marks of power, and the rewards of virtue) they are now (according to their name) but like the titles of books, which, (for the most part) the more glorious things they promise, let a man narrowly peruse them over, the less substance he shall find in them. And the wooden lord is like the logg that Jupiter gave the froggs to be their king; it makes a great noise; it prepares an expectation of great matters; but when they once perceived it unactive, and senselessley lying still, the wiser sort of frogs began to despise it, and (in fine) every young frogling presumed to leap up and down upon it.

Some few there are, who (lest the species of our ancient worthy lords should be lost) do preserve in themselves the will and desire, since they want the means to do brave and worthy acts. And therefore I say, let a man, by doing worthy acts, deserve honour, and though he do not attain it, yet he is much a happier man than he that gets it without desert. For such a man is before hand with reputation; and the world still owes him that honour which his deserts cry for, and it hath not paid: whereas that man that hath a great reputation, without deserving it, is behind hand with the world; and his honour is but lent, not pay'd; and when the world comes to take accompt of its applause, and finds his title of merit (by which he pretends to it) weak and broken, it will recal it's approbation, and leave him by so much the more a notorious bankrupt in his good name, by how much the estimation of his wealth that way was the greater.

Of Fortitude.

For a man to be completely happy, there is required the perfection of all moral virtues; and yet this is not enough. For, virtues do rather banish misfortunes, and but shew us joy, than establish felicity: which is not only an utter alienation from all affliction, but an absolute fulness of joy. And since the soul of man is infinitely more excellent than any thing else it can meet withal in this world, nothing upon earth can satisfie it, but in the enjoying of the greatest abundance of all delights that the most nimble witted man can frame to himself; for that his soul will still have a further desire, as unsatisfied with that it enjoys. Therefore the perfection of happiness consists in the love of God; which is only able to fill up all the corners of the soul with most perfect joy; and consequently, to fix all it's desires upon those celestial joys that shall never be taken from it. But this, as it cannot be obtained by discourse, but by unfeigned prayer, and the assistance and illumination of Gods grace; so it is not my purpose to prick at it. And for that part of felicity which is attained to by moral virtue, I find that every virtue gives a man perfection in some kind, and a degree of felicity too; *viz.*

Honesty, gives a man a good report;
Justice, estimation and authority;
Prudence, respect and confidence;
Courtesie and liberality, affection, and a kind of dominion over other men.
Temperance, health;
Fortitude, a quiet mind, not to be moved by any adversity, and a confidence not to be circumvented by any danger.

So that all other virtues give a man but an outward happiness, as receiving their reward from others; only temperance doth pretend to make the body a stranger to pain, both in taking from it the occasion of diseases, and making the outward inconveniencies of want, as hunger and cold, if not delightful, at least sufferable.

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A Precious and most Divine Letter from that famous and ever to be renowned Earl of Essex, (Father to the now Lord General his Excellence) to the Earl of Southampton, in the latter time of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, 1643.

The gallant Earl of Essex, like all ardent and enthusiastic characters, was subject to those ebbings of spirit which incline the mind, during their domination, to repose, religious retirement, and a contempt of the pursuits of earthly ambition. He seems to have been visited by this melancholy influence, when, after that memorable quarrel in which Queen Elizabeth gave him a box on the ear, he withdrew himself from court. This letter to his kinsman and confident, the Earl of Southampton, was probably then written, being in the same tone with the following verses, which he afterwards addressed to the Queen.

Happy could he finish forth his fate
In some unhaunted desart, most obscure
From all society, from love and hate
Of worldly folk; then should he sleep secure;
Then wake again, and yield God every praise,
Content with hips, and haws, and brambleberry,
In contemplation passing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts to make him merry;
Who when he dies his tomb may be a bush,
Where harmless Robin dwells with gentle Thrush.

Although, as he mentions a prison, the letter may be more properly ascribed to his confinement under the guardianship of Sir Richard Berkeley, upon his return from his unfortunate Irish expedition. If so, his resolutions of renouncing ambition were but short-lived; since very soon after receiving his freedom, he engaged his beloved friend Southampton, as well as himself, in that rash attempt which cost him his life. But his conduct was no less inconsistent with his declaration, that he intended, "to say with Nebuchadnezzar, let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field, to eat grass as an ox, and to be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore my understanding to me."

The letter, as the preface states, was published in the civil wars, and was designed, doubtless, to increase the popularity of the Earl of Essex, son to the unfortunate favourite of Elizabeth, then general of the parliamentary forces. Much was probably expected from its devotional turn of expression.

To the Reader.

This letter, many years since received from the hands of a most honourable person, eminent in the court in those Elizean days, (when honour crowned virtue, and virtue

was the glory of the times,) I have long stored up for my own private, as a gem and treasure inestimable.

Earthly treasures waste, but heavenly increase by communication: Besides I fear (with the lepers of old) I do not well, long to conceal what all that read will judge to be a common treasure. What the author was for heighth and greatness, all know; what for grace and goodness (though envy or ignorance have, as it were, conspired to vail over his orient lustre) thou mayst take some scantling of by this.

His magnanimity and valour the world knew as far as Hercules his pillars, and the utmost extent of the Hesperian pride. His humility and plain-heartedness (which heightened him above all his honours) those that knew him were not ignorant of.

That noble hero yet lives in the true successor of honour and virtue, our noble general.

(Neque degeneres pariunt Aquilæ Columbas.)

His incorrupted fidelity, valour, and wisdom, are above the reach of ignorant or envious malignants.

His immovable resolution (ever and of late exprest) to deny his honour, his own wisdom, yea his life for the common safety, shines so bright in the eyes of all judicious, that neither the malicious fomentings of malignant spirits, nor the weak clamors of impatient ignorance, nor the necessity of God's most holy providence, (exercising his excellency and the kingdom, I hope for good) I say that none, nor all of these, can justly cloud and eclipse his shine and lustre.

There is nothing within the circumference of political and prudential arts, that hath more uncertain and various events than that of war; *Eventus Belli insertus.*

The protracting, lengthening, shortening, lies in the hand of a higher excellency, even only his, in whose hand is our way and breath, as Daniel told Belshazzar.

The greatest and best commanders that ever the world yet saw, must remember, in whose hand is their way and breath; and both they and all men must with patience see (for oft it comes to pass) both months and summers spend beyond their thoughts, desires, endeavours, and yet no blemish to their wisdom, valour, fidelity, or vigilancy.

He that is the God of peace mercifully shew us the paths of it, even of that peace, which no man can give nor take from us.

My Lord,

As neither nature nor custom ever made me a man of complement, so now I shall have less will than ever for to use such ceremonies, when I have left with Martha to be *sollicitus circa multa,* and believe with Mary, *unum sufficit;* but it is no complement or ceremony, but a real and necessary duty that one friend oweth to another in absence, and especially at their leave taking, when in man's reason many accidents may keep them long divided, or perhaps barr them ever meeting till they meet in another world; for then shall I think that my friend, whose honour, whose person, and whose fortune is dear unto me, shall prosper and be happy, where ever he goes, and whatever he takes in hand when he is in the favour of that God, under whose protection there is only safety, and in whose service there is only true happiness to be found. What I think of your natural gifts or abilitie in this age, or in this state to give glory to God, and to win honour to yourself, if you imploy the talents you have received to their best use, I will not now tell you; it sufficeth, that when I was farthest of all times from dissembling, I spake truly, and have witness enough; but these things only I will put your Lordship in mind of.

First, that you have nothing that you have not received.

Secondly, that you possess them not as lord over them, but as an accomptant for them.

Thirdly, if you employ them to serve this world, or your own worldly delights, (which the prince of this world will seek to entertain you with) it is ingratitude, it is injustice, yea it is perfidious treachery. For what would you think of such a servant of yours, that should convert your goods committed to his charge, to the advantage or service of your greatest enemy; and what do you less than this with God, since you have all from him, and know that the world, and prince thereof, are at a continual enmity with him? and therefore if ever the admonition of your truest friend shall be heard by you, or if your country which you may serve in so great and many things, be dear unto you; if your God, whom you must (if you deal truly with yourself) acknowledge to be powerful over all, and just in all, be feared by you; yea, if you be dear unto yourself, and prefer an everlasting happiness before a pleasant dream, which you must shortly awake out of, and then repent in the bitterness of your soul; if any of these things be reguarded by you, then I say, call yourself to account for what is past, cancel all the leagues you have made without the warrant of a religious conscience, make a resolute covenant with your God, to serve him with all your natural and spiritual, inward and outward gifts and abilities, and then he that is faithful (and cannot lie) hath promised to honour them that honour him; he will give you that inward peace of soul, and true joy of heart, which till you have, you shall never rest, and which when you have, you shall never be shaken, and which you can never attain to any other way than this that I have shewed you.

I know your lordship may say to yourself, and object to me, this is but a vapor of melancholie, and the stile of a prisoner; and that I was far enough from it, when I lived in the world as you do now, and may be so again when my fetters be taken from me. I answer, though your lordship should think so, yet cannot I distrust the goodness of my God, that his mercy will fail me, or his grace forsake me; I have so deeply ingaged myself, that I should be one of the most miserable apostates that ever was; I have so avowed my profession, and called so many from time to time to witness it, and to be watchmen over me, that I should be the hollowest hypocrite that ever was born: but though I should perish in my own sin, and draw upon myself my own damnation, should not you take hold of the grace and mercy in God which is offered unto you, and make your profit of my fearful and wretched example? I was longer a slave and servant to the world and the corruptions of it, than you have been, and therefore could hardly be drawn from it. I had many calls, and answered some of them slowly, thinking a soft pace fast enough to come to Christ, and myself forward enough when I saw the end of my journey, though I arrived not at it; and therefore I have been by Gods providence violently pull'd, hal'd, and drag'd to the marriage feast, as the world hath seen. It was just with God to afflict me in this world, that he might give me joy in another. I had too much knowledge when I performed too little obedience, and was therefore to be beaten with double stripes; God grant your lordship may feel the comfort I now enjoy in my unfaigned conversion, but that you never feel the torments I have suffered for my too long delaying it. I had none but divines to call upon me, to whom I said, if my ambition could have entered into their narrow hearts, they would not have been so humble; or if my delights had been tasted by them, they could not have been so precise.[1] But your lordship hath one to call upon you, that knows what it is you now enjoy, and what the greatest fruit and end is of all the contentments that this world can afford. Think, therefore dear Earl, that I have staked and bounded all the ways of pleasure to you, and left them as sea marks for you to keep the channel of religious virtue;

[1] These are very remarkable expressions, and worth the attention of those who preach against temptations of which they cannot estimate the extent.

for, shut your eyes never so long they must be open at last, and then you must say with me, there is no peace to the wicked. I will make a covenant with my soul, not to suffer my eyes to sleep in the night, nor my thoughts to attend the first business of the day, till I have prayed to my God, that your lordship may believe and make profit of this plain, but faithful admonition; and then I know your country and friends shall be happy in you, and yourself successful in all you take in hand; which shall be an unspeakable comfort to,

Your Lordships cousin and true friend, whom no worldly cause can divide from you,

ESSEX.

A Briefe and true Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Words, and Death of the King of Spaine, Philip the Second of that name, who died in his Abbey of St Laurence at Escuriall, seven miles from Madrid, the 13. *of September* 1598. *Written from Madrid in a Spanish Letter, and translated into English according to the true Copie. Imprinted at London by Edm. Bollifant for W. Aspley.* 1599.

"The king's distemper," says the supplement to Mariana, "still increasing upon him, he died at the Escurial the 13th of September, and was there buried. A prince remarkable for some virtues, as liberality, resolution, vigilancy, abstemiousness in eating and drinking; but no less for many vices, as lust, cruelty, pride, perfidiousness, and several others. He lived 71 years, 3 months, and some days, and reigned in Castile 42 years, 7 months, and 28 days. Prince Philip his son succeeded him."—*Supplement to* MARIANA'S *Hist. of Spain*, p. 30. 1699.

To satisfie my promise, and to give answere to your letters, requiring my advertisement of these present occurrences, I pray you understand, that this yeere 1598, the royall majestie of our Lord Don Philip the Third, being then but prince, was upon St Johns-day, in the market place at Madrid, to beholde the bull-baytings and other pastymes which were there, at which sports the king his father (which is now in heaven) was not present by reason of the paine of the gout which sore troubled him. His highness being returned from the foresaid place, discoursed unto his father all that he had seene; whereupon his majestie answered, I am right glad to see thee so pleasant, for thou shalt never so long as I live see me have any ease or comfort in this my painfull disease. And thereupon commaunded preparation to be made for his removing to Escuriall. Doctor Marcado, one of his ordinarie phisitians, tolde him, he ought not to stirre, least the extremitie of his paine should increase. The king answered, seeing I must be carried thither when I am dead, I had rather be carried thither being alive. So that in the end, to satisfie his desire, his footmen tooke him up upon their shoulders, and spent sixe daies in going those seaven miles, where after that he came, he was better for some few daies, though he was not able to stand, but was forced either to sit or lie. But presently the goute reseasing him, accompanied with a fever, made him far sicker then he was before. His phisitians shewed all the skil they could to give him some ease, but the extremitie of paine so increased, that presently he entered into consideration of his soule, by shriving

and confessing himselfe, and receiving the sacrament; at which instant he commanded Garcia de Loyaza to be consecrated Archbishop of Toledo, which was performed by the popes nuntio with all the solemnities and rites accustomed. There happened also to this good king upon his right knee, a bile so angrie and swelling, that he could take no rest; his phisitians being amazed thereat, one Elias, a phisitian of Toledo, by whose advice, and direction of others, one Vergara, a licentiate surgeon, having applied all fit meanes to ripen the sore, opened it, and let foorth all the bad matter therein contained; soone after the which, there arose fower other biles upon his breast, which likewise were ripened, opened, and cleansed. This corrupt matter bred a great companie of lice, which were very hard to be killed; he remaining in this mean time so weake, that he was faine to be turned in sheets, and lift up with fower men, whilest two other made all things plaine, soft, and cleane under him. Ten daies before he died, he fell into so great a traunce (lasting five howers) that it was easily perceived, that his life and vitall powers began to faile, which caused divers lords in Madrid to provide mourning garments. Being returned to himselfe, he said to the archbishop and to those of the chamber there present; My friends and subjects, your sorrowes are of no force to recover my health, for no humane remedie can profit me. The chiefe matter of your care ought to be to provide in time all necessaries for my funerals; and in the meane time I commaunde you to call hither your prince, which shall be your future king, and fetch hither unto me my coffin that I shall be laide in, and place here upon this little cupboord a dead mans skull crowned with my imperiall crowne, all which was foorthwith done. The prince and the Infanta his sister being in presence, the king called for John Ruyz de Valasco, putting him in minde of a cofer which he had committed to his custodie, willing him to fetch it. The cofer was very little, yet when it was brought he caused it to be opened, and taking foorth a pretious stone of an infinite value, caused it to be delivered to his daughter, speaking thus unto hir: My daughter Izabella Eugenia Clara, receive this jewell brought unto me by your mother, the which I bestowe upon you for my last farewell. And then turning him to the prince, said, are you contented with this that I give unto your sister? who answered, yea sir, although you gave her all that I have. This answere lyking the king very wel, he willed them to looke in the cofer for another paper, and giving it to the prince, he told him, that therein he should see the forme how to governe his kingdome. Then they tooke out of the said cofer, a whip with bloudie knots, which the king holding up, said, This bloud is mine owne, and yet not mine, but my fathers,[1] who is in heaven, who made use of this kinde of exercise, and therefore to make knowne the value of it, and the trueth of it, I thought good to reveale it unto you. After this he commaunded a paper to be taken from under his pillow, which being read by John Ruyz, contained these words. We Philip, by the grace of God, King of Castile and Lion, &c. having governed this realme 40 yeeres, in the 71 yeeres of mine age, give over this kingdome unto my God, to whome it belongeth, and commend my soule into his blessed hands, to performe therewith whatsoever it shal please his Divine Majestie. Commaunding that this my bodie, so soone as ever my soule shall be separated from the same, be embalmed; then apparelled with a royall robe, and so placed in this brazen shrine heere present, and that the howers be kept, with all rites and ceremonies as the lawe requireth, and I commaund my funerals to be solemnized in this manner. Before shall be borne the archbishops banner, then the crosse, the monkes and the clergie presently shall followe, all in mourning garments. The Adelantado shall beare the royall standard trailing it upon the ground. The Duke of Nayara

[1] The celebrated Emperor Charles V., who carried, as is well known, religious penance to the extent of the severest monastic austerity.

shal carrie the crowne under a canopie. The Marquesse of Aguillar shall carrie the sword. My body shall be borne by eight of my chiefest servants, all in mourning weedes, with burning torches in their handes. The archbishop shall follow the nobles, and our universal heire shall follow on the one side all in dewle. When they come to the church, my body shal be placed in the herse there of purpose erected. All the praiers and devotions ended, the prelate shall place me in the vault, my last habitation which shall be given to me for ever. All this performed, your prince, and third king of that name, shall goe to St. Ierosmes at Madrid there to keep the holy ceremonies of the ninth day yeerely, and my daughter with my sister her aunt shall goe to the gray nunnes barefoote. Then speaking to the prince, he saide, besides all that which I have heertofore spoken to you, I pray you have a great care and regard to your sister, because she was my looking glasse and the light of mine eies. Keepe the common wealth in peace, placing there good governors to reward the good and punish the bad. Let the Marquesse of Mondeiar be delivered out of prison, on this condition, that he come not to the court. Let the wife of Antonio Perez also be set at libertie, so that from hencefoorth she live in a monasterie, and let her daughters inherite the patrimonie which she brought. Forgive those which are prisoners for hunting, with all such as are condemned to die, (the kings pardon wanting,) and so I give my last farewell to my children, commending them to all peace and safetie. Then the prince asked Don Christofer de Mora for the royall key, commaunding him to deliver it to him, who craved pardon of his highnes, because it was the key of all trust and confidence, which he could in no wise deliver without the leave of his lord the king. Well, said the prince, it is ynough. And so went into his chamber, whilest Don Christofer returning to the king, whome he found a little cheered, said unto him, Sir, his highnes asked of me the royall key, which I have denied him, as having no leave from your majestie. But the king told him he had done ill. Not long after he fell into another fit, whereupon he called for the extreme unction, which was given unto him by the archbishop. Then he called for a crucifixe which had beene kept safely in a chest, which was the very same his father held betweene his hands when he died, with the which he desired likewise to die. Hereupon his highnes returned to his father, at whose comming Don Christofer upon his knees presented to him the royall key, which the prince received, and gave it to the Marquesse of Denia: whereupon the king saide to him, Remember I commend unto you Don Christofer for the most faithfull servant which I ever had, and so have care of all the rest, which I commende unto you. And so he tooke his leave of him, againe embracing him, at which instant his speech failed. And in this sort he continued two daies, and died upon Sunday the 13 of September about three of the clocke in the morning. The body was buried upon Munday the 14 of that moneth, about nine of the clocke in the morning, the archbishop saying the masse. The new king came from Escuriall the 16 of that instant, leaving his sister at the gray nunnes, and so went to St Ierosmes, the court remaining in great mourning and lamentation, making preparation for the great funerall.

Gowrie's Conspiracie: A Discourse of the unnaturall and vile Conspiracie, attempted against the King's Majestie's Person, at Sanct Johnstoun, upon Twysday the fifth of August 1600.—Edinburgh, printed, 1600.

Cum Privilegio Regio.

This is the Discourse of Gowrie's Conspiracy, published, by the king's authority, immediately when that mysterious event took place, and made the *Shibboleth*, or touch-stone for trying the loyalty of the Scottish clergy. As they admitted or rejected its probability, they were promoted or silenced. The account differs in some respects from what afterwards was proved by the evidence upon the trial of the two brothers; yet the discrepancy is not greater than may be attributed to the combination of three causes; first, the very different impression which individuals receive from the same transaction, according to their powers of observation or self-possession; secondly, the variations which occur to the same person, upon recollecting and comparing circumstances between a first and a second examination; and lastly, the rhetorical form of the discourse, which, in the opinion of the composer, probably demanded certain ornaments, particularly where the king's personal behaviour was concerned, which were not quite borne out by the evidence upon oath. The curious reader may compare the royal account of the transaction, with the testimony of the witnesses, by looking at the latter in the State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 34.

Of the numerous plots in the Scottish history, this is unquestionably the darkest and most inexplicable. That James, after permitting the recal of the Earl of Gowrie, and his restoration in blood, should have harboured the purpose of destroying him, is not very likely. But that he, the most arrant coward who ever wore a crown, should have personally put himself into so perilous an adventure, by giving his presence to a premeditated assassination of the Earl and his brother, in their own castle, is utterly incredible. His father indeed chose to witness the slaughter of Rizzio with his own eyes; but the predicament of the victim was very different. He was a foreigner, with none to befriend him, in the royal palace of his enemy, garrisoned for the purpose with a large band of armed men. But Gowrie was in his own strong castle, in the midst of a town of which he was provost, and the citizens of which were equally warmly attached to his person, his family, and his religion; while the king, to perpetrate so desperate an enterprize, had only his usual hunting attendants, no way provided for the broil which was likely to ensue. Yet the citizens of Perth, to this day, hold the opinion, that the king was the aggressor; and I have transferred, from the "Muses Threnodie," edited at Perth, in 1774, by James Cant, such notes on the king's narrative as seem worthy of being preserved.[1] They contain some curious particulars respecting the locality of this mysterious affair, which cannot now be more closely investigated, as the castle of Ruthven was lately pulled down, to make room for artillery barracks.

Upon the whole, it would seem that Dr Robertson's theory, which presumes the intention of Ruthven to have been securing the person of the king, is the most probable. The letters between Logan of Restalrig and Gowrie unquestionably confirm this supposition; and it is understood, that the ingenious historian, by whom they were impugned as forgeries, has now admitted them to be genuine.[2] If we at the same time suppose, from proofs

[1] They are distinguished from the editor's notes by the letter C.

[2] These letters were discovered nine years afterwards by one Sprott, a notary-public, who had surreptitiously obtained possession of them; and who was executed for accession to the treason, although the discovery was made by himself. It has been supposed these letters were forged to give credit to the conspiracy, and to justify the forfeiture of Logan's estate. But the affair of the conspiracy was then obsolete; and Logan had left no estate to be forfeited.

collected by Cant, Calderwood, and others, that James nourished either hatred or suspicion against the Earl of Gowrie, observation of his dislike or displeasure might precipitate the measures of the conspirators. Certain it is, their measures were as ill concerted as their enterprize was rash; and perhaps the Earl fell a sacrifice to a political maxim he is said often to have used, That all great conspiracies were discovered from their being communicated to accomplices. By adhering too rigidly to this rule, he relied on the assistance of his armed dependant in the turret, when he should need it, without reflecting, that to join in so daring and atrocious an enterprize, some preparation is necessary to a man who buckled on his armour only, as he was made to believe, to apprehend an Highland freebooter.

From the letters of Restalrig, it would seem that the purpose of the brothers was to force James into a boat, which, as their garden was washed by the Tay, might very easily have been accomplished; then to have transported him to Fastcastle, a strong tower belonging to Logan;[1] and from thence, perhaps, to England. On the younger Ruthven's part, the desire of revenge for his father's death, seems to have predominated; the Earl was more probably actuated by some wild scheme of ambition.—See ROBERTSON'S *History*.

Mr Pinkerton, in an Essay subjoined to the first edition of Mr Laing's History of Scotland, has endeavoured to show, that the whole conspiracy originated in Alexander Ruthven's love for Anne of Denmark; and that his brother the Earl neither knew, nor participated in his enterprize. But the learned historian's theory is attended with as much difficulty as any that has gone before it. The idea of confining a monarch in the castle of one of his nobles, who was ignorant of the attempt, savours of romance. But the placing Henderson in the study, absurd as that part of the plot must always seem, appears doubly so, if we suppose that his master was not privy to it. Supposing the Earl concerned, it may have been a mere piece of theatrical pageantry, to impose on the well-known timidity of James, by the unexpected apparition of an armed man, instead of a prisoner with a pot of money. But Henderson, though the dependant of Gowrie, owed no allegiance to his brother Alexander; who must have had some one single attendant of trust to play so important a part. Besides, it was the Earl himself who commanded Henderson to arm himself, under the false pretence, that he wished to seize a Highland robber; and who himself accompanied him to the chamber in which the scene was laid, and told him to tarry there, and do what his brother bade him. If, therefore, Henderson's evidence is at all to be trusted, the brothers were equally guilty; although, to use the words of Robertson, they had concerted their scheme with unexampled secrecy, as well as wickedness.

His majestie having his residence at Falkland, and being daily at the buck-hunting, as his use is in that season, upon the fifth day of August, being Twysday, hee raid out to the park, betwixt six and seven hours in the morning, the weather beeing wonderfull pleasant and seasonable. But, before his majestie could leap on horseback, his hienes being now come downe by the equerie, all the huntismen with the houndes attending his majesty on the greene, and the court making to their horses, as his hienes self was, Maister Alexander Ruthven, second brother to the late Earle of Gowrie, being then lighted in the town of Falkland, haisted him fast downe to overtake his majestie before his on-leaping, as he did: Where meeting his hienes, after a verie low courtesie, bowing his head under his majestie's knee, (although he was never wont to make so low cour-

[1] The following expressions in Logan of Restalrig's letter, seem to afford the plainest key to the conspiracy: "I think all matters shall be concluded at my house of Fastcastle; for I, and Mr Alexander Ruthven, concluded, That ye should come with *him* and his lordship, and only another man with you, being but only four in company, into one of the great fishing boats, be sea, to my house, where ye shall land als safely, as on Leith shore; the house, against your lordship's coming, to be quiet; and when you are about half a mile from shore, as it were, passing by the house, to gar set forth a waff." If the word *him* refers to the king, Gowrie, his brother, and Henderson, made up the stipulated number. And if the attendants had taken horse when Gowrie told them the king was gone, (which they were in the act of doing when they heard his voice crying for assistance), the plot might have been executed. It seems to have been disconcerted by Henderson's unexpected passiveness.

tesy), drawing his majestie apart, he beginnes to discourse unto him, but with a verie dejected countenance, his eies ever fixed uppon the earth, how that it chanced him the evening before to be walking abroad about the fields, taking the air, solitarie allone, without the toun of Sanct Johnstoun, wher his present dwelling was with the lord his brother; and there, by accident, affirmed to have recountred a base-like fellow, unknowne to him, with a cloke cast about his mouth; whome at as he enquyred his name, and what his erand was, to be passing in so solitary a part, being from all waies. The fellow become at the suddain so amased, and his tongue so faultered in his mouth, that, uppon his suspitious behaviour, he begouth more narrowly to look unto him, and examine him; and perceaving that there appeared something to bee hid under his cloke, he did cast by the lappes of it, and so findes a great wyde pot to be under his arme, all full of coyned gold in great peeces; assuring his majestie that it was in very great quaintitie: Upon the sight whereof, as hee affirmed, he took back the fellow with his burthen to the town, where he privatly, without the knowledge of any living, took the fellow, and band him in a privie derned house; and, after lokking many durres uppon him, left him there, and his pot with him, and had haisted himself out of Sanct Johnstoun that day, by four houres in the morning, to make his majestie advertised thereof, according to his bound dutie; earnestlie requesting his majestie, with all diligence and secrecie, that his majestie might take order therewith, before anie knew thereof; swearing and protesting that he had yet concealed it from all living, yea, from the earle his owne brother.

His majesties first answere was (after thanking him for his good-will) that it could not become his majestie to meddle any wayes in that matter, since no man's treasure, that is a free and lawfull subject, can by the lawe appertaine unto the king, except it bee found hid under the earth, as this was not. Whereunto he answered, that the fellow confessed unto him, that he was going to have hid it under the ground, but could not take leasure at that time to enquyre any further of him. Whereunto his majestie replyed, that there was great difference betwixt a deed, and the intention of a deed; his intention to have hid it not beeing alyke as if it had beene found alreadie hid. Maister Alexander's answer was, that hee thought his majestie over scrupulous in such a matter tending so greatly to his majestie's profite; and that, if his majestie deferred to meddle with it, it might bee, that the lord, his brother, and other great men, might meddle with it, and make his majestie the more a-doe. Whereupon the king, beginning to suspect that it had been some forraine gold, brought home by some Jesuites, or practising papists (therewith to sturre up some newe sedition, as they have oftentimes done before) inquyred of the said M. Alexander, what kinde of coine it was, and what a fellow hee was that carried it? His answere was, that, so far as hee could take leasure to see of them, they seemed to bee forraine and uncouth strokes of coine; and, although that the fellow, both by his language and fashion, seemed to bee a Scots fellow, yet hee could never remember that hee had seene him before. These speaches increased his majestie's suspition that it was forraine coyne, brought in by some practising papists, and to bee distributed into the countrie, as is before said. And that the fellow that carried it, was some Scots priest or seminarie, so disguised for the more sure transporting thereof. Whereupon his majestie resolved, that he would send backe with the said maister Alexander a servand of his own, with a warrant to the provost and baillies of Sanct-Johnstoun, to receave both the fellow and the money off maister Alexander's hand; and after they had examined the fellow, to retaine him and the treasure, till his majestie's further pleasure were knowne: whereat the said Maister Alexander stirred mervelouslie, affirming and protesting, that if either the lord his brother, or the baillies of the toun, were put on the council thereof, his majestie would get a verie bad compt of that treasure; swearing, that the great love and affection he bare unto his majestie, had made him to preferre his majestie, in this cace, both to himself and his brother. For the which service he humblie

craved that recompence, that his majestie would take the paines once to ryde thither, that he might bee the first seear thereof himself; which beeing done, he woulde remit to his majestie's owne honorable discretion, how far it would please his majestie to considder upon him for his service. His hienes being stricken in great admiration, both of the uncouthness of the tale, and of the strange and stupide behaviour of the reporter; and the court being alreadie horsed, wondering at his majestie's so long stay with that gentleman, the morning being so fair, the game alreadie found, and the huntsmen so long staying on the fields on his majestie, he was forced to breake off onlie with these words: that hee coulde not nowe staye any longer from his sporte, but that hee would considder of the matter, and, at the end of his chase, give him a resolute answere, what order he would take therein. Whereupon his majestie parted in haste from him towardes the place where the game was. Maister Alexander, parting from his majestie verie miscontent, that indelaiedlie he raid not to Sanct-Johnstoun, as he desired him; protesting, that his majestie would not find everie day such a choise of hunting, as he had offered unto him; and that hee feared, that his majestie's long delay, and slowness of resolution, would breed leasure to the fellow, who was lying bound, to cry, or make such din, as would disappoint the secresie of that hail purpose, and make both the fellow and the treasure to be meddled with, before any word could come from his majestie: as also, that his brother would misse him, in respect of his absence that morning, which, if his majestie had pleased to haste, he might have prevented, arryving there in the tyme of his brothers and the whole towne's being at the sermon; whereby his majestie might have taken such secrete order with that matter as hee pleased, before their outcoming from the church. But his majestie, without anie further answering of him, leaping on horseback, and ryding to the dogs, where they were beginning to hunt, the said Maister Alexander stayed still in that place wher hee left his majestie; and having two men with him, appointed by the late earle his brother, to carrie back unto him the certaine newes, in al haist, of his majestie's comming, as hereafter more particularlie shall, in this same discourse, be declared, hee directed one of them, called Andrew Henderson, chalmerlane to the said earle, to ryde in all haste to the earle, commanding him, as he loved his brother's honour, that hee shoulde not spare for spilling of his horse; and that hee should advertise the earle, that hee hoped to move his majestie to come thither; and that hee should not yet looke for him the space of three houres thereafter, because of his majestie's hunting, adding these words: Pray my lord my brother to prepare the denner for us.

But his majestie was no sooner ridden up to a little hill above the little woode, wher the dogs were laid on in hunting, but that, notwithstanding the pleasant beginning of the chase, hee could not stay from musing and wondering upon the news. Whereupon, without making anie bodie acquainted with this purpose, finding John Nesmith, chirurgian, by chance ryding beside him, his majestie directed him back to bring Maister Alexander with him; who being brought unto his majestie, and having newly directed, as said is, one of his men, that was with him, back to my lord his brother, his majestie, unknowing or suspecting that any man living had come with him, then tolde him, that hee had bene advysing with himself, and, in respect of his last wordes so earnest with him, hee resolved to ryde thither for that errand in his own person, how soone the chace was ended, which was alreadie begun; lyke as his majesty, uppon the verie ending of these words, did ryde away in the chase, the said Maister Alexander ever following him at his back; no other living being with his hienesse but hee, and John Hammilton of Grange, one of his majesties master stablers, the reste of the court being all before in the chase, his majestie only being casten back, upon the staying to speak with Maister Alexander, as is before said. The chase lasted from seven houres in the morning until alleven and more, being one of the greatest and sorest chases that ever his majestie was at: all which tyme the said Maister Alexander was, for the most part, ever at his majes-

ties back, as said is. But there never was anie stop in the chase, or so small a delay, that the said Maister Alexander omitted to round to his majestie, earnestly requesting him to haist the end of the hunting, that he might ryde the sooner to Sainct Johnstoun: so as, at the death of the buck, his majestie, not staying uppon the curie[1] of the deir, as his use is, scarcelie took time to alight, awaiting uppon the comming of a fresh horse to ryde on, the greatnesse of the chase having wearied his horse. But the said Maister Alexander would not suffer the king to stay in the park, where the buck was killed, whil his fresh horse, which was alredy sent for, was brought out of the equery to him, although it was not two flight shot of bounds betwixt the part where the buck was killed, and his majesties equery; but, with verie importunitie, forced his majestie to leap on againe upon that same horse that hee had hunted all the day uppon, his freshe horse beeing made to gallop a myle of the way to overtake him; his majestie not staying so much as uppon his sword, nor while the duke and the earle of Marre, with diverse gentlemen of his companie, had changed their horses, only saying unto them, that hee was to ryde to Sainct Johnstoun to speak with the earl of Gowry, and that hee would bee presently back againe before even. Wherupon some of the court galloped backe to Falkland als fast as they could to change their horses, and could not overtake his majestie whil he come within four myle of Sainct Johnstoun; others raid forward with their horses, weried as they were, whereof some were compelled to alight by the way; and if they had not both refreshed their horses, bled them, and given them some grasse by the way, they had not carried them to Sainct Johnstoun. The cause of his majesties servands following so fast, undesired by him, being onlie grounded upon a suspition they had conceaved, that his majesties intention of ryding was for the apprehension of the maister of Oliphant, one who had latelie done a vyle and proud oppression in Angus; for repairing of the which, they thoght, that his majestie had some purpose for his apprehension. But the said Maister Alexander, seeing the duke and the earle of Mar, with divers other of the court, getting fresh horses for following of his majestie, earnestlie desired him, that hee would publish to his whole traine, that, since he was to returne the same evening, as is before said, they needed not to follow him; especiallie, that he thought it meetest that his majestie should stay the duke and the earl of Mar to follow him, and that he should onlie take three or four of his own meane servands with him; affirming, that, if anie noble man followed him, hee could not answer for it, but that they would marre that whole purpose. Wherupon his majestie, half angerly, replied, that he wold not mistrust the duke, nor the earl of Mar, in a greater purpose nor that, and that hee could not understand what hinder anie man could make in that erand. But these last speeches of M. Alexander's maid the king to begin to suspecte what it could meane; whereuppon manie diverse thoughts begouth to enter in the king's minde. But that his majestie could never suspect anie harme to be intended against his hienes by that young gentleman, with whome his majestie had bene so well acquainted, as he had not long before beene in sute to be one of the gentlemen of his chalmer; so as the farthest that the king's suspition could reach to was, that it might bee that the earle his brother had handled him so hardlie, that the young gentleman, being of a hie spirit, had taken such displeasure, as he was become somewhat by himself, which his majestie conjectured aswell by his raised and uncouth stairing, and continual pensiveness, all the time of the hunting, as likewise by such strange sort of unlykelie discourses, as is alreadie mentioned. Wherupon his majestie took occasion to make the duke of Lennox acquainted with the whole purpose, enquyring of him verie earnestlie, What he knew of that young gentleman's nature, being his brother-in-law? And, If he had ever perceived him to be subject to any high apprehension? His majestie declaring his suspition plainelie to the said lord duke, that hee thought him not well settled in his wits; alwaies de-

[1] *Curee*, the opening and fleaing the deer, which was done with great form. Hence our word *quarry*.

siring my lord duke not to faile to accompanie him in to that house where the alledged fellow and treasure was. The lord duke wondered much at that purpose, and thought it very unlikelie; yet he affirmed, that he could never perceave any such appearance in that gentleman's inclination. But Maister Alexander, perceyving his majesties privie conference with the duke, and suspecting the purpose, as it appeared, came to the king, requesting his majestie verie earnestlie, that he shoulde make none living acquainted with that purpose, nor suffer none to go with his majestie, where he should convoy him, but himselfe onlie, until his majestie had once seene the fellowe and the treasure: Whereunto his majestie, half laughing, gave answere, That he was no good teller of money, and behoved therefore to have some to helpe him in that erand. His replye was, That hee would suffer none to see it but his majesties selfe at the first; but afterward hee might call in whom hee pleased. These speeches did so encrease his majesties suspition, that then he begouth directly to suspect some treasonable devise; yet, manie suspitions and thoughts overwhelming every one an other in his minde, his majestie could resolve upon no certaine thing, but raid farther on his journey, betwixte trust and distrust, being ashamed to seeme to suspect in respect of the cleannesse of his majesties owne conscience, except he had found some greater ground. The said Maister Alexander still preasing the king to ride faster, although his owne horse was scarcelie able to keep companie with the king for wearinesse, having riden with him all the chase before. But, as the king was come two miles from Falkland, the said Maister Alexander stayed a little behind the king in the way, and posted away the other servand, Andrew Ruthven, to the earle his brother, advertising him howe farre the king was on his waye to come thither. Then, how soon soever the king come within a myle to the toun of Sanct Johnston, he said to his majesty, that he woulde poste in before to advertise the earle his brother of his majesties comming; who, at his incomming to him, was sitting at the middes of his denner, never seeming to take knowledge of the king's comming, whil his brother told it him, notwithstanding of his two servants advertising him thereof before: and, immediately uppon his brother's reporte, rysing in haste from the borde, and warning al the servands and friendes to accompany him to meet his majesty, met him, to the number of three or four score, at the end of the Insh, his majesties whole companie and traine not exceeding the nomber of sixteene persons, and al without any kinde of armour, except swords: no, not so much as daggers or whingears. His majestie stayed an hour, after his comming to the said earles lodging, in Sanct Johnstoun, before his denner came in: the longsomnesse of the preparing of the same, and badnesse of the cheare, beeing excused, uppon the sodainty of his majesties comming unlooked for there.[1] During the which tyme, his majestie enquyred of Maister Alexander, When it was tyme to him to goe to that private house for that errand whereof he had informed him? Whose answere was, That al was sure enough; but that there was no haste yet for an hour, whill his majesty had dyned at leisure; praying his majesty to leave him, and not to be seen to round with him before his brother, who, having missed him that morning, might thereupon suspect what the matter could mean: therefore his majestie addressed him to the earle, and discoursed with him upon sundrie purposes, but could get no direct answer of him, but halfe wordes, and imperfect sentences. His majestie beeing set down to the denner, the said earle stood very pensive, and with a dijected countenance, at the end of his majesties table, oft rounding over his shoulder, whiles to

[1] The badness of the dinner is founded on by both parties. Mr Patrick Galloway, in a sermon preached at the cross of Edinburgh on the King's deliverance, 2d August, 1600, says, "The king gets his dinner, a cold dinner, yea a very cold dinner, as they know who were there." "If Gowrie," says Cant, on the other hand, "meant to destroy the king, he should have entertained him in a manner less capable of giving suspicion." But Gowrie might have many reasons to avoid appearing to expect the royal visit. The splendour of preparations for the king's reception, must necessarily have attracted a degree of general attention unfavourable to the execution of any treasonable plan.

one of his servands and whiles to another, and oftentimes went out and in to the chamber; which forme of behaviour he likewise kept before his majesties sitting downe to denner, but without any welcomming of his majestie, or anie other hartlie forme of entertainement, the noblemen and gentlemen of the court that was with his majesty standing about the table, and not desired to dyne, as use is, when his majestie is once set down, and his first service brought up, until the king's majestie had almost dyned. At the which time the earle convoyed them forth to their dinner, but sate not downe with them him self, as the common forme is, but come back, and stood silent at the end of the king's table as of before; which his majestie perceaving did begin to entertain the earle in an homelie manner, wondering that hee had not remained to dine with his guests, and entertaine them there. In the mean tyme, his majesty being ready to rise from the table, and his whole servants beeing in the hal at their dinner, the said Maister Alexander, standing behind his majesties back, pulled quietlie upon him, rounding in his majesties eare, That it was tyme to goe, but that hee woulde have faine been quite of the earle his brother, wishing the king to send him out to the hall to entertaine his guests: Wherupon the king called for a drinke, and in a merrie and homelie manner said to the earle, That although the earle had seen the fashion of entertainement in other countries, yet he would teach him the Scottishe fashion, seeing hee was a Scottish man; and therefore, since hee had forgot to drink to his majestie, or to sit with his guests and entertaine them, his majestie would drink to him his owne welcome, desiring him to take it foorth and drinke to the rest of the company, and in his majesties name to make them welcome. Wherupon, as he went foorth, his majestie did rise from the table, and desired M. Alexander to bring Sir Thomas Erskine with him; who, desiring the king to go forward with him, and promising that he should make anie one or two follow him that he pleased to cal for, desired his majesty to command publicly that none should follow him. And thus the king, accompanied onelie with the said Maister Alexander, commes forth of the chamber, passes through the end of the hal, where the noble men and his majesties servants were sitting at their dinner, up a turn-pyke, and through three or four high chambers,[1] the said Maister Alexander ever lokking behinde him every dore[2] as he past, and then, with a more smyling countenance nor he had all the day before, ever saying he had him sure and safe enough kept; until at last his majestie passing through three or four sondrie houses,[3] and all the dores lokked behind him, his majestie entered into a little studie, where his majestie did see standing, with a verie abased countenance, not a bound-man, but a free man, with a dagger at his girdle.[4] But his majestie had no sooner entered into that little studie, and Maister Alexander with him, but Maister Alexander lokked to the studie dore behind him, and at that instant, changing his countenance, putting his hat on his head, and drawing the dagger from that other man's girdle, held the point of it to the king's breast, avowing now, that the king behoved to be in his will, and used as he list; swearing manie bloody oathes, that, if the king cried one word, or opened a windoe to look out, that dagger should presently go to his hart; affirming, that hee was sure that now the king's conscience was burdened for the murthering of his father.[5] His majestie, wondering at so suddaine an alteration, and standing naked, without any kynde of armour but his hunting horne,

[1] They came through the gallery into the gallery chamber, and from thence into the closet or study in the round. C.

[2] Not every door, for the gallery remained open, as appears from the sequel. C.

[3] Probably a typographical error: it ought to have been *rooms*. C.

[4] Mr Galloway, minister of Perth, afterwards the king's chaplain, in his sermon rhetorically says, "with a drawn dagger in his hand to have done this filthy turn;" but he presently contradicts himself, for he appeals to a letter from Henderson to him, which bears these words, "while I was sitting on my knees, Mr Alexander came with the king." C.

[5] Mr Patrick Galloway, repeating Mr Alexander's words, says, "Thou was the death of my father, and here is a dagger to be avenged upon thee for that death." C.

which hee had not gotten leisure to lay from him, betwixt these two traitors which had conspired his life, the saide Maister Alexander standing, as said is, with a drawne dagger in his hand, and his sword at his side, but the other trembling and quaiking, rather like ane condemned man, then an executioner of such an enterpryse; his majesty begouth then to dilate to the saide Maister Alexander, howe horrible a thing it was to him to meddle with his majesties innocent blood; assuring him it would not be left unrevenged, since God had given him children and good subjectes; and, if there were no more, God would raise up stocks and stones to punish so vyle a deed. Protesting before God, that hee had no burthen in his conscience for the execution of his father, both in respect that, at the tyme of his father's execution, his majestie was but a minor of age, and guyded at that time by a faction, which over-ruled both his majestie and the rest of the country; as also, that whatsoever was done to his father, it was done by the ordinar course of law and justice. Appealing to the saide Maister Alexander uppon his conscience, how well he at al tymes since had deserved at the hands of al his race; not only having restored them [1] to al their landes and dignities, but also in nourishing and upbringing of two or three of his sisters as it were in his own bosome, by a continual attendance uppon his majesties dearest bed fellow in her privy chamber. Laying also before him the terrors of his conscience, especially that he made profession, according to his education, of the same religion which his majestie has ever professed; and namelie his majestie remembred him of that holie man, M. Robert Rollock, [2] whose scholler he was, assuring him that one day the said M. Robort's soule would accuse him, that hee had never learned of him to practise such unnatural crueltie. His majestie promising to him, in the worde of a prince, that if hee would spare his life, and suffer him to go out againe, hee should never reveale to any flesh living what was betwixt them at that tyme, nor suffer him to incur anie harm or punishment for the same. But his majesties feare was, that hee could hope for no spairing at his hand, having such cruelty in his lookes, and standing so irreverently, covered with his hat on; whiche forme of rigorous behaviour could prognosticate no thing to his majestie but present extremitie. But at his majesties perswasive language hee appeareth to bee somewhat amused, and, discovering his head again, swore and protested that his majesties lyfe should be safe, if hee would behave him self quyetlie, without making noyse or crying, and that he would onlie bring in the earl his brother to speak with his majestie; wherupon, his majestie enquyring what the earle would do with him, since (if his majesties life was safe, according to promise,) they could gaine little in keeping such a prisoner? [3] His

[1] William earl of Gowrie was condemned at Stirling, and forfeited A. D. 1584 by the faction of the earl of Arran. In the following year, upon the success of the earl of Angus, who turned out Arran, his son was restored to his dignities and estate; the king was then a minor about 17 years old.

[2] He was preceptor to William earl of Gowrie's children, and A. D. 1582 was appointed professor of divinity in the colledge of Edinburgh; he died 28th February 1598. Several works of his yet extant show his industry, erudition, and knowledge of the Scriptures; his adversaries acknowledge him to have been a benevolent good man. Only Lord Cromartie, in his account of Gowrie's Conspiracy, published 1713, is pleased to say, that "the malicious designers against the royal family in Scotland did at first invent, and then foment a most improbable falsehood, making it their business to suggest, that Gowrie and his brother did never conspire against the king, but that the king did murder them both. This was invented and clandestinely propagated by Bruce, Rollock, Dury, Melvil, and other presbyterian ministers." To avoid *scandalum magnatum*, we have no inclination to charge his lordship with a direct lye, but we will charge him with inaccuracy and inattention; for it is certain that Mr Rollock, who died in February 1598, could neither invent nor propagate that falsehood, being dead at least seventeen months before the conspiracy happened, and with his last breath he exhorted his brethren to carry dutifully towards the king. C.

[3] The king might have remembered, that it was the rude policy of the Scottish nobles to seize the person of their sovereign, and then to employ his name as a sanction to all their ambitious determinations. This the king himself had experienced, when the earl's father and his associates detained him prisoner in 1582. Attempts of a similar nature had been made upon him at Holyrood-house, and Falkland, by Francis Stewart, earl of Bothwell. It will admit of a question, whether the young earl without associates would venture on such a dangerous experiment, after what befell his father. C.

answere onlie was, That hee could tel his majestie no more, but that his lyfe would bee safe in case hee behaved him self quietlie; the rest the earle his brother, whom hee was going for, would tel his majestie at his comming. And with that, as hee was going forth for his brother, as hee affirmed, hee turned him about to the other man, saying these wordes unto him: I make you heere the king's keeper untill I come back againe, and look that ye keep him uppon your owne peril: And therewithall sayes to his majestie, Ye must content your selfe to have this man nowe your keeper untill my back-comming. And with these words he passes foorth, lokking the dore behind him, and leaving his majestie with that man he fand there before him. At whome his majestie then enquyred, If he was appointed to be the murtherer of him at that tyme? And how far he was uppon the counsell of that conspiracie? Whose answere, with a trembling and astonished voice and behaviour, was, That, as the Lord should judge him, hee was never made acquainted with that purpose, but that hee was put in ther perforce, and the dore lokked behinde him, a little space before his majesties comming; as indeede, al the time of the said Maister Alexander's menassing his majestie, he was ever tremblinglie[1] requesting him for God's sake, and with manie other attestations, not to meddle with his majestie, or to do him anie harme. But, because Maister Alexander had before his forth-going made the king to sweare, that he should not cry, nor open anie of the windowes, his majestie commanded the saide fellow to open the windoe with his hand, which he readelie did; so that although hee was put in there to use violence over the king, yet God so turned his hart at that time as hee became a slave to his prisoner. While his majestie was in this dangerous estate, and none of his owne servants nor traine knowing in what part of the worlde he was in, as his majesties traine was arysing in the hal from their dinner, the earle of Gowry being present with them, one of the earle of Gowries servants commes hastelie in, assuring the earle his maister, that his majesty was horsed and away through the Inshe; which the earle reporting to the noblemen and the rest of his majesties train that were there, they all rush out together at the gate in great haste; and some of his majesties servants enquyring at the porter, When his majestie went forth? The porter affirmed, that the king was not yet forth. Wherupon the said earle looked verie angerlie upon him, and saide he was but a liear; yet, turning him to the duke and to the earle of Mar, said hee should presentlie get them sure word where his majestie was;[2] and with that ran throgh the close and up the staire. But his purpose indeede was to speak with his brother, as appeared verie well by the circumstance of the tyme, his brother having at the same instant left the king in the little studie, and ran down the staire in great haste. Immediatly therafter the earle commeth back, running againe to the gate wher the noblemen and the rest were standing in a mase, assuring them that the king was out long since at the back-gate,[3] and, if they hasted not them al the sooner, they would not get him overtaken, and with that cried for his horse; whereupon they rushe altogether out at the gate, and makes towardes the Inshe, crying al for their horses, passing al (as it was the providence of God) under one of the windoes

[1] Bishop Williams, in his funeral Sermon on the death of King James, makes the following observation: "Not a particular of his life, but was a mystery of the divine providence, to keep and preserve those admirable parts for the settling and uniting of some great empire. Why did Gowries man, prepared to kill him, tremble in his presence, and *begin to adore him?*" Thus does the bishop relate the conduct of Henderson, and which is remarkable, he produces the account published by authority in proof of this imaginary *adoration.* These words were uttered from the chair of truth!

"Henderson being demanded, why he did not take the king's part when he did see them fall a wrestling, he excused himself by a sudden fear that overtook him in the time; and indeed he looked ever after that time as one half distracted."—SPOTISWOOD, B. vi. p. 461. C.

[2] If this circumstance be perfectly accurate, and it is confirmed by the testimony of the duke of Lennox and the porter, it leaves little doubt that Gowrie wished to get rid of the king's attendants, by raising a false report that he had ridden from Perth, and exciting them to follow him.

[3] This is, as I suppose, the gate into the Spygate from the back part of the house, which lies next the Spyport. C.

of that studie, wherein his majestie was.[1] To whome Maister Alexander verie speedilie returned, and, at his incomming to his majestie, casting his hands abroade in a desperate manner, saide hee could not mend it, his majestie behoved to die; and with that offered a garter to bind his majesties hands, with swearing he behoved to be bound. His majestie at that word of binding said, hee was born a free king, and should die a free king. Wherupon hee gripping his majestie by the wrest of the hand to have bound him, his majestie releeved him selfe suddainlie of his grips; whereupon, as he put his right hand to his sworde, his majestie with his right hand seazed uppon both his hand and his sworde, and with his left hand clasped him by the throat, like as hee with his left hand clasped the king by the throat, with two or three of his fingers in his majesties mouth, to have staid him from crying. In this forme of wrestling his majestie perforce drewe him to the windowe, which hee had caused the other man before to open unto him, and under the which was passing by at the same tyme the king's traine, and the earle of Gowrie with them, as saide is; and, holding out the right side of his head and right elbowe, cried, that they were murthering him there in that treasonable forme; whose voice being instantly heard and knowne by the duke of Lennox, and the earle of Mar, and the rest of his majesties traine there, but the saide earle of Gowrie ever asking what it meant, and never seeming anie wayes to have seen his majestie or heard his voice, they all rushed in at the gate together, the duke and the earl of Mar running about to come by that passage his majestie come in at, but the earle of Gowrie and his servants made them for another way up a quyet turn-pyke, which was ever condemned before, and was onlie then left open as appeared for that purpose.[2] And in this meane time his majestie, with strugeling and wrestling with the said Maister Alexander, had brought him out perforce out of that study, the dore wherof for haste he had left open at his last incomming, and his majestie having gotten with long strugling the saide Maister Alexander's head under his arme, and him selfe on his knees, his majestie did drive him backe perforce hard to the dore of the same turn-pyke; and as his majestie was throwing his sworde out of his hand, thinking to have striken him therewith, and then to have shotte him over the stair, the other fellow standing behinde the king's back, doing nothing but trembling all the tyme, Sir John Ramsay, not knowing what way first to enter after he had heard the king's cry, by chance finds that turn-pyke door open, and, following it up to the head, enters into the chamber, and findes his majestie and Maister Alexander strugling in that forme, as is before saide; and after he had twise or thrise striken Maister Alexander with his dagger,[3] the other man withdrew himself, his majestie still keeping

[1] This is a mistake; for it appears from the evidence of the duke of Lennox, that he and others of the king's attendants were then standing in the street before the gate, which is at some distance from that corner of the house, from whence the round or study projected. C.

[2] The author of this account was either not acquainted with the disposition of Earl Gowrie's house, or had forgot it; for this quiet and condemned turnpike, as it is here termed, was in truth the back stair leading to the principal apartment, first to the room, properly termed the hall, where the king's servants dined, and then to the chamber at the end of the gallery in the upper story, where the two brothers were killed. This stair seems to have been well known to many of the witnesses at the trial; and indeed it could not but be well known, for the entry to it was from the court, and the stair itself was built in the manner of a tower; it has been since taken away, but sufficient vestiges of its situation still remain, and the door from it into the gallery chamber may be yet seen. It may very well have happened, that this stair was not commonly used; but then the reason must have been, that the principal apartment itself had not been much used from the time of Gowrie's arrival in Scotland. See the evidence of Henderson at the trial; see also what is said by Robert Christie, Alexander Blair, and John Murray. C.

[3] He struck him by order of the king, The words in his evidence are; "His majestie cryed, Fy, strick him high, because he has ane pyne doublet upon him." The king acknowledges it to Mr Robert Bruce; "I grant, said he, I am art and part in Maister Alexander's slaughter, for it was in my own defence. Why brought ye him not to justice, said Maister Robert, seeing you should have had God before your eyes? I had neither God nor the devil, man, before my eyes, said the king, but my own defence. Here the king began to frett, he took all these points upon his salvation and damnation, and that he was once minded to have spared Mr Alexander; but being moved for the time, the motion prevailed."—CALDERWOOD. MSS. C.

his grips, and holding him close to him; immediately therafter he tooke the said Maister Alexander by the shoulders, and shotte him down the staire, who was no sooner shotte out at the doore, but he was met by Sir Thomas Erskine, and Sir Hew Hereis, who there, uppon the staire, ended him; the said Sir Thomas Erskine being casten behinde the duke and the earle of Mar, that ran about the other way, by the occasion of his medling with the saide late earle uppon the street, after the hearing of his majesties cry; for, uppon the hearing thereof, hee had clasped the earle of Gowrie by the gorget, and casting him under his feet, and wanting a dagger to have stricken him with, the said earles men redde the earle their maister out of his hands; whereby he was casten behinde the rest, as said is; and missing the companie, and hearing the said Sir John Ramsayes voice upon the turn-pyke head, ran up to the said chamber, and cried uppon the said Hew Heries and another servant to follow him; where, meeting with the saide Maister Alexander in the turn-pyke, he ended him there, as saide is; the said Maister Alexander onely crying for his last words, allace! I had not the wyte of it. But no sooner could the saide Sir Thomas, Sir Hew,[1] and another servant, win in to the chamber wher his majestie was, but that the said earle of Gowrie, before they could get the dore shutte, followed them in at the back, having casten him directly to come up that privie passage, as is before saide; who, at his first entrie, having a drawne sworde in everie hand, and a steil bonnet on his head, accompanied with seven of his servants, everie one of them having in like manner a drawne sworde, cried out with a great oath, that they shoulde all die as traitors: Al the which tyme his majestie was still in the chamber, who, seeing the earl of Gowrie come in with his swordes in his hands, sought for Maister Alexanders sworde, which had fallen from him at his out-shutting at the dore, having no sort of weapon of his owne, as said is; but then was shot backe by his owne servants that were there, into the little studie, and the dore shut uppon him;[2] who, having put his majestie in safetie, re-encountred the saide earle and his servants; his majesties servants being onlie in nombre four; to wit, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Hereis, Sir John Ramsay, and one Wilsoun, a servant of James Erskines, a brother of the saide Sir Thomas; the said earle having seven of his servants with him: yet it pleased God, after manie strokes on al hands, to give his majesties servants the victorie, the saide earle of Gowrie beeing stricken dead with a stroke through the heart, which the saide Sir John Ramsay gave him, without once crying upon God,[3] and the rest of his servants dung over the stair, with many hurts; as in like manner the saide Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Hereis, and Sir John Ramsay, were all three hurt and wounded. But, all the tyme of this fight, the duke of Lennox, the earle of Mar, and the rest of his majesties train, were striking with great hammers at the utter doore;[4] wherby his majestie

[1] Galloway says, that "into the chamber with the king are only four, two lads and two men, and one of them mutilated." The two lads were Sir John Ramsay and John Wilson; the mutilated man was Sir Hew Herries, who was lame. Yet Ramsay and Wilson were upwards of twenty.

[2] This seems to be an error. On the 24th June 1601, Mr. Robert Bruce had an audience of the king, and asked him, "if he had a purpose to slay my lord? As I shall answer to God, replied the king, I knew not that my lord was slain, till I saw him in his last agony, and was sorry, yea, prayed from my heart for the same." *Calderwood* MSS. *History.*

[3] If a saint had been struck through the heart, he might possibly have died without calling upon God. Circumstances of this nature are immaterial, and ought to have been omitted. What judgment then are we to frame of the following expressions, which go farther than the author of the narrative has adventured to go? Bishop Andrews, in a sermon preached before the king, 5th August 1612, says, addressing himself to his majestie, "and so you are *found*, and they, as the children of perdition should be, are *lost*: here are *you*, and where are *they*? gone to their own place, to Judas their brother, and, as is most kindly, the sonnes to the father of wickednesse, there to be plagued with him for ever. The same way may they all goe, and to the same place may they all come, that shall ever once offer to do the like." C.

[4] Not at the outer doore; for it appears, by the evidence of the duke of Lennox and of Sir John Ramsay, at the tryal, that the door of the gallery remained open. It was the door of the gallery chamber, at the end of the gallery, which was shut. C.

past up to the chamber, with the said Maister Alexander, which also he had lokked, in his bycomming with his majestie to the chamber; but, by reason of the strength of the saide double dore, the whole wall being likewise of bordes, and yeelding with the strokes, it did byde them the space of halfe an houre and more, before they coulde get it broken and have entresse; who, having met with his majestie, and (beyond their expectation) his majestie delivered from so imminent a perill, and the saide late earle, the principall conspirator, lying dead at his majesties feete. Immediatlie therafter his majestie kneeling downe on his knees, in the midst of his own servants, and they all kneeling round about him, his majestie, out of his own mouth, thanked God of that miraculous deliverance and victory, assuring him selfe that God had preserved him from so dispaired a perill for the perfiting of some greater worke behinde to his glorie, and for the procuring by him the wel of his people, that God had committed to his charge. After this the tumult of the toun[1] hearing of the slaughter of the saide earle of Gowrie, their provost, and not knowing the manner therof, nor being on the counsell of his treasonable attempt, continued for the space of two or thre houres therafter, untill his majestie, by oft speaking out to them at the windoes, and beakening to them with his owne hand, pacifying them, causing the baylies and the rest of the honest men of the toun to bee brought into the chamber, to whom having declared the whole forme of that strange accident, hee committed the house and bodies of the said traitors, brethren, to their keeping, untill his majesties further pleasure were knowne; his majestie having, before his parting out of that toun, caused to searche the saide earle of Gowries pockets, in cace anie letters, that might further the discoverie of that conspiracie, might bee found therein: but no thing was found in them but a little close parchment bag, full of magicall characters[2] and words of inchantment, wherin, it seemed, that he had put his confidence, thinking him selfe never safe without them, and therfore ever carried them about with him; beeing also observed, that, while they were uppon him, his wound, wherof he died, bled not; but, incontinent after the taking of them away, the blood gushed

[1] By an act of the privy council, the magistrates and town-council of Perth, as representing the community, were summoned to appear before the king on the 16th September 1600, at Linlithgow, to answer for the contempt and indignity done to his majesty. This act makes mention of "certain irreverent and undutiful speeches against his majesty." According to Calderwood's MSS., "Alexander Ruthven of Forgun cried up, Come down, thou son of Signior Davie; thou hast slain an honester man than thy self: and George Craigengelt cryed up, with the rest of the town there conveened, Give us out our provost, or the king's green coat shall pay for it."

Bishop Andrews has, according to custom, exerted the spirit of declamation on this incident. 5th August 1608, he says, "Last of all, and that worst of all, came the popular tumult, whose rage knows no reason: who as, Numbers xvi. called Kora and Dathan the people of the Lord, so these little better; and even then also did God by his mighty providence turn away the destruction. This in the text was so done, a few words and away: this of the day was long first, and much adoe, yet it was done." The same prelate, in his sermon 5th of August 1614, says, "The popular tumult that arose after this, enraged by odious surmises, was it not Gods hand that layd the raging of the waves, and that stayed the madness of the people?" Again, in his sermon 5th August 1622, he says, "the danger of the popular tumult was worst of all." C.

[2] Mr William Rynd says, in his evidence, that he found at "Padua, in my lords pocket, the characters that were found about him at his death."

Nicolson, agent for the queen of England, says, in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, 14th August 1600, "upon the earl, they say, were found 'characters, some for love, blood, &c. and one, the last, *contra potestatem divinæ majestatis.*" *Original in the paper office.*

The author of a book intitled *Ruvenorum conjuratio*, Edin. 1601, in 4to, says, in the preface, "Literarum velo pessimarum cupiditatum scenam inumbravit; quo tectius atque occultius se putabat delicturum eo laxiores habenas ad quidvis audendum animo suo permittens. Quidquod animum scientiæ studio flagrantem non coercuit? quid si literarum intemperantia laborans modum non tenuit? quid si nimis multa scire voluit, et ea nec bona, nec fructuosa, nec legibus concessa?—illum multifaria ingenii dote, et versatili solertia usum ad naturæ recondita inquirenda et ea quæ supra nos ad magicas et illicitas artes addiscendas nimis multa loquuntur—quamdiu bonis disciplinis iste animum excoluit, fuerit sapiens, eruditus, et adprobus, at postquam servatoris sui desertor, ad dæmonem, velut induciis factis, transiit, curiositate non ferenda illusionum diabolicarum socius ac particeps esse satagens, at tibi ille idem improbus, insipiens, et execrabilis, et miraberis deinceps sive se noxio illo genio mancipaverit, sive cum salutis suæ hoste accerimo quasi colludere sustinuerit jam superis illi animum lymphantibus in

out in great aboundance, to the great admiration of al the beholders; an infamy[1] which hath followed and spotted the race of this house for manie discents, as is notoriouslie knowne to the whole countrie.[2] Thus the night was far spent, being neir eight houres

pessima facinorum præcipitasse—Quis est in rebus æstimandis tam frutex cui ex subjecta narratione cælo clarius non appareat vanitatis magicæ fuisse consectatorem, qui illi perpetuus itineris comes idem characteres perpetim circumgestasse testis est, at characteres eos magicos fuisse et modus servandi loquitur, et eorundem voces nefandæ clamant ita manifesto, *ut ridiculi sint si qui cum ineptis suis interpretamentis reclamant.* Scribit Athæneus literas Ephesias (ita vocabant antiquitus, notulas sive voces magicas, in consutilibus pelliculis olim a magis cum cura asservatas, uti notulas itidem Gowrius suas libellulo inscriptas in pellicula consutili custodiebat: quid si nescis quam efficaci credideris eas esse virtute, id ex ipsis notularum verbis percipe: quibus, si fides, omnes potentes *ad bonos spiritus adtrahendum et malos propulsandum.*" A pretty odd charm this to be used by a man who had sold himself to the devil! " Huic vim adscribit perficiendi mirabilia et indubitatæ in præliis victoriæ comparandæ, illi vim optata impetrandi; nonnullas etiam efficaces esse voluit adversus hominum valetudines et molestias; ab aliis contra ipsam divinarum legum in evitabilem potestatem, horresco verba referens, promptissima remedia pollicetur." I wish the author had informed us what were the *foolish explications* which the friends of Earl Gowrie employed in order to vindicate him from the charge of witchcraft.

If we may credit Lord Cromartie, *Preface to the Conspiracies of the Gowries*, edit. 1713, p. 13, 14, the papers in question were for many years in his hands, but had been unluckily mislaid. He says, from memory, " that they were full of magical spells and characters, which none can understand but those who exercise that art." This account of them seems not to agree with the account given by Nicolson, and by the author of *Ruvenorum conspiratio.* But this may be imputed to the inaccuracy of Lord Cromarty, of which I have observed many instances.

As these papers are not now to be found, and as the accounts given of them are so imperfect, it is impossible exactly to ascertain their contents.—This circumstance of the magical characters, afforded ample matter of declamation to the preachers of those days. Mr Patrick Galloway, in his sermon at the cross of Edinburgh, says, " The books that he used prove him plainly to be a studier of magic, and conjuror of devils, and to have had so many at his command." *Calderwood's MSS.* In his sermon at Glasgow, 31st August 1600, he says, " When he went to Padua, there he studied necromancy. His own pedagogue, Master William Rhind, testifies that he had these characters ay upon him, which he loved so, that if he had forgot to put them in his breeches, he would run up and down like a madman; and he had them upon him when he was slain; and as they testify that saw it, he could not bleed so long as they were upon him."

To the same purpose Bishop Andrews, in his sermon 5th August 1612, says, " If witchcraft be wickedness, (as it is wickedness in the highest degree), he was a sonne of it, it was found about him." With respect to this part of the narrative, let me be allowed to say, in the words of the historian, " Mihi tradendi arguendique rumoris causa fuit, ut claro sub exemplo falsas auditiones depellerem, peteremque ab iis quorum in manus cura nostra venerit, ne divulgata atque incredibilia, avide accepta, veris neque in miraculum corruptis antehabeant." *Tacit. Annal.* 3. C.

[1] Being pierced with a rapier, he bled inwardly, and the outward effusion did not take place till his body was moved and handled.

[2] This hereditary profession of art-magic may be proved by common report. Patrick Lord Ruthven, grandfather of Gowrie, in his Discourse of the Troubles, &c. printed in the appendix to Keith's History, p. 125, has the following words:—" Then her majesty asked the said Lord Ruthven, what kindness was betwixt Murray and him? Remember you, said she, what the earl of Murray would have me do unto you for giving me the ring? Ruthven answered, that he would bear no quarrel for that cause, but would forgive him and all others for God's sake; and as for that ring, it had no more virtue than another ring, but was a little ring with a pointed diamond in it. Remember you not, said her majesty, that you said it had a virtue to keep me from poysoning? Liketh your grace, said he, I said so much that the ring had that virtue, but to take [i. e. only with the view of taking] that evil opinion out of your head, of presupposition that you conceived that the protestants would have done," &c. This narrative seems to imply, that Murray believed that Ruthven had given the queen an inchanted ring, and that he sought to have him punished on that account. Ruthven ingenuously tells the queen why he had ascribed some peculiar virtue to that ring. This incident, or some incident of the like nature, may probably have induced a credulous age to believe Lord Ruthven a magician.

His son William, first Earl of Gowrie, was also " said to have been too curious, and to have consulted with wizzards touching the state of things in future times." *Spottiswood*, p. 332.

What Tacitus says of treason, under the reign of Tiberius, may be said of witchcraft in the days of King James; *omnium accusationum complimentum erat*, Annal. 3. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Bullinger, 1566, represents David Rizzio as skilled in necromancy; *Burnet, Hist. Reformat.* v. iii, p. 322. Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, is made to say, in the silly forgery called his dying declaration, that by inchantments he procured the love of the queen. Stewart, earl of Bothwell, was also accused of magical practices. *Melvil, p.* 353, edit. Glas. 1751. *Moyeses Memoirs*, p. 176.

It is no wonder that Lord Ruthven, his son and grandson, the two earls, were accused of necromancy and witchcraft; for they stood firm for the Reformation, against the measures of the king, his mother and grandmo-

at evening before his majestie could, for the great tumult that was in the toun, departe out of the same. But, before his majestie had ridden four myles out of the same, towardes Falkland, although the night was very darke and rainie, the whole way was cled with all sorts of people, both on horse and foote, meeting him with great joy and acclamation.[1] The frequencie and concourse of persons of al degrees to Falkland, the rest of the weeke, and to Edinburgh the next, from al the quarters of the countrie; the testimonie of the subjects heartie affection and joy for his majesties deliverie, expressed everywher, by ringing of bels, bonefires, shutting of gunnes of al sorts, both by sea and land, &c. with all other things ensuing therupon, I have of set purpose pretermitted, as well knowne to al men, and impertinent to this discourse; contenting my selfe with this plaine and simple narration; adding onlie, for explanation and confirmation therof, the depositions of certaine persons, who were either actors and eie-witnesses, or immediat hearers of those things that they declare and testifie; wherin, if the reader shall finde anie thing differing from this narration, either in substance or circumstance, hee may understand the same to be uttered by the deponer in his owne behoof, for obtaining of his majesties princelie grace and favour.

ther, in favours of popery. Calvin, Luther, and Knox, were accused by the catholick writers, of being in compact with the devil, by whose assistance they carried on the Reformation, that they were men of an infamous character and impious lives. Doctor Mackenzie, in his Life of John Knox, has drawn a frightful picture of him, while he paints the Popish worthies with shining colours, and places them in a striking point of view. C.

[1] Cant quotes, from a MS. of the period, the following entry: "The Earl of Gowry, and his brodir, the master of Rowffane, were slain in Perth, in Anno 1600, in his awine lowgine, on the fifth day of Augowist, be the kingis page Johane Ramsay, in presence of the King, and the Dwick Stewert, and the Earl of Mar and Tellebarine, and the Leird of Bathayock, meid to keip the zeit of the lowgine till the king leip one." But the more loyal journalist of Edinburgh, Mr Robert Birrell, not only records the king's adventure, as an escape from treason, but dignifies it with several additional circumstances of wonder.

"The 5. of August, his majestie the king being invitit be the Earle of Gowrie to banket with him at the said earle his house, at St Johnestoun; the said earle and hes brother, bearing, or haveing malice and deidlie hatred in their hairtis against the king, their naturall prince, thai had devysit ane way to have tane his lyff; bot the Lord preventit ther intentione. The maner of the conspiracie was—Quhen they fund occasioun, that his majestie's haill nobillis and courtiers were gone furthe, the twa brother desyrit his majestie to goe and sie thair cabinet. His majestie, a blist soul, thinking of no evil, went with thame, whare they enterit in gripis with him, with dageris, to have slaine him. The King of kingis, the grate God, gave him strenthe; sua that he twist the master of Gowrie under his feit: and befoir the lord hes brother came to hes majestie, he cryit ovir ane window, Treasone! Treasone! In the meine tyme, the foirsaid twa brether had ane man standing behind the tapestrie in armes, with ane twa handit sword in his hand, quha was ordeinit, giff thair sould come aney helpe, he sould come furthe and keip the dore till the murder sould be done; bot it pleasit God that he wes maid powerless, and could not steir out of the place quhare he stuid. In the meane tyme, that hes majestie and the twa brether are at the wrestling, Thomas Erskine, and Johne Ramsay, hes majestie's page of honour for the tyme, came rinning up to the cabinet, quhare thair presentlie wes hard payment: at the last the twaie brether conspyreris of hes majestie baith were stikit; and the Lord preservit the holy innocent prince."

"The newis came to Edinburgh the 6th day of August, that hes majesty had escapit sic ane danger, quhareat thair wes sic joy that the cannons shott, the bellis rang, the trumpittis soundit, the drums strak. The toune rais in armes, with schutting of muskettis, casting of fyir workis, and banefyirs set furth, in sic maner the lyk wes never sene in Scotland, ther wes sic dancing and merrines all the nicht."

"The same day, in lyk maner, the Earle of Montrois being chanseler, the Master of Elphingston thesaurer, Sir David Murray comptroller, Sir James Elphingston collector, with sundrie uther nobillis, went to the crosse of Edinburgh, and thair hard Mr David Lindesay mak ane orisone; and the haill peiple sett downe on their knies, giving thanks to God for the king's deliverance out of sic ane grate danger."

"The 11. day of Auguste, being Monday, the king came over the water. The toune, with the haill suburbis, mett him upone the Sandis of Leithe in armes, with grate joy, and schutting of muskettis, and shaking of pikes. He went to the 'kirk of Leith to Mr David Lindesay's orisone. Thereafter, the toune of Edinburgh haveing conveinit up to Edinburgh, and standing at the hie gaitt, hes majestie past to the crosse, the crosse being hung with tapestrie, and went up thereon with his nobillis. Mr Patrick Gallaway being thair, made ane sermone upon the 124. psalm; he declarit the haill circumstances of the treasone proposit by the Earle of Gowrie and hes brother, quhilk the king testifiet be hes awen mouth, sitting upon the crosse, all the tyme of the sermone." *Diary of Robert Birrel, ap. Fragm. of Scottish Hist.* Edin. 1798. p. 49.

Apud Falkland, 9 August 1600.

In presence of the Lord Chancellar, Lord Treasurer, Lord Secretare, Lord Comptroller, Lord Advocate, the Lord Incheffray, and Sir George Home of Spot, knicht.

James Weimis of Bogy, of the age of xxxvi. yeare, or thereby, sworne and examined uppon the forme and manner of behaviour of late John earle of Gowrie, the tyme of his being with him at Strabran, or if he had heard the saide earle make anie motion of the treason intended against his majestie; depones, that hee neither heard nor sawe anie appearance of anie such intention in the said earle.

Demanded, if hee was in anie purpose with the said earle anent any matters of curiositie; depones, that at their being in Strabran, some of their company found an edder, which, being killed, and knowledge therof comming to the earle, the earle said to this deponer, " Bogy, if the edder had not beene slaine, yee should have seene a good sport; for I should have caused her stand still, and she should not have preissed away, by pronouncing of an Hebrew worde, which in Scottish is called holinesse;" but the Hebrew worde the deponer remembers not of; and that the earle saide hee had put the same in practice oft before.[1] And this deponer enquyring at the earle, where hee did get the Hebrew worde? the earle answered, in a cabbalist of the Jewes, and that it was by tradition: and the deponer enquyring, what a cabbalist meaned? the earle answered, it was some wordes which the Jewes had by tradition, which wordes were spoken by God to Adam in paradice, and therefore were of greater efficacie and force nor anie wordes which were excogitate since by prophetes and apostles. The deponer enquyring, if there was no more requisite but the worde? the earle answered, that a firm faith in God was requisite and necessarie, and that this was no matter of marvel amongst schollers, but that all these things were naturall. And that the earle shew to this deponer, that hee had spoken with a man in Italie, and first hearing by report that hee was a nigromancer, and therafter being informed that hee was a verie learned man and a deep theologue, he entered in further dealing with him anent the curiosities of nature.

Depones further, that the said earle reported to him, that hee being at the musick, he fell in companie with another man, who stairing in the earles face, spake to the rest of the companie things of him which he could never attain unto, nor be worthie of:[2] and therfore that the earle reproached him, and desired him to forbear these speeches; and that he met again with the saide man in a like company, who did begin with the same language which he had spoken before; and that the earle saide to him, My friend, in cace yee will not hold your peace from speaking lies of mee, I will make you hold your peace by speaking sooth of you; and saide unto him, within such a space hee should be hanged for such a crime; and so it came to passe. This deponer enquyring of the earle, who told him that? hee answered merely, that he spake it be guesse, and it fell out so.

[1] The tradition that the adder can be enchanted by charmed words, and that she endeavours to avoid hearing them, by coiling herself up, with one ear laid close to the ground, and the other protected by her tail, is said to be the explanation of the scriptural phrase of the deaf adder, " which will not hear the words of the charmer, though he charm never so wisely."

[2] " One Colvil hath sent the king the collection of the fortune to befall Gowrye upon his nativitie, written with the earle's hand, in French, at Orleans, and there found, containing that he should return, be in great credit, seek for a wife, and yet dye with his sword in his hand, before he should be married." *Nicolson to Cecil*, 22d November 1600. Paper-Office.—It would seem that the sorcerers with whom Gowrie conversed, differed in their opinion of his future fortunes. C.

And that the earle saide further, that it was no thing to make an herb flesh, which would dissolve in flies; and that, likewise it was possible that the seed of man and woman might be brought to perfection otherwise then by the matrix of the woman:[1] and that this deponer counselled the earle to bewar with whom he did communicate such speeches; who answered, that he would speak them to none but to great schollers, and that hee woulde not have spoken them to this deponer, if he had not knowne him to bee a favourer of him, and a friend of his house, and woulde not reveale the same again, seeing he knew they would be evill interpreted amongst the common sorte.

Sic subscribitur,

J. Weimis of Bogye.

Apud Falkland, 20 *August* 1600.

In presence of the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Advocate; Sir George Home of Spot, Sir Robert Melvill, and Sir James Melvill, knichts.

Maister William Rynd sworne and examined, and demanded, where he first did see the characters which were found uppon my lord? depones, that hee, having remained a space in Venice, at his returning to Padua, did finde in my lords pocket the characters which were found uppon him at his death; and the deponer enquyring of my lord, where he had gotten them? my lord answered, that by chance he had copied them him selfe; and that the deponer knows that the characters in Latin are my lords owne hand write, but he knows not if the Hebrew characters were written by my lord. Depones further, that, when my lorde woulde change his clothes, the deponer woulde take the characters out of my lords pocket, and woulde say to my lord, wherfore serves these? and my lord woulde answer, can yee not let them bee, they do you no evill: and further, the deponer declares, that sometimes my lord would forget them untill hee were out of his chamber, and would turn back as he were in an anger, untill he had found them, and put them in his owne pocket. Depones further, that he was sundrie times purposed to have burnt the characters, were not he feared my lords wrath and anger, seeing, when the deponer would purposelie leave them sometimes out of my lords pocket, my lord would be in such an anger with the deponer, that, for a certaine space, he woulde not speak with him, nor coulde finde his good countenance; and that, to this deponers opinion, my lord would never be content to want the characters off him selfe, from the first time that the deponer did see them at Padua, to the hour of my lords death.

[1] "While the doctrine of equivocal generation prevailed, this absurdity found credit. *Augustin.* l. iii. *de Trinitate,* c. vii. says, that magicians can speedily produce 'Animalia imperfecta, muscas, vermes, ranas et hujusmodi insecta, et alia quæ ex putrifactione nascuntur, non creando, sed activa passivis applicando." This opinion is followed by the rabble of schoolmen, and perhaps Gowrie might have attempted to produce so imperfect an animal as a fly, by the proper application of actives to passives.

"Of this *Paracelsus* speaks, 'Non parva dubitatio et questio inter aliquas ex antiquis Philosophis fuerit, an naturæ et arte possibile esset, hominem gigni extra corpus muliebri, et matricem naturalem? ad hoc respondeo, quod id arti spagyricæ (i. e. chemicæ) et naturæ nullo modo repugnat, immo autem possibile sit.' He subjoins the receipt at length; but it is so licentious, and so absurd, that I must be excused from inserting it in this work. It may however be observed, that, according to *Paracelsus,* men, formed by this *recipe,* need to learn nothing; for that, as they are made by art, they know every thing; an advantage which persons who come into the world in the natural way, never enjoy." C.

Being demanded for what cause my lord kept the characters so well? depones, that, in his opinion, it was for no good, because he heard that, in those parts where my lord was, they would give sundre folks breeves.

Depones further, that M. Patrick Galloway did let this deponer see the characters since he came to this town of Falkland, and that hee knowes them to be the verie same characters which my lord had.

Depones also, That, uppon Monday the fourth of August, the maister, Andrew Hendersoun, and the deponer, remained in my lords chamber, until about ten houres at even, and, after a long conference betwixt the lord and the maister, my lord called for Andrew Hendersoun, and, after some speeches with him, dismissed them.

Denies that he knew of the maistars or Andrew Hendersouns ryding to Falkland, and after Andrews return from Falkland upon the morrow, howbeit he did see him booted, yet he knew not that he was come from Falkland.

Depones, That my lord being at dinner when the maister came in, the deponer heard my lord say to the maister, Is the king in the Inshe? And with that he did rise, and said, Let us goe. But the deponer knowes not what the maister said to my lord.

Being demanded, If he did see anie kinde of armour or weapons, except swordes, in the kings companie? depones, That he did see none.

It being demanded, How the deponer was satisfied with my lords answer made to him concerning the kings comming to Sanct. Johnstoun, saying, that hee knewe not how hee come? declares, That hee thought my lord had dissembled with him, and that hee behooved to have knowne it, seeing his brother was come with his majestie before that hee demanded of him, and that he had confered with my lord privilie.

Depones, That hee knew not that the maister was ridden to Falkland, until after his majesties comming to Sanct. Johnstoun, that Andrew Ruthwen told him, because the deponer enquyred at Andrew Ruthwen, wher the maister and hee had bene, and that Andrew answered they had bene in Falkland; and that the maister having spoken with the king, his majestie come forward with them, and that this conference betwixt the deponer and Andrew Ruthwen was in the yarde, when my lord was there. And Andrew Ruthwen shew to the deponer, that Andrew Hendersoun was directed by the maister, to shew my lord that his majestie was comming.

Depones also, That, in his opinion, the maister could not have drawne the king to my lords house, without my lords knowledge; and that, when hee heard the tumult, he was resolved in his heart the maister had done his majestie wrong, and that no trewe christian can think otherwise, but that it was an high treason, attempted against his highnesse by the maister and the lord.[1]

Depones also, That, to his opinion, the kings whole companie was within a dozen of men.

Sic subscribitur, M. W. Rynd.

22 August 1600.

Maister William Rynd sworne and re-examined, If ever he heard the Earle of Gowrie utter his opinion anent the dutie of an wise man in the execution of an high enterprise? declares, That, being out of the countrie, hee has diverse times heard him reason in that matter; and that hee was ever of that opinion that hee was not an wise man, that, having intended the execution of an high and dangerous purpose, communicate the same to any but to him selfe, because, keeping it to him selfe, it could not be dis-

[1] By a letter from Nicolson to Cecill in the paper office, it appears that Rynd, the pedagogue, had been extremely *booted* (tortured) before his confessions.

covered nor disappointed;[1] which the deponer declared before, un-required, to the comptroller, and Maister William Cowper, minister at Perth; and, hearing the depositions of Andrew Hendersoun red, and being enquyred upon his conscience, What he thought of the fact that was committed against his majesty? declares, That upon his salvation, that he beleeves Andrew Hendersoun has declared the circumstances trulie.

Sic subscribitur, M. W. Rynd.

Apud Falkland, 20 August 1600.

In presence of the Lords Chancellar, Treasurer, Advocate, Comptrollar, and Sir George Home of Spot, Sir James Melvill, Knichts.

Andrew Hendersoun, sworne and examined, and demanded, What purpose was betwixt him and the Earle of Gowrie, uppon Monday at night the fourth of this instant, in the said earles chamber? depones, That the earle enquyred of him what he would be doing upon the morrow, and hee answering that he was to ryde to Ruthwen, the earle said to him, You must ryde to Falkland with Maister Alexander my brother, and, when hee directs you backe, see that ye returne with al diligence, if he send a letter or anie other advertisement with you?

Depones, That the maister directed him to send for Andrew Ruthwen, to be in readinesse to ryde with them the morrow at four houres in the morning.

Declares, That they comming to Falkland, about seven houres in the morning, the maister stayed in a ludging beside the palace, and directed the deponer to see what the king was doing; and, the deponer finding his majestie in the close comming forth, he past back and told the maister, who immediatlie addressed himselfe to his highnesse, and spake with his majestie a good space beneth the equerie; and, after his majestie was on horse-back, the maister commes to the deponer, and commands him to fetche their horses, and bade him haste him, as he loved my lords honour and his, and advertise my lord that his majestie and hee would be there incontinent, and that his majestie would be quiet; and, the deponer enquyring at the maister if he should go presentlie, hee did bid him leap on and followe him, and not go away untill he spake with the king; and the maister having spoken with the king, at a breach of the park wal, he turned backe and bade the deponer ride away; and the deponer making his return in al possible haste to Sanct-Johnstoun, he fand my lord in his chamber about ten houres, who left the companie hee was speaking with, and come to the deponer, and asked, Hath my brother sent a letter with you? the deponer answered, No, but they will be al heere incontinent, and bade the deponer desire my lord to cause prepare the dinner. Immediatlie therafter, my lord took the deponer to the cabinet, and asked at him, How his majestie took with the maister his brother? The deponer answered, Very well, and that his majestie laide his hand over the maisters shouldier. Thereafter my lord enquyred, If there was manie at the hunting with the king? the deponer answered, That he took no head, but they who were accustomed to ride with his majestie, and some Englishmen were there: and that my lord enquyred, What special men were with his majestie? and that the deponer answered, Hee did see none but my lord duke. And within an hour therafter, when the deponent came in from his owne house, the earle bid him put on his secreit and plait-sleeves, for he had an Heylandman to take, which the deponer did incontinent; and about twelve houres, when the deponer was going out to his owne house to his dinner, the steward came to him, and shewe him that George Craigingelt was not well, and was lyne down, desired him to tary and take up my lords dinner;

[1] This remarkable expression gives some clue to the earl's temper; which, moreover, the nature of his Italian studies evince to have been highly ambitious, and addicted to what was wonderful. The latter may serve to explain his running upon such high peril; the former the singularity of his using such slender means to execute his purpose.

and about half an hour after twelve, my lord commanded him to take up the first service; and, when the deponer was commanded to take up the second service, the maister and William Blair came into the hal to my lord.

The deponer remembreth him selfe, That Andrew Ruthwen came before the maister a certaine space, and spake with my lord quyetlie at the table, but heard not the particular purpose that was amongst them. And so soone as the maister came to the hal, my lord and the whole company raise from the table; and the deponer, hearing the noyes of their foorth-going, supponed they were going to make breakes for Makilduy;[1] and the deponer sent his boy for his gantlet and steil bonnet; and seing my lord passe to the Inshe, and not the Shoe-gate, the deponer did cast the gantlet in the pantrie, and caused his boy take his steil bonnet to his own house; and he followed my lord to the Inshe, and returning back with his majestie to the lodging, beeing directed to get drinke. And the maister came to the deponer, and did bid him cause Maister William Rynd send him up the key of the gallerie chamber, who past up and delivered the key to the maister; and immediatlie my lord followed up, and did speak with the maister, and came downe againe, and directed Maister Thomas Cranstoun to the deponer, to come to his lordship in his majesties chamber. And that my lord directed him to go up to the gallerie to his brother; and immediatlie my lord followed up, and commanded the deponer to byde there with his brother, and to doe anie thing that hee bade him. The deponer enquyred at the maister, What have yee to do, Sir? the maister answered, Yee must goe in heere, and tarry untill I come backe, for I will take the key with mee? so he lokked the deponer in the rounde[2] within the chamber, and took the key with him. Shortly therafter, the maister returned, and the kings majestie with him, to the saide cabinet in the rounde; and the maister, opening the dore, entered with the king into the said rounde; and at his verie entrie, covering his head, pulled out the deponers dagger, and held the same to his majesties breast, saying, Remember you of my fathers murther? Yee shall now die for it;[3] and minting to his hienes heart with the dagger, the deponer threw the same out of the maisters hand, and swore, that, as God shall judge his soule, if the maister had retained the dagger in his hand the space that a man may go six steppes, he would have striken the king to the hilts with it: but wanting the dagger,[4] and the kings majestie giving him a gentle answere, hee saide to the kings majestie with abominable oaths, That, if hee woulde keep silence, no thing sould aile him, if hee woulde make such promise to his brother as they would crave of him; and the kings majestie enquyring, What promise they would crave? he answered, That he would bring his brother. So he goes forth, and lokkes the dore of the rounde upon his majestie and the deponer, having first taken the king sworne that hee should not cry, nor open the windowe.

And his majestie enquyring at the deponer, What he was? he answered, A servant of my lords. And his majestie asking at the deponer, If my lord woulde doe anie evill to him? the deponer answered, As God shall judge my soule, I shall die first. And, the deponer preising to have opened the windoe, the maister entered, and said, Sir, there

[1] *i. e.* To make an assault on black MacDonald. The earl had told him he had a Highlander to apprehend.

[2] *i. e.* The round closet in the projecting turret. It opened from the gallery chamber.

[3] "These words are of the utmost moment; and yet Henderson, at the trial of the brothers, has omitted them; and, on the contrary, says, that Alexander used this expression, 'You must be my prisbner, remember on my father's death;' and that he threatened him with death if he cryed out.' 'C. Yet Mr Cant should have remembered the confusion into which Henderson must have been thrown, by the unexpectedness of such a scene, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining accurate testimony from him.

[4] "Henderson says, that he took the master's dagger out of his hand, and saved the king. the [king] he remembers it not."—*Nicolson to Cecil* 3. *September* 1600. *paper office.*—C.

is no remedie, by God, you must die;[1] and, having a loose garter in his hands, preissed to have bound his majesties hands, and the deponer pulled the garter out of maister Alexanders hand. And then the maister did put one of his hands in his majesties mouth, to have staied him to speak, and held his other arme about his hienes neck: and that this deponer pulled the maisters hand from his hienesse mouth, and opened the windoe; and then his majestie cried out therat, wherupon his hienes servant came in at the gate, and this deponer did run and open the dore of the turnpyke heade, whereat John Ramsay entered; and the deponer stoode in the chamber until he did see John Ramsay give the maister ane stroke, and thereafter privilie convoyed him selfe downe the turnpyke to his owne house; and the deponers wife enquyring of him, What the fraie meaned? the deponer answered, That the kings majestie would have been twise stikked, were not he releeved him.

Sic subscribitur. ANDREW HENDERSOUN, with my hand.

Further, the saide Andrew Hendersoun depones, That, after his returning from Falkland, upon the fifth of this instant, Maister John Montcrief enquiring of him where he had beene? he answered, That he had beene beyond the Bridge of Erne; and sayes, that he gave that answere to Maister John, because my lord commanded him to let no man knowe that he was to ride to Falkland; and that my lord's direction to him was to come backe with his brother Maister Alexander's answere, and to leave Andrew Ruthwen to await upon the maister.

Sic subscribitur,

ANDREW HENDERSOUN, with my hand.

Further, the saide Andrew Hendersoun depones, That, when hee had taken the maister's hand out of the king's majestie's mouth, and was opening the windoe, Maister Alexander said to him, Will thou not helpe? Woe betide thee, thou will make us all die.

Sic subscribitur,

ANDREW HENDERSOUN, with my hand.[2]

[1] In his subsequent evidence, Henderson omitted these words; this whole testimony is very minute, and has some curious traits of James's character. When Ruthven first entered, he put on his hat and drew the dagger. The king, when assured of his life, insisted on his pulling off his hat. Another minute circumstance is, that the king having promised not to open a window, or call for help, during Ruthven's absence, evaded his engagement, by commanding Henderson to open the shutter. He first applied himself to that which looked towards the garden and the spy tower. The king cried out, "Fie, the wrang window, man!" While he was opening that which looked into the court, Alexander Ruthven entered for the second time.

[2] The following curious particulars, many of them traditional, have been excerpted by Mr Cant, from Calderwood's MS. History, preserved in Glasgow College Library, and are less circumstantially detailed in the printed volume:

"This relation came not furth so full and in print, till a month after that it was perceived that many did not believe the reports that were made by word, or by particular information in write, which were amang themselves. When the bruit [noise] of the fact came to Edinburgh, upon Wednesday the 6th of August, by nine hours in the morning, and a letter from the king to the council at ten hours, the ministers of Edinburgh were charged to compear before the council, they compear, the king's letter was read, bearing that the king was delivered out of danger, and that therefore the ministers should be commanded to go to the kirk, convene the people, ring bells, and give praise to God. But before they could give their answer, the provost and some of the council were sent for by the lords of the secret council; and therefore they were dismissed before they made answer. In the mean time the ministers go to the east kirk to advise. They said they could not enter in particular defence of the treason, seeing the king made no mention of treason in his bill; and the reports of courtiers varied among themselves. While they are thus consulting, cometh a macer, and chargeth them to compear before the

lords of secret council. The Earl of Montrose, chancellor, desires them to go to the kirk to praise God for the king's miraculous delivery from that vile treason. They answered all in one voice, they were not certain of the treason, and therefore could make no mention of it, but would say in general, that he was delivered from a great danger, or otherwise if their honours would give them leisure till they got the certainty, they should not only blaze the treason, but also be content that his house were made a jekes. The Lords said it should be sufficient to read his majesty's letter. They answered, they could not read his letter and doubt of the truth of it. It were better to say generally, if the report be true. The lords of secret council would not be content with *ifs* and *ands*. In the mean time cometh in Mr David Lindsay, and sheweth that he had been at Falkland, and telleth the history of the fact. It was thought meet, in respect he heard the narration out of the king's own mouth, that he, instead of the rest, should give praise to God. The consent of the ministers was craved. Mr Robert Bruce answered, if he spoke the truth as he would be answerable to God, he was well content. So Mr David went with the lords of council to the market-cross of Edinburgh, and after he had made an harangue for the purpose, the people, with discovered heads, praised God; the bells rang; the cannon of the castle shot between three and four in the afternoon; and bonefires were set out before every house that night. The ministers thought the council had been satisfied, but they report hardly of them to the king.

" The same night, the 6th of August, the master of Orkney and Sir James Sandilands, with some horsemen, rode to Dirleton to apprehend the Earl of Gowrie's two brethren William and Patrick Ruthvens, but they were removed half an hour before, after advertisement made from court by one Kennedy. The Countess of Gowrie carried herself soberly, till it was said no evil should betide them, but only they should be committed to the custody of the Earl of Montrose chancellour; then she burst forth in these words, 'Ah, ah! false traitor thief, shall my bairns come in his hands!'

" This night bonefires were set out upon Arthur's Seat, Fawside Hill, and all high places far and near on this and the other side of the water. Because many doubted of the report that was made by the king and courtiers, many means were used to make good the report with presumptions and testimonies which were gathered out of the depositions of some persons who were examined upon the ninth of August.

" In the first proclamation after the slaughter, the armed man who should have assisted Mr Alexander, in the study, to slay the king, was named Oliphant, and described to be a black grim man; but when that could not be made out, they named others, Leslie, and sometimes Younger. This Younger, servitor to the Earl of Gowrie, was in Dundee when the fact was committed. When he heard that it was bruited [noised] that he was the man, he addresseth to come to Falkland to the king to purge himself, but was slain by the way by Captain Hary Bruce (now colonel) in a corn-rig; and, when he was brought to the cross of Falkland, Mr Patrick Galloway said to the king, 'Now, sir, the man who should have helped to have done the deed, he could not be gotten alive, but there he lies dead:' and yet Mr Patrick, as was constantly reported, moved Mr Andrew Henderson to take upon him that he was the armed man who should have assisted Mr Alexander. Certain it is, that Mr Patrick and he were familiar of old; because he, being Gowrie's chamberlain, paid to Mr Patrick a pension out of the abbacy of Scone. His pension was afterwards doubled by the king, whereby the suspicion was confirmed, as also by reason he was not a black grim man, as was described in the proclamation, but a man of lower stature, ruddy countenance, and brown-bearded, it was collected that he could not be the man: yea, the king himself, being demanded, the day after the fact, while he was at the hunting, by ——— Goodman of Pitmenie, Whether Andrew Henderson was the man? answered, 'That it was not he, he knew that smack well enough.'

" Upon Monday the 11th of August, the king went over the water, landed at Leith, and was attended by the citizens of Edinburgh under arms. Mr David Lindsay, minister at Leith, attendeth him to the kirk; exhorteth him, after thanksgiving, to perform his vows made before times of performance of justice. At which words he smiled, and talked with these that were about him, after his unreverent manner of behaviour at sermons. Thereafter he went up to Edinburgh, where Mr Patrick Galloway made a sermon to the people convened, about the cross and the king, an harangue both tending to persuade the people, that Gowrie and his brother had verily conspired the king's death, and were slain in the execution of the enterprize. His harangue did not persuade many, partly because others were named before Henderson to be the armed man in the study, viz. Oliphant, Leslie, and Younger, who was slain.

" Upon Tuesday the 12th of August, the ministers of Edinburgh were charged, by a macer, to compear before the king and council. The king demanded at Mr Robert Bruce, in name of the rest, Why they disobeyed him and his council, and would not praise God for his delivery? They answered, They had not disobeyed, but were all ready to have praised God for his delivery generally, as they did upon the Sabbath immediately following; but they could not descend into particulars to qualify what sort of danger it was, in respect they had no certainty. Had ye not my letter, says the king, to shew you the certainty? Sir, said Mr Robert, your letter did bear no particular, but made mention only of a danger in general, and we were content to follow it. Could not my council, said the king, assure you of the particulars? Withall addresseth himself to the president, assured ye not them, says he to the president? The president answered, Yes, sir, we all assured them of the certainty of the treason. Sir, with their honours leave, said Mr Robert, they had received no information, except David Moyse's bill, and John Graham of Balgonie, his report, who came in the mean time when the lords were sitting in council, and the two reports did so fight against one another, that no man could find any certainty. The secretary riseth up, and said they agreed very well. The President said the like. Mr Robert answered, He had David Moyse's letter to shew, which testify the contrary. The king asked at last, How are ye yet persuaded? Ye have

heard me, ye have heard my minister, [Mr Galloway, who was made chaplain], ye have heard my council, ye have heard the Earl of Mar touching the report of this treason; whether are ye yet fully persuaded or not? Surely, Sir, says Mr Robert, I would have further light before I preached it to persuade the people; if I were but a private subject, not a pastor, I could rest upon your majesty's report as others do. Then the king asked Mr James Balfour, are ye fully persuaded? He answered, I shall speak nothing to the contrary, Sir. But are ye not persuaded, says the king? Not yet, Sir, said he. Mr William Watson answered after the same manner. Mr Walter Balcanqual said, that he would affirm all that Mr David Lindsay preached in the pulpit, in presence of his majesty, yesterday. What said Mr David, said the king. Mr David, said he, founded himself upon your majesty's report, and made a faithful rehearsal of your report; and so shall we. Think ye, said the king, that Mr David doubted of my report? Mr David was sent for incontinent. He said unto him, are ye not certainly persuaded of this treason? Yes, Sir, says he, I am persuaded in conscience of it. Now, says the king, are ye surely persuaded indeed. Sir, says he, I would have farther time and light. Then the king asked at Mr James Hall, are ye fully persuaded? He answered, I would have the civil trial going before, Sir, that I may be persuaded. Then the king asked at Mr Peter Hewit, whether are ye yet persuaded or not? Sir, says he, I suspect not your proclamation. But whether believe ye it or not, says the king? The president, said he, heard what I said the last Sabbath. The president began to justify him. But the king insisted, saying, let me hear him myself. Whether believe ye my proclamation, or not? says the king. Sir, says he, I believe it. So they were all removed. And after a great space, the macer cometh to them with a roll in hand, wherein all their names were written, and a score drawn upon Mr Peter and Mr George Robertson's name. Mr George and Mr Peter were not called in; the rest were called. The chancellor pronounces the sentence; first, they are discharged preaching, under pain of death, throughout all the king's dominions: Next, they were charged to remove out of Edinburgh within forty-eight hours after the charge, and not to come near Edinburgh by the space of ten miles, under the pain of death. They thanked the Lord heartily, and said their sentence was very welcome; and so departed out of the council-house. Upon the day following, they gave in a new supplication to the council with common consent, wherein they offered three things: 1st, To give God thanks for his majesty's delivery most heartily; 2dly, To make faithful report, as his majesty had delivered to them, of the whole history touching the treason; 3dly, They offered to speak nothing in the contrar, but to do all the good offices which might serve to nourish his majesty's credit and estimation in the hearts of the people. Every man who saw it thought their supplication could not be refused, yet was it refused; and answered upon the back after this manner, that they should confess a fault, and crave his majesty's pardon most humbly. Next, That they should esteem the history of this treason an undoubted truth, and publish it as an undoubted truth to their flocks. They seeing their bills refused, craved prorogation of their day, that they might have further light; which was refused also. So upon Thursday, in the morning, the 14th August, they departed off the town.

"This occasion was gripped at to overthrow the ministry of Edinburgh, which crossed the court in all their evil proceedings, and was a terror to the session, nobility, and others of the land, to restrain from impiety, injustice, and all wickedness. Mr Robert Bruce especially was hated for his uprightness, and opposition to the episcopal course, for which cause he was never suffered to return to Edinburgh again to this hour; so the king and council usurped the place and authority of the kirk, and deprived them of the exercise of the ministry within the country by their own authority.

"Much labour was taken to get confirmation of the report which was made by the witnesses, at least by presumptions grounded upon former evil practices wherewith the earl was burthened, that it might be thought the more probable. Mr William Rhind, his pedagogue at the schools, both at home and in Italy, was tortured in the boots, where he got chops so that his legs were crushed, and he sorely tormented; but they could never extort out of him any privity or knowledge of the fact.

"The discourse and depositions coming forth in print, for satisfaction of the people, ministred occasion of censure, siftingly weighing the probability and likelihood, and by conferring the discourse and depositions with themselves, and with the harangues made by Mr Patrick Galloway, as with the reports that went abroad.

"It was thought strange, that two youths, of so good education and great expectation, should upon a sudden fall to the extremity of wickedness and villainy. The earl was brought up under Mr Robert Rollock, and was dearly beloved to him by his good behaviour, and the virtues which appeared to be in him. After the earl past his course, the master succeeded in the same education. The earl, soon after he came from the schools, went to Italy, applied himself to his studies in Padua, wherein he profited so well, that for the estimation they had of his learning, besides his virtues and good carriage, that he was made rector for a year in the university of Padua, where his name and arms are yet to be seen. Returning homewards, he staid in Geneva a quarter of a year, where he lodged in the house of Mr Beza, who loved him so dearly, that he never made mention, nor heard of his death, but with tears. Out of Geneva he sent a letter to his old master Mr Robert Rollock, wherein he gave tokens of his zeal to religion, and shewed the great contentment he had in the fellowship with Mr Beza, and other learned men there. Mr Beza, within a year after the fact, wrote to the two exiled and distressed brethren, William and Patrick, and offered them sure receipt and harbour in Geneva, if it pleased them to accept of it.

"It was thought strange, that they should invite the king to their own house, and there attempt any thing against his life. How could they be but accountable for the king, he coming within their gates, yea, and invited to come, as is alleged in the discourse?

"The pretence of the invitation, viz. to see a pot of gold, or foreign coin in gold, seemed not a device fit to be propounded to the king, in such a manner that he must come in person to see it, as if the king might not com-

mit the credit of such a matter to another. How could the king suspect that it was foreign coin brought in by some practising Papists to be distributed in the country, as is alleged in the discourse? Could such a quantity of gold, portable in a pot, or in a man's arm, disturb the peace of the country?

" If the king suspected that the fellow that carried it was some Scotish priest, or seminary disguised, why did the Latin edition conceal, that he was suspected to be a Scotish priest or seminary? It may be the Papists would have said it was a lie.

" If Mr Alexander was miscontent with the king's delay, and protested he feared the king's long delay and slowness of resolution would breed leisure to the fellow who was bound to cry and make such a din as would disappoint the secrecy of the purpose, might not the king, or any man, have thought, that the fellow had leisure enough to cry before the master came to him? And siclike when they came to Perth, if it was to be feared, why went they not directly first to the fellow with the treasure?

" If the king, in the way betwixt Falkland and St Johnstoun, when Mr Alexander, after the king's conference with the duke, was so earnest that none should be suffered to go with the king to the place where the fellow was, till he had seen him, began to suspect some treasonable device, why went the king forward with such a suspicion, suppose never so light, for so feckless [trivial] a matter?

" If the earl was advertised that the king was coming to dinner, before the king came, why was there not better cheer prepared if it had been but to colour the enterprise? If the king suspected some treasonable device, how could he go whither Mr Alexander led him, not staying upon Sir Thomas Erskine, whom he did call for, or some other? How could his fear but increase, perceiving Alexander ever to lock the doors after them? It was thought a foolish thing in Mr Alexander, and unlikely, to hold the point of a dagger to the king's breast, and then stay upon parley.

" If the king had but his hunting horn about him, and Mr Alexander a sword, how could the king go alone with him, suspecting any treasonable device? If Mr Alexander threatened the king with the dagger, what assurance had he that the king would behave himself, till he went out and brought his brother? or how could he rely upon an oath extorted through fear? If the armed man in the study, who should have been the executioner, trembled and quaked like a condemned man, how could Mr Alexander leave him to be the king's keeper, till he came back again?

" It was thought strange that a man should be employed to be executioner of such a purpose, and not be made acquaint with it before, but to be put in by force, not knowing for what end.

" If Mr Alexander had a sword when he returned to the study, it was thought a foolish thing to present a garter to bind the king, the matter requiring speedy execution; and if he presented a dagger at the first time, his purpose has been to shed blood, which could not but be marked, and therefore the report of strangling, and of a cave to put him in, was very unlikely.

" It was thought a very unfit time to execute the enterprise, while the king's train was passing by under the window, and when they might have heard the noise.

" It was thought strange and unlikely, that the king should draw Mr Alexander, that was thrice as strong, to the window, bring him per force out of the study, and drive him back per force to the door of the turnpike. Mr Patrick Galloway in his harangue calleth this a miracle. Many wonder why Mr Alexander was not preserved alive and brought to trial, if he was guilty of any such enterprise; for when Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hugh Herries met him in the stair, he had been sore wounded by Sir John Ramsay, his sword not drawn, and having no dagger in his hand, might not such a man wounded, and in a manner unarmed, thrust and shot down at pleasure, easily have been taken? the earl likewise, after he was stricken, might have been preserved alive.

" If the armed man trembled and quaked, when Mr Alexander held the point of the dagger to the king's breast, how could Andrew Henderson, who alleged he was the armed man, throw the dagger out of Mr Alexander's hand, being a strong man, and he trembling and quaking? If Mr Henderson threw the dagger out of the master's hand, as he allegeth in his deposition, how could the master trust him with the keeping of the king, till he returned, as the discourse relateth? Henderson deponeth, that he pulled the master's hand from the king's mouth, and opened the window, and the king cried out. The discourse relateth, that the armed man opened the window before Mr Alexander returned again; and that the king drew Mr Alexander per force to the window, which he had caused the other man open per force before; and the Latin discourse addeth, that he called upon some of the king's servants, if any had been in the streets. Mr Galloway, in his harangue at the cross, reporteth, that the armed man was standing with a drawn dagger in his hand to do this filthy turn. The discourse relateth, that Mr Alexander drew the dagger from the man's girdle. Mr Patrick in his harangue reporteth, that the master locked the study door behind him, when he came last in. In the discourse it is said, that the master, for haste, left the study-door open at his last incoming, and that therefore the king, wrestling with Mr Alexander, brought him per force out of the study, the door being left open by Mr Alexander.

" Besides these considerations, rising upon the conferring of the discourse, Henderson's deposition, and Mr Patrick Galloway's harangue, there were others grounded upon certain reports, which follow.

" When it was told the king, after the earl's home-coming, that he rode up the causeway of Edinburgh with a great company of his friends, the king, in a great anger, said, There were many with his *father* when he was convoyed to the scaffold.

" At the convention, which was holden shortly after the earl's home-coming, the earl leaning upon the back of

the king's chair, while the king was at his breakfast, the king entered in conference with him upon dogs and hawks, indeed he asked at him, what would make a woman part with child. The earl answered, Sundry things; but especially, if a woman with child get a fray [fright]. Then the king, after a scornful laughter, said, If that had been true, my lord, I had not been sitting here, and so called to remembrance the slaughter of Signior David, whereat his goodsire [grandfather] was a chief actor. When at the convention, he crossed the king's intention about the taxation, a courtier, (Sir David Murray, now Lord Scone,) as is reported, said in the audience of sundry, Yonder is an unhappy man; they are but seeking occasion of his death, which now he has given.

"When the king challenged the earl for looking down upon Colonel Stewart, the man who apprehended his father, who was executed at Stirling, he answered, Sir, I shall never seek him; but it is not seemly he should cross my teeth.

"Dr Herris, being offended at Mrs Beatrix, the earl's sister, one of the queen's dames, for laughing at his bowt foot, taketh her by the hand, looketh upon her loof, [palm] and said, Mistress, ere it be long, a great disaster shall befall you.

"While the earl was in Strathban, fifteen days before the fact, the king wrote sundry letters to the earl, desiring him to come and hunt with him in the wood of Falkland, which letters were found in my Jord's pocket at his death, as is reported, but were destroyed. Two days before the slaughter, Mr William Ruthven, the earl's brother, was written for by the king to meet him at Perth, upon the 5th of August. The earl intended a journey to Lothian upon the 5th of August, of purpose to intreat his mother to hold house with him; but was stayed by Mr Alexander's going to Falkland, waiting upon his returning, as also he was looked for in Seaton, about the same time, to come to see her, who was after countess of Angus, there being among them a purpose of match.

"The earl, being at dinner when he heard the king was coming, and at hand, said, What sorrow meaneth all this haste, and indeed was not well pleased with himself for the bad cheer was made, and excused himself to the king, that he looked not for him, till less than an hour before he came. The earl his cloak was bound about him with strings when he went out to the Inch to meet the king, and siclike when he encountered with Sir Thomas Erskine in time of the fray, and made him at first unwieldy.

"The earl in time of the fray went up the quiet turnpike, not always condemned before as was alleged, because his brother Alexander was lying dead in it. None went up this stair with the earl but only Mr Thomas Cranston, not seven or eight, as is alleged in the discourse and Mr Patrick's harangue. Hugh Moncreif and Patrick Eviot went up after my lord was slain, and were driven back by the king's servants. The earl's officer of Strathban, named Baron, drew a sword in the close, but went not up the stair. Mr Alexander Ruthven of Forgun went not within the gate, because he had neither sword nor whinger, neither yet had he when he threw Sir Thomas Erskine to the ground with the violence of a buffet, when he was in hands with the earl. But when he understood that the earl was slain, he came again, and cried up:—'Come down, thou son of Sig. David, thou hast slain an honester man than thyself.' Yet many years after he got the king's peace, and died in peace. George Craigengelt lying ill at ease, came not till the deed was done. When he heard the noise, he rose and came to the close, and cried up with the rest of the town there convened:—'Give us our provost, or the king's green coat shall pay for it.' It is reported, that Henderson was eating an egg in the kitchen, and when the fray raiseth, went into the town; and that his wife was heard to cry, Blessed be God, my husband was not amongst them. Andrew Ruthven, and George Dewar the earl's carter, neither had nor drew weapons. Mr Robert Oliphant was not in St Johnstoun at the time. Henry Younger was in Dundee. The earl's porter now serveth Lord Scone, and Dogie is his waiter.

"When the master was found dead, he had neither whinger nor dagger, and the rapier he had was so rusted in the scabbard, that scarce two men could pull it out per force.

"The stricker of the earl is not well known; for Mr Thomas Cranston was betwixt John Ramsay and him, and one of them that viewed his body that night perceived, by the entry of the stroke or wound, that he was stricken behind his back.

"The laird of Tullibardine, and a number of the surname of Murray, were in St Johnstoun that day at a bridal of one named George Murray, whether of set purpose let the reader judge, for the Murrays of Strathern, of the house of Tullibardine and Balvaird, have gotten his offices and lands, lying in these parts, divided among them. Tullibardine, the sheriffship of Perth. Sir Mungo Murray, his brother, the house of Ruthven, and lands belonging thereto. Sir David Murray, the house of Balvaird, the abbacy of Scone, and now is provost of St Johnstoun.

"It is reported, that Tullibardine, coming to the close of the lodging after the fact was committed, danced for joy; but little cause has he to dance at this hour.

"When it could not be made out that ane called Leslie, another called Gray, a third called Oliphant, was the armed man in the study, it was laid upon one called Henry Younger, who was in Dundee when the fact was committed, and he was coming to Falkland to make his purgation to the king, a commission was given to Baron Lindsay, or ane Barclay's brother, to apprehend him. They being on the fields with Harry Bruce, now called Colonel Bruce, the poor man seeing them, fled among the corn to hide himself. Harry Bruce, finding him, thrust a rapier through him, and so slew him. He was brought to the cross of Falkland. Then Mr Patrick Galloway, preaching before the king, said, 'Thank God, sir, the traitor, that should have slain you, could not be gotten quick, but he was gotten dead.' But as soon as it was tried, and constantly reported that the man was at Dundee when the deed

was done, it was laid upon Andrew Henderson, the Earl of Gowrie's chamberlain, that he was the armed man that was in the study, and that he convoyed himself privily down the stair, after Sir John Ramsay had stricken Mr Alexander. But Sir Thomas Erskine and Dr Hugh Herries came incontinent to the stair, and dispatched Mr Alexander, saw him not coming down the stair, or out of the turnpike, or any other that we have yet heard of. So invisible was he in that fray and tumult, as was not unknown to the king himself before, and if he had, a wonder it is that the king did not ask his name, when he was with him above in the study. But they behoved to guess at sundry names, before they came to his. Mr Patrick Galloway, well acquainted with him before, by reason of a pension which he paid to him out of the abbacy of Scone, doubled it after to him for his service at this time; he pleaded for him against every man, that he ought not to suffer death. Howbeit, it stood to the king's credit, that he should make confession upon the scaffold.

"When it was told Mr Patrick, that Mr Robert Bruce would not believe, unless Andrew Henderson were put to death, and take upon his conscience at his death, that he was the alleged man in the study; Mr Patrick said to the king, Sir, nothing will satisfy yon man, but the life of him who saved your life; therefore, sir, ye shall first hang Andrew Henderson for treason, and Mr Robert Bruce for not believing.

"Upon Saturday the 23d of August, Mr Thomas Cranstoun, George Craigengelt, and John Baron officer of Strathban, attenders upon the Earl of Gowrie, were hanged in St Johnstoun for drawing swords in time of the tumult, yet confessed they nothing which might smell of knowledge of any conspiracy. Mr Thomas Cranstoun, brother to Sir John Cranstoun of that ilk, exhorted the people to forbear imprecations against themselves; for he had now found by experience, that they wanted not their own effect, for he himself had used three kinds of imprecations, viz. God nor a sword go through *me*! I shall be tane for a traitor! God, nor I be hanged! I have been taken, said he, for a traitor, but I thank God, I am not one. I was stabbed through with a sword at this last tumult, and now I am to be hanged. He conceived a fervent prayer, and died.

"All the ministers of Edinburgh, Robert Bruce only excepted, intimidated by the displeasure of the king and court, and deprivatiou of their ministry, entered into the king's views, declared themselves satisfied with the king's account of the conspiracy, and were ordered to several kirks to publish their recantation, as a punishment of their incredulity. Galloway, the king's chaplain, was their intercessor, to whom they meanly applied. He was Bruce's determined enemy, and influenced the king against him. After all his endeavours from every quarter to find the two brothers traitors, after hearing the Earl of Mar and Sir Thomas Erskine both his friends, Bruce remained unsatisfied, and declared, that he could not, with a safe conscience before God, affirm with his mouth what his heart did not approve. But in his letter to the king, about eight days before he left the kingdom, he says, 'Hearing that your majesty was nothing relented of your former wrath against me, and being now upon the point to shew my obedience to your majesty's last charge, I could not omit this, as my last duty, to entreat your highness' clemency to mitigate the extremity of this wrath. I am not ignorant of that speech, that *the wrath of the prince is the messenger of death;* so that I crave that the Lord, for Christ's sake, may add his blessing, and work effectually in your majesty, as shall be expedient for his own glory, and your majesty's perpetual preservation. Then, to be short, to show my conformity with the rest of my brethren in the ministry, as at all times so now, especially my reverence to your majesty, and to clear my suspected affection herein, I offer to give to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in him, and through him, most hearty thanks for all your deliverances, from your cradle to this present hour, but mainly for that deliverance which he granted to your majesty in St Johnstoun, on Tuesday the 5th of August, far above all our deserts and your majesty's expectations. I offer also to stir up the people to that same duty, and attour to divert the people, so far as lies in me, from their lewd opinions and uncharitable constructions anent your actions, and namely in this turn. Finally, there is no duty your majesty can crave of me, without the manifest offence of God, and hurt of my own conscience, but I will do it with as good a heart as ever I did any thing in this earth, that if, by any means, I might testify my good affection towards your majesty, my sovereign, and enjoy my natural air, and such other comforts as the Lord hath given me under your majesty's reign, which I most humbly crave of your majesty, beseeching the Lord to move your heart herein, for his Christ's sake, so awaiting for your highness' answer, in all humility I take my leave.'

"Nothing would satisfy the king but a declaration, that he was now satisfied, his doubts resolved, and a profession of his repentance, after the manner of his brethren. But he resolved to risk life, and every thing dear to him, to keep a clear conscience; he went on board on the 4th, and arrived safe at Dieppe, in France, on the 8th November."

Bellum Grammaticale: A Discourse of great War and Dissention betwene two worthy Princes, the NOUNE *and the* VERBE, *contending for the chefe Place or Dignitie in Oration. Very pleasant and profitable.*

Turned into English by W. H.

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LECTORI.

SYTH time permits, refuse not, nor disdaine
To learne aright such things as here be founde:
For why? this author first herein did take the paine,
Hereby to shewe of grammar rules the ground.
In order good thy workes will then appeare,
And from right rule not seeme to swarve a jote,
If all the actes of these atchieved here
Accordingly thou well do weigh and note.
Come nigh therfore (I say) and take a taste
Of pleasant liquours here detected plaine,
If that thou covet speedily in haste,
Of Latine stile to choose the fruitefull graine:
For all things fade, as brouches, golde and stone,
When vertue swimmes, and scapes to shore alone.

To the Right Worshipfull Master Thomas Powle, Esquier, Clerke of the Crowne in the Queenes Majesties honourable Courte of Chauncerie, and one of the Six Clerkes of the same, William Hayward wisheth health, with long life and prosperity.

As Seneca shamed not to recite the worthy saying of the poete Hesiodus, so I doubt not but I may also (from so sufficient authoritie, as by Seneca himselfe, in a certaine epistle by him alledged) partly seeme to overthrowe that most horrible monster Ingratitude, and thoroughly to displace so unnaturall affection, before he shall by entertainment in so simple an one as I, (not able to be thankful) cause any part of oblivion for the benefites that have bene towards me in any part extended: For (as I remember) he saith: *Nullum officium magis quàm referenda gratia, necessarium*, that no duetie is more necessary than rendred thanks to those that have ministred such ample benefits as some have bestowed: and to render thankes (saith he) with greater mesure than they used to receyve commodities. For, as Cicero saith, *Lib.* 1. *De Officiis*, If rendred thanks be due to suche of whome we hope to be benefited, howe muche more then is due to those by whom we have had already profit? Which albeit that I of myself in every point am moste unable to do, yet good will of overmeasuring (if possibilitie were in me) shall not seeme utterly to be absent, neither thinking that I can or am able to make any shewe of

remuneration, and for that my insufficiencie is such as it is, it might seme on my part but presumption to attribute any suche worthinesse unto him, that is altogether voide of desiring any such pre-eminence. Yet among diverse and sundry practises that by my poore industrie I have attempted, considering that commoditie and friendly aide that your worship hath procured by your laborous travaile toward that company, of which I am a member: and then waying my greate unabilitie to requite in any way the least parte of your manyfold curtesies, I was dismayed to represent in this place any part of them, least I should seeme of the wise too greedie of commendation. But being imboldened with your favourable benevolence, and accustomed courteous lenitie imployed towards all men; and making bolde of your woonted good will, that is (and ever hath bene) ready to accepte a simple thing proffered and freely given rather than to reject and cast off that which is meerely grounded of poor simplicitie, after I had perused the rable of my poore labours, founde among them this one, which then I was encoraged to dedicate unto your gentlenesse, not for the worthinesse therof as concerning my labor, but considering your worships minde often tymes with serious matters to bee encombred both in carefulnesse toward the weale publike according to your office, as also for the benefits of such poore men as I. Some thing therefore after your earnest businesse, to revive and recreate your wearied minde with honest, lerned, and profitable mirth, I have presumed to offer this my little labour unto your learned eares, it being the first fruites of an unproined orcharde, in reading wherof, (notwithstanding the unsaverie sappe of sundry water boughes) may appeare both learned and fruitfull matter. And therfore I chiefly tooke upon me to translate the same oute of the French tong, as earst it was, for the like pleasure and pithinesse cause turned from out of Latin into French, in which tong it was first (by a righte learned and famous man) written and invented. In which devise is contained a most perfect shew of horrible and bitter contentions in the most fertile region and countrey of grammar, by variance that grew betwixte two high and mightie princes, possessors of the same, the Noune and the Verbe. Nomen, with his substantives, and adjectives, commons and propers; with also the nobles of the house of Masculines, with the worthinesse of the genealogie of Feminines, neutres, doubtfulles, and epicines; the Heteroclites, with their noble captaines, and gentlemen, the defectives, and redundantes, with his moste mighty brother the Pronoune, and his sworne stoute warriors the gentiles. Agayne Verbum with his nobles, with the participles, modes, and tenses, with gerundes and supins, in the great fielde of conjunctions, contending where they met for superiority in governement. Wherein although but spoken *allegoricè*, or rather written by the figure Hypothesis, sheweth in part the troubles of a fained common-weale by intestine and civile contention sprong up in the same. With such pleasant metamorphosis and ardent allegories, the ancient poets used to beautifie their workes, as Demosthenes, who used suche covert fable against Philip, (that required ten of the Atheni-enses oratours,) saying, how the wolfe persuaded and besought the shephierdes to tie up their doggs, and so to joyne with them in friendship. Which, when the shephierdes had granted, the wolfe then as it were with a covered and licensed crafty crueltie spoiled their flocks. So wrote Esope, Horace, and divers other, which although but in part as fables, (as this after a sort is,) is yet in some respect duly to be noted, as Saint Ambrose affirmeth, saying: *etsi fabula vim veritatis non habeat, tamen rationem habet ut juxta eam veritas manifestari possit;* that is, allthough a fable have not the strength of the truth, yet hath it a reason, that by it the truth may be uttered. Such was the manner of philosophers, as Aulus Gellius sayth, to allure men's mindes to the understandingof the trueth. Which thing now as it is but fained, yet knowyng it to be devised of so learned a man at the first, thought with myselfe, that those whiche had capacitie mighte reape some fruite of his travellous toyles. And agayne, supposing that if the same wer englished, some might the easlier gather the sense of the first author. Therfore as the translatour thereof out of Latine did for the recreation of a noble personage labor in the same, so I for the pleasant

profite of sundry of my countrey men, so duely as I coulde after my president, turned it into Englishe. And therefore as first and chiefest, (it being also the first of my labours,) I exhibite it to your worshipe, not as a gift, (for any part of my deserving,) worthie to be received; but by way of duetie offered, of meere good will, making you the patron of this my first enterprised attempt; choosing rather to suffer the reproche of the wise, and the curious carping checke of Momus and his mates, with the pernicious taunt of privie parasites, than to seem altogether oblivious of my dutie, and so be accounted ingratefull. Which poore and slender thing, if it please your worship to receyve with a friendly aspect at my simple handes, your favorable encouragement shall hereafter procure me to finishe some greater effect to the benefite of my countreymen, (I meane such as are desirous to employe their labour in reading;) and in especially to manifest Gods doing in me, whom in the meane season I beseech to conduct and guide youre goodnesse forth in that well doing that he hath alreadie begon in you (in the suppression of godlesse games, the very nourice of noughtinesse; the sufferance of which are the decay of commonwealthes, the corruption of youth, the breach of brotherhead and all true dealing.) I ceasse to speake of such singularitie as all men shall see ensue of your dayly endevours, and of that due commendation that may be sayd of your princely practice, that maynteyner of honest exercise; whereof right worthily your worship is maister, being a most perfect president in that practice, (I mean of that laudable auncient and noble science of shooting in the long bowe,) for every one to folowe in effect. The necessary use wherof, howe needefull it is to be looked to, howe beneficiall the use thereof hath beene to this our countrey, howe daungerous the neglecting thereof is, and howe hurtfull the lacke of usyng the same of our youth in Englande hath bene, is too apparaunt. The Almightie ease us, whome I beseeche so to endue you with present consolation hoped for in Chryste, in thys lyfe, your dayes may be long; and that after this life, youre lotte, (as David sayeth,) may fal in a good ground, that is, in lyfe everlasting. Amen.

Your worships dayly welwisher,

WILLIAM HAYWARDE.

The Preface upon the historicall Discourse of the Grammar Warre, first made in Latin by the learned Lord Andrew Guarna of Salerne, and after translated into Frenche, and now for the Worthinesse of the Historie turned into English.

The first and auncient philosophers that wrote their poesies covertly hidden under subtile and wily matter, dydde constitute Pallas the daughter of Jupiter, borne in his soveraigne heade to be goddesse of wisdome sayd Minerve, and of warre, call'd Enyo or Bellona. Gyving hereby to understande, that of one and the same beginning, in one time altogether and in one substance, are two principall things inseperately joyned together; which two properties are so knitte, that the one wythout the other is of no force, and the other without his fellow, of smal or no accompt; yea, they are the principles whereby men attayne to the top of honoure, and famous felicitie, advauncing meane men to honour in their life time, and immortal fame after death. They are learnyng and martial prowesse. Of these two together noble Grece, made separation in his two metropolitanes, when the citie of Athens florished in learning, and the citie of Sparta or Lacedæmonia, glorious in feates of armes. The noble fame of the Romains grew by the one, and by the other they did alwayes defend them, to that they dyd successively greately sette store by them. The worthy, valiaunt, and myghtie eloquent Cæsar, was decored with them bothe, and by them dyd eternise hys renoune. Beholde, (gentle reader,) nowe these two so worthie things, whiche are no lesse principalls to the government of empires, realmes, reipublikes, and for all estates of the world to be aptely

understode, which did so much ennoble Grece, so gretly honour the Romaines, and eternise the fame of the great Cæsar, are in this present small volume comprised, compact together by the industrious and pleasaunt artifice of the firste author, under an angry argument, and historicall narration of the grammar warre, of this pleasaunt and figured historie, no lesse profitable than delectable. Lucian, an eloquent Greke author, made the first draughtes in the battayle of the alphabet letters; but this author hath waded further even unto verbes and nounes, being principall heades of oration, and to the adherents of speach, as well to the congruate worde, (being the opener and the declarative of the sense,) as otherwise, wherin resteth al arte and knowledge, wherein also all the wisedome of man is comprised; shaping and fourming these two heades, and the auxiliate ayding parties with such fayned personages and pretie properties so apt, and to them so quicke in qualitie, that hee giveth life, bodie, weapon, and armour, to deade wordes, yea, and sounding voice, to substances inanimate and without soule: So that the reader in the lecture of this, (though fayned) narration and dreadful discoverie, shall deeme them no more to be vocall wordes, but by a strong judgement shall thinke them dapperlye disguised, being transfourmed into livlie persones, going, speaking, and sharply resoning with continual terrors of martiall expedicion and exploites, with allegoricall conflictes of bloudie battaile, not onelie in hostile contencion abroade, but also in civile, yea, and intestine warres at home; so that in the discoverie hereof he is nothing oblivious of anye thing that appertaineth to the deduction and safe guiding of so great affaires, even from the first causes and entermixed medlies of their adventures, unto the last ende of all their attemptes and endevors, with all their circumstances, all their tumults and uproares, with their doubtfulnesse of victory among manie martialistes, how of bloudie battaile divers losse and daungers doe followe, and how in the ende finall peace ensueth. All which matters be so properlie penned, and so cunningly compact in this tragedie, that the warres of the Peloponnenses, and the civile warres of the Affricanes in Thucide, in Salust, and Lucan, are peradventure more high and diffusedlye described; but with more arte or more compendiouslye, I am sure they are not. So that it is sothly to be saide, that our author through the excellencie of his learned wisedom, doth as the good geometricians doe, with the invincible greatnesse of the heavens and the earth do reduce in a simple circuit, describing the same in a small sphere or manuel compasse. So hee hath placed the mightie, huge, and fearfull factes of armes under the figure of so small a thing as of the congruitie or discordaunce of words in oracion, joyning letters with weapons, teaching the arte militaire with the arte litteraire, so well, and so exactlye, that the reader besides the delyght and pleasure that he shall have in the reading of so pleasant an allegorie, shall receive further benefite; for herein is represented in one conceipt two understandings knit togither, the one proper and naturall, the other tropique and figured. Beside this, he shall comprehende in this same verie substance and by the onely labor of one reading, those two so worthy things above remembred, that doe eternise the fame of their fellowes, that is lovers of learning, and prudent martialistes. The science litteraire, and militaire, that is to say, the arte of grammar, yea the graundmother of al arts and sciences, and the arte militaire of deduced warres, under pleasaunt metaphoricall figures, transported and tourned, bereaving the minde of the litterall understanding of small things verball, to the consideration of greater, more royall and reall, doth manifestly shewe by example the ambitious movings, the imperiate desire of princes to have government, the tumultes and parcialities of people, the profitable and perverse counsaile of sundrye counsailers, the seemely sentences, and modest messages of the artificiall erraundes on both partes, their enterprised attemptes and martiall orders, the somoning of souldiers, the chartes of defiaunce, the denouncing of heraldes, the high and statelie stomackes of the adverse parties readie to joyne battaile, the seeking of alliaunce in extremitie, the compact confederated of cuntrimen, the slights, treasons, espies, embushements, their sodain entrappes and skirmishes, the ordinaunces of

armes, the placing of the campe, the pitching of their arrayes, the noble chering of the captaines to their souldiers, the taking of townes, the marching of their men, the cruel conflicts and worthy feates of armes on all sides, the lamentable losse of capitaynes, the cruel combat of the fighters, the great slaughter on both partes, the fearefull flying on all sides, the doubtfull meetinges of many, the indifferencie of their victory, and the finall pernitious accidents that ensue through the wars to both sides, the robbing, the reaving, the rapine, and disorder that is then in ure, the depopuling of inhabitate cuntries, the desolate destruction that divers are damnified by the commodities and advantages that one realme enjoyeth throughe the detriment of an other; and contrarily the infinite utilities that ensue, thorowe peace and concorde, to all realmes and reipublikes. All which things are by wonderfull cunning, and pleasaunt fygures, by most exquisite rule and perfect methode, treated summarily in this booke, first written in his owne and pure Latine tongue, and after (for the pleasure and profite that therein may be gathered) was translated into our English tongue, through the commaundement of a learned personage, one who is no lesse a lover of learning, than vertuous in condition, who for the worthinesse of his example is to be followed as a meete patron of humaine curtesie.

Wherefore, (gentle reader,) when thou art delighted with the profitable lecture of this historicall discourse, attribute the thankfulnesse of thy good wil to be the causer of this English translation, wherin albeit that there be not the same sweetnesse in our phrase that it hath in his owne tongue, yet I doubt not but it shall seeme to digresse but easilie from mine aucthor: For as the learned knowe, it is an absurde and harde matter in this treatise properlie to English the greatest part of those words that touch the argument in apt phrase correspondent to the Latin, sithens the same coulde not bee done by a learned translator into the French, which tongue doth nearer appropriate it than ours: Therefore whereas of some I may be thought little to alter in translation from the Latine aucthor, therein may the reader judge me to followe the Frenche phrase, who is my patrone partly in most of my translation, and when I shall seme in anie point to digresse from the French translator, I doe it the nearer to follow the first aucthor, so that the reader, I hope, wyll judge indifferently of my doings. Wherfore in my translation I thought it requisit, (yea, and also no lesse necessarie,) to leave the most parte of the wordes of this argument in their own tongue, especiallye for that this discourse of the grammar warre was made upon the grammar of the Latine tongue first, and not of the French. What will it then avayle, (will some saye,) to have translated it into English? whereto in the first place it may thus be answered, that for that it was the free good wil of the translator, that in hys labour on this behalfe thought not to offend, neither to do wrong or displeasure to any, but that through hys meane the simple and unlearned Englishe readers, aswell as the learned Latinists, might enjoy part of the pleasure that is had in the lecture of this delectable discourse of this figured warre, and bloudlesse battaile, without mortall shot, sweate, or cannon poulder. And furthermore that his meaning was, for the utilitie of our English children beginning to studie the Latine tongue, who reading this pleasaunt fight in their owne tong, (as the French in theirs,) might learne by waye of mirth and merrie pastime, the principal pointes of the Romayne grammar; finally, the same might serve for an exampler, aswell historicall for the instruction and guide of martiall affaires, as morall, therein to consider the harmes that ensue thorowe the dissension of princes and great lords, parents, kinsmen, or neighbors, how the communalities of realmes and cuntries can not easelye profite in anye wealth and aboundance, without trafike and quiet passages one to another, and howe dissention procureth diverse dangerous dammages to them and theirs; shewing also on the other side the singular benefites that peace procureth, what commodities are enjoyed by the uniformitie of kings and princes raigning in one regiment or country lovingly togither in one faith, lawe, and tongue, friendly as one; which things, (as I suppose,) are the

principall causes whye this booke was first compiled by mine aucthor, which by chaunce happening into my handes, and by me over redde, to my singular delight in both tongues, determined with myselfe to participate parte of my understanding to the youth of my nation, thorowe the request of a friende, who might have commaunded me. Wherefore if I espie the friendlie receipt hereof, in no lesse greatefull parte, than it was friendly favoured of some, I shall be the readier encouraged to bid thee hereafter to some better banquet. In the meane whyle, let the courteous reader use a friendly guestes parte, not mislyking any thing that is set freely before him. And albeit that this my translation be not so exquisitly englished on my parte as many better learned can doe, yet in consideration of my painefull good will, I doubt not your friendly receipt of the same. And thoughe that the French tongue, (whereout I extracted this worke,) in adages and breef termes have an easier conclusion of speach than our English tongue, yet let the reader be assured what soever termes be altered, (if any be,) the matter is perfite, pleasaunt, and profitable to the reader, and much matter contayned in this small booke, both of delight and delicate lyking, such as the gentle reader maye gather greate fruite, wisedome, and worthinesse by, if hee applie his diligence thereunto. And for my parte, I bestowed my labours in this behalfe, not to winne fame or favour, but to bestowe my leysures well and to fruitful exercise, to the benefit of my countreymen, and to encourage those that can doe better to the like exercise. And if any unfit wordes happen to be espied of better and more eloquent heades, yet I trust that such will not condemne a goode worke for an ill wrighter, neyther a good worde for an ill speaker. What or howe effectuall matter is contayned in this booke, in the sequele is manifest.

Farewell.

The Discourse of the Grammar Warre betweene two Kings, the Noune and the Verbe, contending for the chiefe Place in Oration, wherin thou shalt see the Verbe to prevayle.

THERE is none so simple in judgement, that doubteth the soyle of the grammar to be the fairest and happiest of all the renouned parts and provinces of the world, aswell for the pleasantnesse of the place wherein it is situate, being in good and holsesome ayre, and aboundaunt in all fruites and other good things, without which this mortall lyfe may not easilye be passed: as also for that shee hath alwayes and ever beene the nourse and bringer up of all people of renoune. For even as in this age, even so long tyme heretofore, the custome and maner ever was in all landes and countries (except among the rude and barbarous nacions) where anye were espied of prone and readie nature, bent towarde forwarde wit, they were sent thither to be taught and instructed, and perfitly to learne the most holy and learned sciences: for by this onely way and passage is the entrie and accesse to the highest countries, and noble houses; as *Dialectice*, that is, rethorike; *Philosophie*, that is, learned wisdome; and *Theologie*, that is, the most high and excellent knowledge in divinitie. In so much, that unlesse they enter thorowe the province of grammar, no soule were able to attaine to the worthy secreats of the other provinces. And albeit that the same regions abounde in all pleasure, yet, notwithstanding, it is so environed about with high mountaines, and such sharpe rockes, right difficile and harde to be got up upon, that hardlye, without a good guide, any maye ever attaine to the plaine and pleasant path of them. And therfore, bicause mankinde shoulde not be restrayned from so necessarie a benefite, the good and laudable custome ever was, and yet reasteth to the kings of the saide lande, to send abrode through every part of the universall worlde, some of their expert knights and worthy capitaines of olde handes, properly call'd pedagoges and schoie masters, that they might ayde others, and surely conduct them of tender age to the princelye pallaces of the saide kings (as for the mightie, and

suche as nowe drawe towarde age, hardely suffer to bee taught of anye), to the ende that the youth there being taught in the sciences of the Greeke and Latine Minerve, might the easier and more lightly ascende and go over the foresaide countries. There have all learned Grekes and Latins made their apprentishode, who, by their worthy writings, or by the actes of others, are immortalised with renouned fame. Being there thus well taught and learned, they have afterwarde so florishinglye lived, through the high praise of their illustrious and splendant actes, that they living, were unto all men in their time great setters forth of vertuous examples; and after they were deade (yet as alive) shewed to those that survived them, as it were by poynting with their finger, the right path and readie way to attayne honorable life and immortall fame.

But although that this lande of grammar be none other but indevidate, and withoute partialitie, yet, neverthelesse, there are two mightie kings that there raigne and governe, that is to weete, the Verbe and the Noune. The Verbe hath to name *Amo*, and the Noune, *Poeta*; who a verye long time raigned together in such concord and quietnesse, that to fourme oration perfect, wherin the beautie of them both (the highest place of the one, and the chiefest seate of the other) dependeth, no dissention, displeasure, or contencion, was ever hearde betweene them: for in all their territorie, there grew nothing more esteemed, more worthie, or more sounde, than Oration, which being beautified with the most coulors of sundrye flowers, and decked with the most faire and fine figures, and with the most sweete and perfumed buds of set roses, was of such singular comlinesse and aucthoritie, that she not onelye drewe unto her all mankinde (when the same is right and aptly applied) but may also withdrawe any of the goddes which waye she will winde them. By reason whereof, Euripides sayth, that which force coulde not gayne, that faire speache did soone attaine: Pirrhus also used sometime to saye, that Cyneas dyd winne more townes with his tongue and comelie speache, than he with hys warres. These two kings then being in such concorde, as all the affaires of grammar were in good apparence and better estate, it happened that for a smal thing dissention sprange betweene them, whereby, upon a verye sodaine, all was bewrapped in uprore and martiall dyspleasures: for what harme is that that wine and insaciate eating cause not? That and so great amitie and union betweene these two princes was so overthrowne at one onely banquet, wherin they were both droncken; and ebrietie set them in so great ennimities one against another, that eyther of them, pricked forwarde with ambitious desire of regiment (as wild bulls stong of gadde flies) almost utterly overturned their own realmes, and the noble empire of Grammar.

But nowe let us shewe howe their debate happened, to the ende that everye one may knowe, that there is no bande or knot of amitie so strong, that desire of superioritie may not breake. And therefore the old Dennis used not causelesse to saye, that even he that hath the lordshippe in his lap, hath cause himselfe to feare, and to beware of friendes; seeing that it is certaine, that every man loveth rather to be served, than to serve other.

As these two kinges on a time were at a banquet, in the middest of the hoate summer, neare to a pleasaunt and cleare spring, having the water bancke on the one side, and the other most pleasant and singulerly shadowed with the braunches of greene willowes and high plane trees, after they had sufficiently banquetted, warmed with wine, and lightened wyth drincking, a question arose betwene them, to weete, whether of them two were greatest in aucthoritie, and of most importance to performe oration? Then the Verbe, minding to holde the worthiest place, was sharplye withstoode of the Noune, affirming, that without him, oration and speache might not be, and that through him altogether, the same is understoode, and of better grace. And what dost thou (saide he) without me in oration? if I withholde me a parte never so litle, the hearers understande thee no

more than one that were dombe and spake not. Gather a while a small part of speache without me, and do that the hearers may understand that which thou speakest.

Doubtlesse if I be not there for an interpreter, none maye so much as gesse the least thing of thy meaning. Moreover, thou shouldest note, that in so much as I am elder than thou, so much more am I approved worthiest. Who is he that knoweth not the Noune before the Verbe? or who is he that is ignoraunt, how the beginning of the Noune is more auncient than the Verbe? It is infallible that God made all things, who, if hee made all, made also the Verbe. Nowe God is a Noune, and not a Verbe; wherefore now of consequence, by the Noune were all things made; yea, oration itself was made of God, and so the Noune. As for thee, O thou Verbe (that arte so proude) thou hast thy calling of me: hast thou never red, that, among the sonnes of women, is not a greater than John Baptist? this is God's sentence; it is not lawfull to go against it. Wherefore if none be greater than John, for that it is written that his name is John, and agayn that his name was John, it is apparaunt to be seene, that there is not, neyther may any thing else, be greater than the Noune. I coulde alleage to this matter sixe hundred places, whereby it is prooved clearer than the day, that as in worthinesse and antiquitie, even so in aucthoritie and chiefe place, the Noune is preferred before the Verbe. All which things I sette and leave a part, to the ende that men thinke me not to precede the Verbe more thorow much babling, than of just cause. O *Poeta,* aunswered the Verbe, I marvayled before nowe, why that divine, Plato, had expulsed thee out of hys common weale; but nowe, knowing how shamelesse and light thou art, so to intermixe the Holy Scripture among thy follies, I know well that the learned and wise Plato judged rightlye of thee. For had not he exiled thee, with manye other, forth of the reipublike that he ordayned, thou haddest, by thy false ceremonies, fearefull goddes, and other things, corrupted the civile maners of his citizens. For what pernicious thing durst not thy great pride and arrogance enterprise and attempt? Yea, seeing that by thy devised deceiptes, and false writhed witnesses, thorowe force writhed from Holy Scripture, thou laborest to cast me down from the dignitie of the chiefest place, which I have long time in this land possessed.

But certainly, for that it shall not seeme to thee, that thou alone arte learned, I will easilye alleage more manifest and plaine testimonies of the same Holye Scripture that maintaine mine aucthoritie; I wil set here formost the very beginning of that evangelicall Scripture, where it is thus sayde, In the beginning was the Worde, and the Worde was with God, and God was the Worde. Open thyne eares nowe, wherfore hidest thou thy face so? God (saide he) was the Worde; and, moreover, all things are made by him; and withoute him nothing was made. It is not, therfore, the Noune then that made all things, but the Verbe. Again, God was a Verbe, and not a Noune. Moreover, by the Worde the heavens were made firme and sure, and all their powers.

What wilt thou now say? There is no meane to defend thee by holy allegations, but thou maist perceive them to make for me, and not for thee. But let us bend to those poyntes that aptliest tende to our cause. Tell me, I praye thee, whence commeth to thee this folly and madnesse? And whence hast thou so sodainly taken such stomacke and heart of grace, that thou darest usurpe upon thee the worthiest place in oration? Knowest thou not that all comelinesse, beautie, and sweetnesse, commeth of me alone; and that the noune is alwayes ruled of the verbe, and not that the verbe is ruled of the noune? The comelye featnesse of the verbe is that it beautifieth and enricheth oration; and if I governe thee not therein, thou shalt be halfe handed, and of no force. Knowest thou howe to make a construction, wherin forthwith the chief place is not given me? Beholde all men knowe that I onely, that holde the seigniorie over the verbes, can, without the aide of any other, make perfect oration. Wherefore then speakest thou so impertinentlye? and, as Horace sayeth, why throwest thou so thy proude and disdainfull sixe-cornered words? Who art thou? What art thou? of what force? or howe great?

Not of such auctoritie as thou boastest of, I am sure, that so goest puffed and swollen, that it is marvell thou burstest not in the middest. I am, thou wilt say, the king of the Nounes. But what is thy name? Thou wilt aunswere Poeta. And what is Poeta other then a pratler, a seller of gaudes, a deviser of fables, a maister of mischiefe, a brabler, a lyer, a dronckerd, and a foolish dolt, that coloreth that which is truth, and putteth forth falshoode, and such a one as by thy prattling, fillest and perturbest all the worlde.

Which also by thy chat usurpest so much aucthoritie among the common and simple sort, that thou darest strive for the dignitie against the renoumed stocke of the Verbes. Folishly do those fathers that give thee their children to be taught of: for what is in thee whereby the youth maye be encited to grace and vertuous encoragement, but the stewes of the adulterous Jupiter, the jelosie of Juno, and the whoordom of Venus, and of the ruffian Mars, and such goodlye devises imagined of thine owne brayne, that having droncke a little more than well, thou, as filled with a devine ghost, and overladen with wine, madlike or divelishly, darest mixe heaven with earth, and earth with heaven.

At these wordes Poeta the king, all fiered in ire, not able to suffer the shame nor the injurie that was sayde of hym, answered thus: O thou most mischievous heade of man, darest thou speake so boldely such contentious things of us? And therewithall caught a cuppe in his hande, which had violentlye hit hym on the face, had not one of the standers by, (holding him by the arme) tourned the stroke a part. It is not to be doubted now, that in the rage wherein both partes were then, but that wordes were no blowes: but certaine of the elder sorte and wisest came upon the same, and they bare away the sayde kings all droncken into their pallaces: and on the morrow after the friendes of the parties were assembled, there was great enquirie and disputation of the contention happened the day before. Then of the parte of the Nounes was sharpelye blamed the open throate and unbeseeming talke of the king of Verbes, and the most part of the Nounes, especially the yonger of them, marvellously muttered, saying, that the tongue of king Amo ought to be tamed, and to give him to understande, that the mightie majestie of the Nounes was never subject to such reproch and contumely.

But although the elders that were then there present, especially Terence, admonished them that nothing might bee unadvisedly done, but that it was requisite rather first to take counsaile than weapon in that point, following the wiser sort: Yet notwithstanding, all the Nounes with their king, were so fleshed to fight, that it was forthwith fully determined and accorded to offer battaile to the Verbes: And thereupon was sent forth a trumpet to the king Amo, assuredly to denounce and indict open warre against him. On the Verbes parte was no wiser counsailes helde, for when all their nobilitie were come togither, ther was nothing else treated of among them, than to defend the dignitie of the Verbes in the lande of Grammar, and to depresse and throwe downe the pride of the Nounes. And behold, hereupon came the harolde of the king Poeta, who diligentlye declared the charge of his errande. They aunswered, that with good will they receyved the defiaunce, and from thence forwarde all their mindes were bent wholy towarde martiall affaires. Afterwarde the king of Verbes sent trumpets and messengers to all nations aud landes that were under his seigniorie, commaunding that all such as were able to beare weapon, should be found readie in good order at the day assigned.

First before all other came *Quando*, the duke of Adverbes, with six of hys capitaynes, *Ubi*, *Quo*, *Unde*, *Qua*, *Quorsum*, and *Quousque*. *Quorsum* and *Quousque* were companied withtheir bands, and under the first ensigne were these renoumed champions, *Hic*, *Illic*, *Isthic*, *Intus*, *Fores*, *Ibi*, *Ibidem*, *Sicubi*, *Alicubi*, *Alias*, *Alibi*, *Usque* and *Nusquam*. Under the seconde, *Huc*, *Illuc*, *Istuc*, *Intro*, *Foras*, *Alio*, *Nequo*, *Aliquo*, *Siquo*, *Illo*, *Eo* and *Eodem*. Under the thirde, *Hac*, *Illac*, *Istac*, *Alia*, *Nequa*, *Illa* and *Eadem*. Under the fourth, *Horsum*, *Illorsum*, *Istorsum*, *Introrsum*, *Extrorsum*, *Dextrorsum*, *Sinistrorsum*, *Aliorsum*, *Aliquorsum* and *Deorsum*. Under the fifth, *Hactenus*, *Hucusque*, *Eousque*, *Usquemodo* and *Usquenunc*. To the sixt bande the capitayne himselfe bare the en-

signe, marching in the middest of his men, so that two of the saide bands were in the forwarde, and the other three at the taile.

Many other Adverbes served for forerunners, and these discovered the wayes and served for partisans; the rest covered the wings and kept that the bandes marched not out of aray. The names of them are *Peregre, Pone, Super, Supra, Inter, Infra, Extra, Citra* and *Ultra*, with many other. After them came other Adverbes great of quality, quantity, and number, among whom were those hideous swering Adverbes: as *Ædipol, Enimvero, Ecastor, Mediusfidius* and *Profecto*. Also the calling Adverbes, as *Heus*, &c. the answerers, as *Hem*. The laughers, as *Ha Ha He*. The denying Adverbes, *Minime* and *Nequaquam;* which *Nequaquam*, albeit he were valiaunt and greatly trayned up in the wars, was yet notwithstanding the most untrue and deceiptfullest of them all, and woulde never say truth but thorow constraynt: The Greekes called him Holophant, which is as much as altogethir a denier, or deceitful interpreter. Many mo things could I report of this ruffler *Nequaquam*, that most dangerous and hurtfull beast, but bicause that the wordes at these dayes are not in common terme, I willingly cease of them, beleving doubtlesse that it is lost labour to warne the shepe how he ought to keep him out of the wolfes daunger. Now these Adverbes were armed with three kynde of armure, for they had kynde for a buckler, signification for an head-piece, and figure for a sword. Many other Adverbes came to the ayde of their king, as Indicatives, Frequentatives, Meditatives, Diminutives, and Denominatives, with their bands, which were not to be contempned. The mighty lord of Nounes Animales, (being Nounes out of rule, that beare great sway and lordshippe in the borders of Grammar) were not last and hindmost; doubtlesse worthie men of warre, but yet not able to hold their arraye: they are called *Sum, Volo, Fero* and *Edo*. By reason whereof it was permitted them to pitch their tents in anye parte of the campe where they woulde, least they might raise uprore among the souldiers. The nation of the Verbes Defectives came also thither very brave, and in goodly order, *Memini, Noni, Cepi* and *Odi:* Also *Vale, Salve, Aio, Inquit, Faxo, Cedo*, being all armed poynt device readie to joyne battaile. After them folowed all the Verbes Actives, clothed in bone and bravery, with also the Neuters, with the Deponents, Commons, and Impersonals: All of them of sundry fourms and straunge languages, and were armed with genders, tenses, moodes, kindes, persons, and numbers.

The king *Amo* after he had thus assembled his host, pitched his campe in the wide playnes of Conjunctions, in a place called *Copula*, and encamped his host there, neare to the host of Disjunctives called *Sine:* And devided his hoast into foure Conjugations, giving to everye of them a meete place (except to certayne familiar Verbes who were encharged to beare the baggage of the Infinitives: Their names are *Incipit, Definit, Debet, Vult, Potest, Jubet, Audet, Nititur, Tentat*, and *Dignatur*, with such lyke:) this office was assigned them, for that they were willing therto, and had sturdie strength and abilitie. Last of all came certayne Verbes extract from high place, and of great dignitie, as *Pluit, Ningit, Fulgurat, Tonat, Fulminat*, and *Advesperascit;* bringing with them certayne bands of their most worthy champions: but the Gerundes with the Supines, forsaking the Nounes, came and yielded to the Verbes.

When *Poeta*, king of Nounes, heard the great preparation of his adversarie, fearing to be surprised with some sodaine alarum, if he abode the furie and force of his enimies, without purveyance to defende him, commaunded all the subjectes of his realme, that in the spediest maner they might, they shoulde make themselves readie to be in the fielde armed, and so aptly equipped, as in best wise were possible for them. Then to the aide of the king of Nounes, first came the dukes of the Pronounes, as the nearest kinesmen, who for the most parte were often times princes, *Ego, Tu, Tui*, being of the bloode royall, and of the stock of the *Arsacides*, with whome were *Meus, Tuus, Suus, Noster*, and *Vester, Nostras* and *Vestras, Ille, Ipse, Iste, Hic* and *Hæc*. Al the Pronounes were parted in manye fourmes, and under sundry ensignes. Some were primatives, other Deri-

vatives, some Possessives, and some Gentils. After them came the right worthy Articles, who had a long time haunted the warres, of which the first was *Hic Hæc Hoc;* the seconde *Hic* and *Hæc;* the third *Hic* and *Hac* and *Hoc,* armed with genders, numbers, figures, persones, and cases. After them came the graunde capitaynes of interrogatives, infinitives, and relatives, *Quia, qui, que, quod vel quid;* and these joyned to the host. These were the generall referenders of all the land of the king of Nounes, with whome were all the Relatives and Demonstratives, devided into two bandes: that is to weete, in identitie and diversitie. In the first were, *Is, Suus, Ipse, Ille, Idem.* In the seconde, *Cæter, Alius, Reliquus* and *Alter.* The prince of the accidentall Relatives was *Qualis,* under whome fought *Quantus, quot, quotuplex, quatenus, quotenus, quotifarium, cuias* and *cuigena.* The queene of the Prepositions called *Ad,* came thither also with *Ab* and *In,* the husbandes of Nounes casuals, and they brought with them three ensignes of worthy Amazones. Under the first were *A, ab, abs, cum, coram, clam, de, è, ex, pro, præ, palam, sini, absque, tenus,* which served to the ablative cases. Under the seconde were *Ad, apud, ante, adversum, adversus, cis, citra, circum, circa, contra, ergo, extra, inter, intra, infra, juxta, ob, pone, per, propter, prope, secundum, post, trans, ultra, præter, supra, circiter, usque, secus, penes,* all serving to the accusative cases: But *In, sub, supra* and *subter,* served to both cases, to weete, to the ablatives, as well as to the accusatives. Under the third were, *Di, dis, res, se, an, con,* whose office was to purvey potation for the souldiers, for it was then lent. Who albeit they were by composition inseparable, least they should at any time be voyde of that was enjoyned them, were yet so inconstant, that sundrye times they clave to the Nounes, and some while to the Verbes; and therefore they were accompted the common roges of the campe.

Now the Nounes thus devided by bandes, marched in goodlye aray, that is to weete, the Substantives, likewise the Adjectives, Nounes proper, Appellatives, and Participles: After whome were the brave and rich Comparatives, Superlatives, Possessives, Patronymiques, Gentils, (which were noble) Numerals, and Multiplying, which governed the outwarde borders. Every of them were devided by five declinations, to weete, by the first, the seconde, the third, the fourth, and fifth, and they were all armed with kindes, genders, number, figures, and cases. All the sayde bandes reduced in one, *Poeta,* the king of the Nounes, caried his host into the same playne of Conjunctions, and pitched his campe on the other side of the said river *Sine;* so that betweene both the hostes was nothing but the river. By reason whereof sundry times there happened sharpe skirmishes betwene those that went there to the water, notwithstanding yet without open battaile, for that had both the kings forbidden, bicause all nedeful necessaries for the warres were not very readie.

Now eyther of these kings coveted to induce to his parte the Participle: a man doubtlesse of very great aucthoritie through all the lande of Grammar, yea, in puissance and dignitie, altogither next and nearest the king; who without doubt was able also to cause victorie to whether side he woulde winde him. By reason of this, aswell the Verbe as the Noune, left nothing unassayed, eyther of them hoping to have him on their side. *Poeta,* the king of Nounes, putting forth formost, wrote to him in this maner. I doubt not, (O my brother) but that thou knowest with what pride and puffed stomacke, *Amo,* the king of the Verbes, is risen against mee, and against the dignitie of Nounes, and by what lawe I minde to occupie the chiefest seates to construe oration; for which thing, seeing that the same doth so much move and displease me, I am forced to take armes and set souldiers in the fielde, that his pride being beaten doune, we maye keepe oure seigniore in his right, uncorrupted. And sithens thou knowest howe much thou art bounden to the nation of the Nouns, and what great benefit thou hast receyved of us, as genders and cases, numbers and figures; thou shalt therefore doe a worke worthy of thy faithfulnesse and friendship, if with thy men of warre and thy souldiers, thou come to joyne with us to defende our common titles, our common

riches, and common hope. For if the dignitie and lordship of Nounes be destroyed, thinke not thou to finde anie sure place in the lande of Grammar; and so fare well: Beseeching thee to set forward thy coming in the spediest wise thou mayest.

On the other side, *Amo*, the king of Verbes, wrote to the said Participle in this wise. I know very well (O dear brother) how thou art by our enimies verye instantly solicited to be on their part, to warre against us: And albeit that we have hope, that by thy singular wisedome thou wilt not doe any thing so rash or unadvisedly, yet nevertheless it semeth good unto us, to admonish and advertise thee, that thou consider in thy selfe, what commodities thou hast receyved of us, and what increase of dignitie the Verbes have made thee, in making thee partaker of their tenses and significations, numbers and figures. And if thou hast any smal benefit of the Nouns, those that thou receivest of us are much more, yea and also greater. Thou shalt therefore doe best if thou repaire to our happie folde, not alone to keepe and defende us, and the lordship of the Verbes, but also thou thy selfe and thine. For thus think with thy selfe, that if I have the worst, mine enimies will not with-holde them from running upon thy lordshippe, and turne their victorious armes (which God forbid) against thee: that they all alone may with their mad will runne in and spoyle al the land of Grammar. Farewell.

The Participle, after that he had red the sayde letters of the two kings, thought nowe of the one, then of the other, and had sundry thoughtes in his heade, considering with him selfe that he coulde holde part with neyther of them, without great and evident losse of his own goodes. Contrarily if he shoulde seem to minister, he might not onely enjoye the favor of them both, but also that he rather wished, to see them low brought thorowe the hazarde of the warres, that they being destroyed, he might afterwarde alone, withoute resistaunce, possesse the sayde lande of Grammar; and therefore thought good to dissemble, feeding them with fair wordes, untill he knewe who should have the better; therfore he wrot to them in this maner: I have, most puissant kings, receyved your letters, and I have red them with great sorowe and trouble of minde, knowing that betwen two such princes so knit, is fallen such discorde, that you can not withholde you from overthrowing thorow cruell war, your owne lordships, and that renouned empire. But wherwith are ye vexed? Or what harme holdeth you? And whence commeth this madnesse? I beseeche you, for God his sake, to consider a little whither you go. Howe will our common enimies (those beastly citizens of ignorance, and that slovenlike people of Barbarie) rejoyce, understanding the strength of their enemies to be so wasted through their owne contentious quarrelling? I adjure, by the high Gods above and beneath, that ye withholde you, and forbeare such deadly, mortall, and abhominable battayles, least that through a damnable desire of superioritie, you bewray, in uprores and slanders, the goodliest province of all the worlde. But if destinie will have it so, and that you be so fully purposed to debate your quarrell by the sword, I purpose to take part with neyther of you, seeing my lordship dependeth in part of the Verbe and in parte of the Noune. And for that I am greatly bound to you both, with what I can I will ayde you both with vitayles, munitions, and other necessarie things; but as touching facts of armes, I will withholde me, and I wyll cause my souldiers to be assembled in armes, to kepe in at home, that through incourses no injurie be done by any, on the frontiers of mine own lande: I praye God give you better counsayle. Fare ye well.

And albeit that he had thus written to them, this subtill and wily fox, neverthelesse, through all possible meanes he might, maintayned the quarell, and, by his privie letters, incited the mindes of both nations eagerly to ytche against other, hoping thereby (as I have said) that he shoulde easily attayne to the Seigniorie of the whole Grammar, after their totall destruction, Then, having assigned a day for his subjectes to be assembled in, was in a most trim and brave companie. First, the terminat in *Ans, ens, dus, rus, tus, sus, xus*, were there, with the Nounes verball in *tor, trix*, and such like, which were neighbors of the Verbes and Nounes, and joyned with the Participles. Likewise, the

Gerundes and Supines, to avoyde these civil wars, withdrew them also from the Verbes, and fled to the Participles. These things thus appoynted, the Participle sent great giftes to both sides, to be alwayes and still in their favour; and first, he sent to the Verbe these under named Neuter Passives, to weete, *Gaudeo, soleo, audeo, fio, prandeo, cœno, juro, titubo, placeo, nubo, careo, mœreo, poto, taceo,* and *quiesco.* To the king of Nounes he gave the ending in *tor* and *trix.* He sent also for wagis to the host of Verbes an hundredth waggons of preter tenses, of present and future tenses. Item, a thousand camels laden with figures, simples, composites, and decomposites. And to the Noune he sent, by the river Sive, tenne ships laden with nominative and genitive cases, with as manye singuler and plurall numbers, and a great number of other, masculine genders, feminines, neuters, commons and all. This done, he helde him in his country with his men of warre, awayting to whether side fortune woulde tourne hir. In the meane while, these two warlike kings having verye well made provision of all things necessary to give battle, awayted nothing else than some trimme occasion to commence the warre. But it chaunced that two of the worthiest townes of Grammar, to weete, A and V, were taken unappointed by the king of Verbes, albeit than then all townes were indifferently subject, and payed equall tribute to both the sayde kings, asmuch to the one as to the other, being moreover in nothing more in service to the one king than to the other.

When *Poeta,* the king, heard this, he toke, by the like policy, three other towns, E, I, O: the other, hearing this, kept them to their strongest watch, and keeping their liberty, wer common to both parts, whose names are, B, C, D, F, G, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, X, Z, and of them doubtlesse commeth all the force of Grammar. To eyther of the kings were given two Dipthongs to be their trumpets, for they were taught by sounde of trump, to move the spirite of all the souldiers for to fight; *Æ* and *Œ* served to the king of Nounes, *Au* and *eu* to the Verbes. Beside this, certayne jesting or gibing women followed both the hostes, that moved the mindes of the souldiers in sundry affections: for some wept and bewayled the slaughter that should be among them of Grammar, yea, and that they felt the same neere them alreadie, as *Oh, ha, he, heu* and *hei;* other were dyspleased, and reproved the contention of these kings, as *Vah, vu,* and *atat.* Other woundered of such dissention fallen betweene so great friendes, as *Papæ, vahu,* and *vaha:* other as fools incited and encouraged the soldiers to fight, as *Eia,* and *évax.* Moreover, all the men of warre and souldiers being well appoynted and readie to enter into the battaile, it seemed good to the king of Verbes, that on his part gladly withall his hart he would withdrawe to commence civile warres, and to cloke his doing in or with some honest maner, wrote a letter to the king of Nounes, in this tenor. O *Poeta,* thou hast well understoode in what appoyntment and readie strength I am come downe to shewe my selfe in the fielde to give thee battaile; and agayne, thou mayst knowe that there are not in thee sufficient forces able to abide and withstande the violent rushing in of the legions of my men of warre; therefore thou shalt doe wisely, if in leaving me in my estate, thou withdrawe into thy territories. But if thou be so senselesse, that it must be had by the edge of the sworde, then know thou, that three dayes hence I will be readie with mine host in the playne fielde to fight, there to receive thee.

When the trumpets, *Au* and *Eu,* had given their letters to the king of Nounes, he aunswered them according to his counsaille in this wise. O *Amo,* thou ever hast too many wordes, but it is not nowe a time to amase the eares of the hearers with thy much babbling: thou boastest thy valiaunt host, and thy fearfull prepared ordinaunce, as if on our side wee had not but dwarfes and grasshoppers. Thy possession hath ever bene very lyttle in oration; but yet thy follye leadeth thee thither, from whence thou mayst not flie, untill, with that part of lordeship (by thee wrongfully woon, worse governed, and naughtely retayned) thou be by just warre chased out. And for that thou shalt knowe how litle, not I onely, but mine, doe way thee, and how smally we fear thy threatnings,

our heraldes, Æ and Œ, shal shewe thee their bare buttockes if thou wilt: farewell, such as I wish thee: adewe to the devill for ever and aye.

By these letters the heartes of them poysoned one against another, did all awayte with fierie stomackes the last assigned day of battayle. In the meane while, by occasion of such troubleous time, there arose (as commonly doth in such businesse) a licence of most mischevous deedes, and there went forth a company of privy pilferers through the whole province of Grammar, seeking their pray, and especially in wooddie places, and from the hils espied the passengers, and spoiled the vittailers that went to the campes; whereby great dearth and scarsitie of victuales daylye encreased in both the hostes. By reason whereof, certaine worthie capitaines, with sufficient number of souldiers, were, by the consent and decree of both kings, sent out to flea these robbers, or else to drive them far out of the lands of Grammar. They being come thither, the souldiers did enclose a very thick wood, where they hadde understoode that there were a great number hidden; so they beset them, that one escaped not untaken. Among whome was a certayne fellowe called *Catholicon*, that drave a great asse laden with Greeke and Latin words bound up together, and carried them into Italie. Item, an old Duns, called *Hugution*, with a yong yonker, surnamed *Garlandia*, which also, with a great one eyed mule, drave a waggon laden with false and broken rules, and fowle fourmes, not onely of olde phrases, but also of Latine termes, wherewyth he hoped to be enryched in the borroughes and townes, selling them as precious things set in glasse, to make laten of glasse which might have day seene through it. Moreover, this yoncker of Garlandia was found stuffed full of false peces of money and counterfact coyne, being base bullion, which he caused to be taken for good, being of an untrue stampe which he had forged, and of the sayde money he had filled all the lande of Grammar. Lykewise there was taken a great and greasie lasie lourden, that made himselfe be called Grecismus, that had made leane all the victayls that went to the campe, to stuffe a greate, foule, ranck, stincking, and rotten calves paunch with. There was also taken one Pylades, that had robbed all the wayes he went in, and was become riche. All these were there bodily punished as they had merited; some quartered and made in pieces; some brent in the fire; other cast into the dongeons of perpetuall and stincking prisons. He that toke and punished Grecismus, was a right worthy capitaine, called *Toussan*, or *Tusan*. The robberies of Pylades was discovered and debarred by a noble capitaine very well acquainted in the warres, which was called *John* of *Cuuella*, that so swelled that he was in perill to be dropsie; but one gave him a short clister, that did yeld him in slenderer fourme, and more leane and easie to be borne than he was. All the rest of this robberous rabble were destroyed, slaine, and buried in a great and darke dongeon. Catholicon, that among them was called the Great, was brought to the campe wyth his asse, who confessed on the rack (albeit it were a thing manifest) that he had stolen all these wordes in the lande of Grammar. Then, when he was asked ought in Greeke, he aunswered, that he understode not the Greeke; and of the Latine but a very little. Then, sayde the judges, wherefore cariest thou wyth thee Greeke wordes, seing thou then understandest not?

Then he answered, there is so great ignorance of learning with us (saith hee) that albeit I speake grossely, yet can I easily make them beleve that I am through lined in every corner with all the eloquence of Attica. All they which were there, hearing this, fel in a great laughter, and said: by Saint George, seing that thou hast such hearers as thou hast, that which we know not the due owners of, thou shalte carrye with saulfconducte to thy people and nation, but that which weshall know to belong to any, that we think good to be rendred to the due owners. Then after they hadde made diligent search, all the Greeke words almost were given to Isydore, whose they were, and the remnaunt to the Latines: to which businesse was appoynted the mayster of the trenchmen, called Calepin, with the courteous capitaine Anthonie of Nebrisse. The intermixed, rotten, and secret hidden words, were given him, and so they permitted

him to go his way with his asse lighter laden than before: neverthelesse they forbad him at any tyme ever after, to be so hardie as to call hymselfe a gramarian, except among the rude and barbarous people. In these busie businesses, one Priscian, a very renouned man, and of great honour in the lande of Grammar, for that he coulde not suffer the saide lande to runne in totall ruine through civile warre and contention, hasted to warde the campe in poste to make an agreement, and being taken, was spoiled and sore beaten of the felonish felowship of Catholicon, and was so wounded on the heade, that there was no salve able to heale him. Shortly after, among these felowes was taken one who falsely and shamefully sayde that he was an historiographer, and had gathered togither a great bundell of jesting folishe gaudes in a great volume, called *Supplementum Chronicharum*, who forced thorowe question, confessed that all they were stollen things: and so he was exiled for ever into the lande of ignorance. As these things were doing, certaine of the Verbes anomales, as *Sum, volo, fero*, with three companies of their handmaides, made an assault and toke away a prisoner of the capitaines of the Nounes named *Cæter*, which was of the race of Relatives, and they toke him hidden with his fellowes in an embush, in what cave I knowe not, near to the by path way of the conjunctions *Quod* and *Quam*, and him they slue with all his singulers; his plurals seing the daunger they were in, made a vowe to Jupiter, to sacrifice him the remnant of their goods, and so they escaped hole and sounde miraculously. When tidings hereof were told to king Poeta, he was marvellously mooved, and it greatlye greeved him to lose such a capitayne: for this *Cæter* was very stout and ful of stomacke even to the uttermost, and in feates of warre he had no peere.

The king of Nounes, therfore, feeling himself greatly endomaged with the losse of *Cæter* and his singulars, diligently awayted occasion whereby he might render double the lyke to his enimies. But fortune, who can in all thinges do very muche, and chiefly in warre, gave hym shortly after the way to revenge him of the wronge. For in those dayes many legions of Verbes of no small authoritie were taken prisoners by certayne lyght horsmen of the Nounes. Among whom was *dice, face, fere*, and *duce*, of the bande of the imperatives and commanders. From whom thorough great ignomie was cutte away by the kings commaundement, the hynder skirtes of their garments, so that they shewed their buttockes, and so sent them away againe, so that ever since they were called only *dic, duc, fac*, and *fer*. Afterward he commaunded that the prisoners should be slayne, namely, *fuo, specio, leo, and pleo:* whose goodes were by the king of Verbes given to their lawful children, discending of them in right line, as *fui, fueram, fuissem, fuisse*, and *futurus*. And to the children of *specio*, who were a great number, as *aspicio, conspicio*, and such like: and also to them of *leo* and *pleo*, as *doleo, impleo, compleo, suppleo, repleo, expleo, oppleo*. At the very same season was bewraied a great treason to the hoast of the Verbes, how certaine horrible hooresons of the stocke of Preterperfectes, being souldiers, to cloake their treason, and not to be knowen, were disguised after the manner of the Greekes, though they were of the Latin tong, and beyng taken, had two heades. These had conspired and layd watch for the king of Verbes: but being taken and convict of the fact, were declared traytours, and condemned of trespasse against the king, they were called *momordi, cecidi, cucurri, perpendi, spopondi, pepigi, didici, poposci, tetuli, cecini, peperi, tutudi, pepuli, fefelli, memini, pupugi*, and *tetigi*, from whom was cutte of one head at that present: so that whereas they were before time called, *momordeo, cecido, cucurro*, they be nowe called *mordeo, cedo, curro;* and so of the rest. From *tetuli* were cutte of both heades, as well of the Preter, as of the Present Tense: albeit that Terence through pitie thought to simon on the same agayne of the Preter Tense with baulme, but it held not. Now as the time of fighting drew neare, the sayd king set up in the hyest place of their host, a red cloake, to advertise the souldiers that they shoulde shortly joyne together in fight, that they might prepare and propose them-

selves thereto, takyng their repast, and whetting their weapons, might sharpen their munitions ready, with all other thinges pertayning to suche affairs. In the morning, after the souldiers had dined, on both syds without any noyse makyng, the whole hoast assembled to the sayde place. Then when they had all raunged in battayle aray with displayed ancientes, the said kings besought and required their souldiers earnestly to behave them selves wel and worthily: but it was no neede, seying that they of themselves were already fired ynough. For al as mad men shooke their pikes with so great and stout a stomacke, that they taried for nothing but to strike, and awayted nought but the signe of the onset and alarme: and herupon, behold, the trumpettes blewe the onset on both sides. On the other part the earth resounded and rang againe, and in both hoasts were made great shoutes and cries, the heades of both hostes made great vowes to God, and every of them stomacked and cheered up their souldiers. Then every one dyd what he coulde and knewe to be done, they strake together with great handy strokes of swordes, brake their pikes, that the ayre rang againe of the cry of the fighters. In the ayre was nothyng seene but cloudes of smoke and brymstone: on both sides were great store wounded and of dead corpses plenty. O there was a goodly sight to see the Verbes Defectives (among the rest) fighting against the Nounes Heteroclites. These Nounes, accompanied with their Nominitive cases, with their Genders, also with their Genitives and Plural Numbers, dyd fiercely lay upon their enemies. The Verbes defectives did stoutly and courageously withstande and put apart these Nounes Heteroclites, with their Indicatives, accompanied with their preterperfect Tenses, so that by their Conjugations they brake, thorowe force, the Numbres and Gendres of the other.

Of these Verbes there was one called *aio*, who using singular hardinesse, did for a long space resist two Nounes Heteroclites, so long, that in the end being no more able to withstande their furiouse forces, lost diverse of his Persons, Modes, Tenses, and Numbres, and then rested only unto hym, *ais, ait, aiunt, aiebam, aiebas, aiebat,* and *aiebant;* the rest passed thorough the sworde.

As the hoastes were thus in fight there was such a mixture, that one knewe not an another, and they were al so fiered and fleshed to fight, that none of them al once perceyved the feareful earthquake that was at that present, and in the same country there: yea such a one, and so greate, that it destroyed the townes nere therto, turned the streames of mightie rivers the other way upside downe, and thrust the sea into the floudes, and with his hideouse roaring, overthrewe the hygh mountaynes with a mighty fall. But let suche be styll, that accompt that for a tale: the accident that happened in that same sharpe and harde warre, wher the Romayns were so trounsed, by the Penoys, neare unto the lake Trasimene, the citie of Croton yeldeth sufficient testimonie, whiche (as Lucian saith in the Booke of True Narrations) was before situate on the brynks of the shore of Trasimene, at the very present, thorough a tempest of a whirlewind was transported into the mountayne, where it is at this day. Doubtlesse of this and such like examples lately befallen, Titus Livius may wel glorie in, for that he hath so great a testimonie to have sayd truth: for that it is sufficient to confirme the thinges that he hath written. The ayre was obscured and made darke with the arrowes that the Numbers, Singulars, and Plurals, shot. The shot of the Figurs Composite and Decomposite flew whistelyng so round and rightely into the eares of every one, that they were all as deafe. A great number were hurt by the dartes of the handes of Primitives and Derivatives. The trumpettes lykewyse that went on every side sounded a fearefull and terrible *taratantara,* so that the sound thereof encouraged the fighters marvellous ful of stomacke and hardy, to beare the blowes and sturdie strypes of their enemies. And these troublous rayling women, the Interjections, that went about the arayes, vexed and sore trobled them all, through their moved and fickle affections: among whom, for the most parte, ware often hearde these pitiful and dolorous cries, *heu* and *hei, oh, ah, eh.* Notwithstanding this warre was more fierce and cruel than long in fighting, and had it not

bene for great aboundaunce of rayne, that thorough a sodayne storm and tempest which fell from the cloudes even at that present, made the medley to depart and breake off, then doubtlesse had there bene an ende of al the forces of Grammar. Such and so great was the furious rage that they had every one of them, one against another, yea untill that pointe, that albeit the trumpettes sounded the retraict on both sides, and they all greatly encombred with the water, might neverthelesse be unmingled and separate asunder one from another, to returne them under their ensignes.

The victorie aboade doubtfull and incertayne, neyther was it knowen of any, whether had the better or the worse, for on both sides there was a marvellous many, as well of sore wounded as of slayne, not only of common souldiours, but also of the hie and chiefe captaynes. It is not possible for any to tell the great losses that were ther on both sides. Notwithstanding I will assay to shewe playne and manyfestly, and in the openliest maner I may, that which some did winne or lose there, (though I cannot say of every one in particular) this will I do to this end, that they that come after, may therto take heede. First the parte of the Verbes defectives, in fight lost all them that were descendent from him, all his Genders, Tenses, Modes, Persons, and Numbers that were of the fourth conjugation, of figure composite, and of the singular number. He hymselfe (as God woulde) escaped safe, for seying hym selfe in perill, he made a vow, that of no Conjugation of mariage, he wold after any more beare the livery: and therefore he was at that brunt so sore feared, that since he hath bene very seldome seene publikely in the land of Grammar. *Fore* was bereft and robbed of al his goods, except *fores*, *foret*, and *fore*, which are of the Optative Mode, of the third conjugation, *vale*, *ave*, *salve*, of the kindred and stocke of the Imperatives (lost a great many of their fellows) which are yet lyving, the rest were lost. *Faxo* of the same stocke of Actives escaped only with three of his, al the rest of his band after him were slayne, except *faxis*, *faxit*, and *faxint*, who saved them selves with him by flighty footing. *Inquio* of the stocke of the Neuters kept *inquis*, *inquit*, *inquiunt*, *inquam*, *inquies*, *inquiet*, *inquient*, *inque*, and *inquam*. The rest perished in the warres. *Inquiens* at that time was with the Participles, wherof he happened well. *Apage* and *apagite*, when they had lost all their fellowes, escaped alone. *Diet* lost also all his fellowes except *diescit*. *Facio* was put from his sonne *facior*, who notwithstanding before he dyed, dyd constitute by knyghtly testament an heire *fio*. *Posco*, *disco*, *metuo*, *timeo*, *renuo*, *respuo*, *compesco*, *urgeo*, *linquo*, and all they of the race of the Actives, lost their Supins. Some Verbes lost their Pretertenses of the thirde conjugation, and in place of them, they after recovered the Pretertenses of the fourth conjugation: among whom was, *cupio*, *peto*, *quæro*, *arcesso*, *facesso*, and *fero*. Some Verbes having lost their future in *am*, to the ende that they woulde not thencefoorth wholy lose the hope that was to come, bought other futures in *bo* at the faires of *racano*, as *eo*, *queo*, and *veneo* (but *Horace*, by his aucthoritie, gave to *lenio lenibo*,) al Verbes belonging to beautie lost all their Supins, among whom was *luceo*, *fulgeo*, *splendeo*, *polleo* and such like. *Fulcio* using a singular hardinesse escaped out of peril, and held his *fultum*, but seying we have recounted and told of them that receyved losse, it is not mete to holde of no accompt these Verbes, that behaving them selves wel and worthily had both spoils and dignities, whiche they receyved of their king, beside these others that they first had and enjoyed: among other were elevate and set up in great honor, *cæno*, *juro*, *careo*, *mœreo*, *nubo*, and *prandeo*: for beside their own Preter Tenses, they receyved also the Preter Tenses of the Passive voice. *Redimo* was enriched in his five senses of nature, and at that present obteyned foure significations, as to deliver, to leade, and governe, to decke and ornate, and to take to ferme. *Solor* wan three significations, as to be alone, and to comfort, and exhort; *explicat*, beside his own sense, which is to explicate and shew foorth playnly, receyved, that he might declare, shew, that he might drawe, that he might represent and deliver. *Valeo*, beside his owne sense, which is to be in health and whole, wan so much, that when he sayd *vale*, that he might salute also, and some-

time curse too. *Presto* had four significations, as, to lend, and to be aloft, to do good, and hold promisse, with divers other significations. *Haurio* was as much enriched, for he had foure significations, as to draw out, to wounde, to heare, and see, and diverse other such lyke, and all they when neede is are reduced in one. *Pasco* receyved two understandinges, to feede and bring up. *Vaco*, albeit he meddled not much among the fighters (for as Socia sayth in Plautus, the fiercer they fought the faster he fledde) neverthelesse fortune, that oftentymes giveth rewarde to the slouthful, woulde enriche his cowardise with the best of the spoiles: for as he espied certaine of his enemies that wer fled and gone away, he crept out of his cabin and cloked them in his fist: who after bought them againe with a great summe of silver, and he wan besides his owne former sense seven other, to wete, to understande, to leave of, to serve, to be superfluouse, to be lawfull, not to have, and to be empty. *Studeo* wan three significations, as to sollicite, to desire earnestly, and to be very paynfully busied. *Pango* receyved three senses, as to sing, and hath given to *panxi* in his Preter Tense to make truces, and hath gyven to *pepigi* to fasten and joyne together. *Sapio* from that day had two senses, to wete, to give knowledge, and to be wise. *Fero*, one of the foure anomales, gayned three senses, as to upholde, to desire, and to beare. *Confiteor* had three senses, to praise, to purge, and to make manifest. *Supero* receyved seaven senses by reason of the great aucthoritie that he had among the Verbes: as to remayne in part, to overcome, to be neare, to go further, to escape, to overlive, and exceed. Some Verbes there were, whiche havyng lost their owne Preter Tenses, had of their king the goodes of other Verbes Passives, which were slayne at the battayle: as *audeo, fido, gaudeo, soleo,* and *fio*. These pestiferous and perillous lying Verbes, whiche alwayes have in their heart and minde other than in the mouth, albeit they had no parte of the praie, yet ought not they and their names to be left in oblivion, but spoken of, to the ende that every one might know them, and so beware: seying that alwayes under the colour and cloake of doing, they beare the Passive voyce: they are called *exulo, veneo, nubo, liceo,* and *vapulo*. This last of all is the most wily and subtillest: and therfore so muche wyser as the boy is, so muche the more heede wyll he have to decline his wily ambushes, yf he have good care to kepe his buttocks. Now seying we have already shewed as well as we are able, that which happened to the Verbes, it seemeth good in our accompt that we speak also of the Nounes. Oversight was made in and throwe the hoast of the Nounes, and it was founde howe fortune had bene as muche diverse to one parte as to another. And to the end that we begin by the Positives, there was certaine of them, that beyng hurt in their comparatives, receyved dressing and cure through the diligence of certayne expert physitians, as *melior, minor, dexterior, sinisterior, plus, magnificentior,* and *munificentior*, al irregulate, and descending of the second Declension. But *pius, arduus, egregius, tenus* and such lyke, lost their owne Comparatives. The Nounes ending in *er*, lost *imus*, in their Superlatives: and for the same they had *rimus*, as *tener* and *saluber*. To others for that they had lost *simus* was given *limus*, as *humilis, facilis, gracilis, similis, agilis,* and to *vetus* was given *veterrimus*. Among trees were certayne Nounes, that quiting them selves manfully, by a sodayne miracle chaunged altogether at once their kinds, becoming of females, males, every one astonied at the sodayne case, demaunded whence came suche transformation to them: of them were *rubus* and *oleaster*, which Titus sayth were evyll and unluckie tokens, and therfore affirmed he that they ought to be cast into the bottome of the sea, or else to be exiled out of the lande of Grammar. But the king *Poeta* jesting at the fonde superstition that they had in the miracles, dyd prohibite all and every of them, to harme, or any way to hurt them: saying that it was not an evyl signe, or unhappy accident, to be chaunged from women into men: saying that out of a noughty and croked kind, they were turned into a good and better. From certayne Nounes heteroclites, fighting against the Verbes defectives, were cut away both coddes and cullion in the Plurall Numbre (from whiche peryll God save us) so that afterwarde there was in that number founde neither man

nor woman but chaste Neuters; which doubtlesse is a thynge greatly to be pitied. Their names were *sibilus, avernus, infernus, menalus, supparus, baltheus, tartarus, dindimus;* other had better chaunce; for when in the same number they were Neuters, wer glad forthwith to see them become males: as *porrum, rastrum, frenum,* and *cælum.* But these sayde *porrum* and *rastrum,* as they went thorowe Rome, founde in the markets of Agona their neuter plurals, and there they bought them againe with a great sume of money, and gyving leave to the males, loved better to hold them to them there. *Balsamum* among all Nounes and trees abode only a neuter; by reason whereof seyng that he coulde not beget nor bring foorth yong, is in so great scarsitie that he is no where seene but in the lande of Juda, which is the cause (as sorrowfull) he yeldeth his fruict all in teares: as for other Nounes that were bereft of their plurall neuter, receaved the feminine for amendes, as *epulum, ostreum, vesper,* and *cepe.* But truth is, of all creatures the oysters only were neuters: but above al aucthors, Plinie, and the poetes holde them for neuters, wherefore Ovide sayeth thus: *Ostriaque in conchis, tuta fuere suis;* so that afterwarde they gayned so, that they became as much feminine as neuters: others that were of the doubtfull gendre, receyved the masculine in their pleurall numbre, as *cardo, bubo,* and suche lyke, other that were spoyled of all their cases plural, abode ever since dismembred and maymed: among whom, were *fumus, limus, funus, pulvis, sanguis, mundus, pontus, sol, sal,* and *uvus,* all of the masculine gendre. Hardly is seene any tyme more than one sunne in the firmament, but when it happeneth so, it is not naturall, but rather wonderful, likewise also certayne feminines lost their plurall cases, as *lux, sitis, labes, mors, vita, fames, tabes, gloria, fama, salus, pax, humus, lues, tellus, senecta, soboles, juventæ, indoles, proles.*

> These fought so febly in the hoast,
> That all their Plurals there they lost.

Other Feminines lost at the sayd conflicte their singular number, as *argutiæ, habenæ, bigæ, blanditiæ, cunæ, delitiæ, exequiæ, excubiæ, exuviæ, phaleræ, facetiæ, genæ, gades, insidiæ, induciæ, caleridæ, lachrymæ, latebræ, minæ,* and many others. Other Neuters were spoyled of all their plurals, as *cænum, fœnum, avus, solum, pus,* and *virus.* Furthermore, others wer put from al their singular frends: as *arma, castra, exta, cunabula, conchilia, crepundia, pascua, mœnia, mapalia, magnalia, illia, seria, precordia,* and *sponsalia,* yea, and almost all the names of feastes, as *Saturnalia, Dionisia, Aphrodisia, Bacchanalia, Floralia,* and *Neptunalia,* and all the names of metals, especially *aurum* and *argentum,* which every one laboured to take prisoner, and likewise *aes, samia,* and *æra* in three cases. In lyke maner, for the great heate and alteration of the combat, the measures were spoyled of the pluralitie of their liquors, except of wines and honies, which, in the plurall cases, were spared, to the ende that they myght do Kyng Poeta service with newe wines; for that he loved them well. *Oleum* and *frumentum,* by like misfortune were so gluttonnous, that thorow the great scarsitie that was in the hoast, they wer not found in pluralitie. Other aboad shortened in the ende of their genitives and datives plurall, as *jura, thura, æra, maria* and *fora.* Yet neverthelesse all Nounes had not the worse part; for divers of them had of the spoyle of their enimies; by reason wherof they were of greater authoritie than before, so that some receyved other nominative cases beside their former; as *arbor,* which also hath *arbos; honor,* which hath *honos; odor,* which hath *odos; cucumer,* which hath *cucumis; ciner,* which hath *cinis;* and *pulver,* which hath *pulvis.* Notwithstandyng they occupy these not alwayes, but kepe this share for hie feastes, as for trim and nice decking for honor sake. *Plaga* albeit through hurting he bled, yet wanne he foure other senses without accompt of the first, (that signifieth a wound or hurt) as when he would say the arming cord of a net, also a great space of the heaven and earth, (called *Clima*) also a great kind of linen, such as the old matrones of Rome ware when they went in

the citie, and also for a bed, or any part of a bed. *Opus* the same day wan there three senses; for *Opus* signifieth earth; under *Opus* he giveth ayde, under *Opibus* riches. The Gerundes and Supins, bicause they were so often fled to the enimy, were amerced to fine, after the treatie of peace was made betweene both the sayde kings, through the earnest complainct and supplication of Demosthenes, who alleaged the lawes of Solon, by which it was commaunded, that such wer to be put apart from all honour and offices, that in any sedition had not helde the part of the one nor the other; for that such a one thinketh altogether of his own businesse, and recketh not of the common wealth; the greatest part, then in the lande of Grammar, lyved after the lawes of Athens. Afterwarde, therfore, the King of the Verbes left to the Gerundes no more but only three cases, takyng away from them, for the tresspasse of their default, al their other cases. To the Supins only were reserved but two; whiche greatly greved all them of Grammar, sharpely blaming such a sort of foolish preceptes of Solons lawes, as much as the fonde reasons of Demosthenes, whom they jested at, saying, that he had left (his cunnyng at home) his distaffs, bandes, and woull, and that he had not fained squint eied disease in vaine, to have yerely revenues and preferment; bycause he hoped not to have so much money of the Gerundes and Supines, as he sometime had had of Harpalus. Surely yf I woulde describe forth all the losses and misfortunes orderly as they ought to be, and also all the conquestes of the worthinesse of every one that changed in that day, my matter would be to long. And, therfore, I will here make an ende, and this may suffice, that what so ever is found lost, wasted, or joyned to, and growen up through all the lande of Grammar, and his borders and utter limites, is wholly proceeded thorough the same harde, hideous, and mortall fight among them. In the same tyme of the warres sprang up many new wordes, and sundry olde were put apart and rejected. And had not three honest persons ben chosen for arbiters, (of whom we wil speake hereafter) whiche, by their power and abilitie, withstoode the naughtinesse of certayne grammatistes, or slender grammarians, so great barbarousnesse had then ben mixed thorough the Latin tong, and the same then ben so myngled with foolishe woordes, that all hope had ben lost ever to restore the same againe in his honor, and comely beautie. Therefore, after that the retraict was blowen of both the hoastes, and that they had numbred as well the wounded as the slayne, and had knowne the great losse that was of the hoastes, they all began and fell to sighing; and the sight of suche a slaughter of their people greatly greeved them, through desire of superioritie. Wherefore every of them repentyng, sought nowe nothing else than to make peace. And first of all, Poeta, Kyng of Nounes, after he had called his souldiers, (but not without teares) sayde these words: I thinke well that you knowe (O my fellowes) how dolefully, and against my will, I have taken armes to defend and uphold the honor (as ever sithens I thought) and the authoritie of the Nounes, against our brethren the souldiers of the Verbes; and in how many kindes I have assayed to deferre and put of long from betweene us the warres, and they to leave us quyet in our estate. But when I thinke not only of our own losse, but also of theirs, againe when I beholde the dead corpses on both sides, I have greater desire to lament than to speake. Therefore it behoveth us to remember that, which some of our good olde citizens and burgeses wrote of the discorde and civile warres, as well of the Romaynes as the Grekes, and how with great reproches they blame and detest the ambition of them. In good fayth, if we had thought of this at the first, we never had gone to so great folly, neither had we also, as blinded with anger and rage frantikely, and as voyde of reason, torne our proper fleshe so with our owne handes as we have. But (as an other sayth) that which is done and past, is easier to be reproved than amended: neverthelesse it is better to stay thus than to followe on a noughty beginnyng; for yf we will be so mad as to fight with our selves thoroughly to the ende, doubtlesse then is the principalitie of grammar utterly come to confusion,

and then shall be gyven so great an overture and entrie into the same to the barbarous and ignorant people, that as they will they shall rule all; seyng none shall resist them, and go before to prevent them. By reason wherof, (O my fellowes) for the comoditie of both realmes, I am willingly determined to aske peace with the King of Verbes, and of myne own free will, will go toward him and give him my hande. Notwithstanding, thinke not hereby that I speake it for that I have lost stomacke, or for that I am timorous; but bycause there is nothyng more sure that the affayres of the Nounes and Verbes can continue, unlesse they be friends together knit, and quiet in one; of my selfe I do mine office, not doubting but that I teache you that, which serveth to the continuing benefite and commoditie of every one in general, being ready willingly to do what your wil is. God graunt you aid in al your enterprises. The profitable oration, and no lesse necessarie saying of the king, greatly pleased all the assembly, and all the crewe of the souldiers cried aloude, That that which the king had so wysely spoken, might be right diligently done. So there was sent from the campe of the Verbes for ambassadours, certayne of the wysest of them; and so lykewyse of the chiefe of the Nounes; who havyng first made, without much difficultie, a truce, finally came in such agrement with the King of Verbes, and his greatest lordes, that three personages shoulde be chosen which should be exactly seene, and well understanding in all customes, rules, and termes of grammar: and that at their award and arbiterment, (after a solemne othe sworne thereon) both parties shoulde hold them, and their rest, without any contradiction. Great was the difficulty, and much more was the disputation, to whom the charge shoulde be gyven to make the treatie of the peace. Many procured meanes to have the same office on them, and to divers was the voyce gyven, and other againe toke it from them: in the ende, it was agreed by Priscian, Servius, and Donalt, and also by al the others consenting, that those undernamed, should have the charge and authoritie to knitte and make sure the articles of the peace; that is to wet, Phedra Volatteran, chanon of St. Peters churche, a man of great eloquence, and better knowledge. Item, Peter Marse, chanon of Sainct Laurence in Damascon, a ryght learned man, and Raphael Lippe Florentine, and a great orator, who beyng sent for, came to the campe, and having there hearde the reasons on both sides, and diligently waying the businesse of the matter, in the end pronounced this sentence: To the Kinges of Grammar, to their gentlemen, to their citezens, and to all studentes, to their good happe and commodities be that which now is discussed. We three men, deputed to take away the contencious discords, put a part from us all the slaunders, wrongs, and domages that heretofore have come uppon the Kinges of Grammar, and their souldiers, all which we revoke, take away, and blot out; whiche if they may not be forgotten, at the least, our decree is, that they be never hereafter more spoken of. Item, That hencefoorth when a solemne oration commeth to be made, that then both the Kinges of Grammar, in good agrement with their subjects, come together, as Verbe, Noune, Pronoune, Participle, Adverbe, Conjunction, Preposition, aud Interjection. Item, We appointe, that in common and familiar speache, the Noune and the Verbe only do beare the burden, takyng for their helpe whether of them they will, but to leave the other by, to the ende that beyng put to often in worke, they be not molested. Item, We ordain that the Noune serve to the Verbe, and when he goeth formost as touchyng the case, ought also to be governed of the Verbe, but in speach, that the Noune be before the Verbe, and the same beyng after, ought therfore to governe the Noune touching his case; but concerning his persons and numbres, the Verbe ought to give place to the Noune, Pronoune, or Participle. Item, We appoint that the Participle beare reverence to the Noune and the Verbe, and have the governement of the Verbe before hym first, and that of the Noune after him last. Furthermore, we permit the Verbe to make oration himselfe alone in the seconde and thirde person, and to put out apart

certayne Verbes of action if neede require, for that he represented not the Noune, but that he represented him selfe only. This sentence was gyven and published in the presence of both parties, and it pleased very well all the assemble, and hath since ever bene observed of all the inhabitantes of Grammar. Also the studie of Italie have approved it; and in especiall the learned universitie of Boloigne, the most loving mother of good and forwarde mindes; whiche hath given to the court of Rome, not only so many other great personages, but also even in this tyme, that same ryght learned Alexander Zambecco, whiche never fleted from the right point, thorowe hope or feare. The universitie of Paris observing the rest, craved then for hir studentes, that they might pronounce nounes and verbes at their pleasure, and that without any regarde of the quantitie of sillables. But bicause betwene the relatives and antecedentes, betwene the adjectives and the substantives, betwene the word regent and the governed, betwene the determinant and determined, and also betwene perfect speache and imperfect, was an olde quarel, strivyng whether of them were chiefe and greatest; it was also concluded to join them in unitie, that the relative of substaunce identicale, should agree in gendre, number, and person, with his accident. Item, That the adjective should obey to his substantive in case, gendre, and number; and that the governed worde should followe the nature of the governing; and that the relative of the accident, shoulde onely represent the antecedent in such accident or propertie, in what maner the referred and the referrent agreed, by rule of diversitie with the antecedent; and that the speache imperfect should depende upon the perfect, and the specified worde, of the specifieng, and betwene two adjectives, two substantives, two verbes of the infinitive mode, two perfect speaches, and betwene two imperfects to be no bonde of service. Furthermore, the said Peter Marse would, that betwene sayings and doinges might be made a peace and agreement: but the advise of Phedrus was, that if that discord were once taken away, the barbor, surgions, and taverne kepers, shoulde not have wheron to be occupied, wherfore they left that thing even as they founde it. All students of ignoraunce, with these bussards of Barbary, were by commaundement exiled for ever out of all Grammar. The Barbarouse were chased beyonde the Alpes, into their cities and borough townes; but the ignorant, thorough the favour of some princes, are bred not onely in and through Italie, but also in Rome, that mother of good letters; and there, whether she will or no, do they continue; among whom there are some, beyng pourveyed of fat livings, so dull headed and doltish, and so ignorant in good letters, that if ye aske them, *Amo que pars?* they will say, *Parlate Italiano ch'io voi intenda*, so much in assery they surpasse in ignoraunce the great mules whereon they are so highly got uppe. Moreover, there was given irrevocable power to the deputed, by the strong and firme counsell of them al, to search out, to punish, and exile (as things of nature counterfaict) all evylfavered masters of grammar, as halfe Latins, halfe Grekes, and they to do all thinges that they thought to be profitable to the honor and advauncement of al good letters. And to the end that they might the easier and more lightly execute their charge, were commaunded forthwith to go and follow the Romayne court, wheras more filthynesse and ordure, and more mischevous noughty pranckes are displayed, than godly and honest people spring on those parts, which power is knowen and strengthned by great priveledges of emperors, and learned bishops, and especialy by Julius, that reverent father, the successours of whom God vouchsafe to make his beloved children.

Mr. Henry Saville's Report of the Wages paid to the ancient Roman Soldiers, their Vittayling, and Apparrell. In a Letter to Lord Burleigh, 1595.

Henry Saville, one of the most learned men of his time, was made Provost of Eaton College the year after this tract was presented to Lord Burleigh. He had been tutor to Queen Elizabeth in the Greek language. In 1604, King James bestowed the honour of knighthood upon him. His collection of ancient English historians, his mathematical lectures, his fine edition of St Chrysostom; with many similar labours, attest that his life was devoted to the service of literature. Even J. Pitts, notwithstanding his detestation of protestants, calls Sir Henry Savile, *Vir Græce atque Latine perinde doctus, venerandæ antiquitatis (ut videtur) tam exquisitus indagator, quam ingenuus et liberalis editor.* This learned man died February 19, 1621-2.

A Case of the Ancient Coins.

DRACHMA, or Denarius, the eighth part of an ounce of our money, 7½d. contained . . . . . { Oboli. 6. or Sestertii. 4. or Asses, called most commmonly Æra. 12.

So that Obulos is of our English money, ...	1¼d.
Sestertius, ...	1¾d.
As, ...	one half penny and half a farthing.
Aureus, 100 sestertii, or 25 drachmæ, ...	£0 15 7½
Mina contained 100 drachmæ, ...	3 2 6
Talentum contained 60 minæ, ...	187 10 0

The Common Pay.

The soldier for above 300 years had no publike pay: *Sed privato semptu se utebatur*, sayeth Festus and Livy. The occasion was, for that no man was admitted to be a soldier but of such and such ability and wealth; and the service being ended, the soldier returned again to his husbandry, and made not soldiery a perpetual occupation.

Afterwards, because extraordinary charge should not be unreleved, a pay was appointed, which, in Polybius's time, about the third Punick warre, was,

To the footman[1], a day, 2 oboli, or 4 asses, that is, ...							£0	0	2½
To the extraneus, double							0	0	5
To the horseman, triple							0	0	7½
Which was, *per mensem*, to the	Footman,	£0	6	3	*Per annum*,	. . .	3	3	5
	Extraneus,	0	12	6		. . .	7	10	0
	Horseman,	0	18	9		. . .	11	5	0

[1] This pay, considering the scarceness of silver, and cheapness of all things in that age, was great wages.

According as they did thirty dayes to the month, and twelve months to the yeare; according to which proportion, the yearly pay for 5000 foot, and 300 horse, which, in those days, was the usual numbre of a legion, would arise to two and twenty thousand a hundred twenty five pound; and yet we reade in Plutarch thus, "Pompey, to the entertainment of four legions, receyved yearly, *è publico ærario mille talenta*;" of our money, a hundred fourscore and seven thousand and four hundred pound; that is, for the entertainment of every legion, forty six thousand eight hundred seventy-five pound. By consideration of which two sums, we may reasonably conclude, that the ordinary pay of the common soldier is scarcely the half charge of entertaining an army, or at least so was reputed by them.

About a hundred years after Polybius's tyme, the soldiers pay was doubled by Julius Cæsar, so that the footman had 8 asses a day, of our money v*d.*; *per mensem*, xii*s.* vi*d.*; *per annum*, vii*l.* x*s.* And to the rest, as I think, in proportion; the extraneus double, the horse triple. This increase was necessary, by reason that so much money, by foreign conquests, was brought into the state. For so also Orosius noteth, that *Capta Alexandria Roma in tantum opibus ejus aucta est ut duplo majora quam ante hac res venales in precio statueruntur.* So that, albeit they had double wages, yet would it buy no more meate, drinke, apparell, &c. than that which each enjoyed before.

Augustus, coming in by civil warre and the helpe of soldiers, increased it from eight, to ten asses a day; of our money vi*d.* farthing, which was an aureus, or 25 drachmæ a month; of our money, xv*s.* vii*d.* *ob. per annum*, xv*l.* vii*s.* vi*d.*

In the beginning of Tiberius's tyme, I find that the soldiers, in a mutiny, required, that the pay might be increased from ten asses to a whole denarius, or drachma, or twelve asses; which, albeit, I find was not granted at that time (as a wise prince is not to yield to any thing demanded in mutiny, though otherwise reasonable), yet I am partly of opinion, that it was yielded unto by the same Tiberius afterwards, prices of things growing, the money bringing less, and the increase not great. So was the footman's pay, *per diem*, viii*d.* *ob*; *per mensem*, xviii*s.* ix*d.*; *per annum*, xi*l.* xi*s.* v*d.* But of that enormous increase in so few years, which Lipsius seemeth to allow of; or that the footman, in Otho and Vitellius's tyme, should receive *tres aureos* a month, 30 asses a day; that is, xviii*d.* *ob. q.* [xxviii*l.* ii*s.* vi*d.* a year] and in Domitian's tyme, four aureos a month, that is, 40 asses, or ii*s.* i*d.* a day [xxiii*l.* x*s.* 0*d.* a year,] I see no manner of probility. I grant the place of Zonaras makes mention of 75 drachmæ, or three aurei, and an addition of 25 drachmæ, or one aureus, beside; but whether he meant it for one month's pay, or three, it appears not. It is more likely to be meant of a vantage, or surplussage, which the prince in liberality bestowed once a year upon the soldier, above his ordinary pay, or some such other thing. If he meant it for one month's pay, [iiil. iis. vid.] I am out of doubt he was then erroneous. Never any state having exceeded ordinarily the pay of one drachmæ to an ordinary footman, as it is evident by Thucydides, and others of the Grecians. Or if Otho and Vitellius, each obnoxious to the soldiers, and corrupters of all discipline, yielded to any such sum, are we to presume that Vespatian, a wise prince, and standing upon the strength of his own greatness, a man otherwise strait-handed, revoked it not? Also Domitian his son, found it not three aurei a month, but one aureus only, as in Augustus's tyme; or 30 drachmas, as I think it was in Tiberius's. Finally, albeit the state of Rome exceeded in welth all other nations under heaven, yet dare I boldly affirm, it wold not in possibility, maintaining in those tymes four hundred thousand ordinary soldiers all the whole yeare, and maintain them at so high a rate; especially it being seen, as was noted before, that the common soldier's ordinary pay is not half the charge of an army in the field. Now as for the place of Suetonius, he speaketh not so in our copies; but Lipsius, by correction, has made him speak so, to serve his own turn.

The Common Victualling and Apparel.

Frumentum. The allowance of wheet for a footman a month, was 4 modii, or 4 of our pecks; for the horseman, three bushels of wheet, and ten bushels and a half of provender; for which a certain small tax of money was paid back to the quæstor, in the free state. In latter tymes, under the princes, it was given them freely. Of this corn, the soldier, in former tymes, made himself a cake, as he needed, no common bakers being allowed in the camp. For which purpose, they had certain hand-mills, among ther other provisions. But in latter tymes, the soldiers carried it baked into biskets[1]. For so the soldier was charged oft-times to carry each one upon his back, beside all other carriage; sometymes 20, sometymes 30, days provision of their allowance in corn, beside bread; they made themselves also *pultem*, a kind of pottage, or gruel, for meat; the other provision for meat was but short, more or less, as every man listed, and all at their own cost: it consisted usually in these parcels:

Sal,
Lagumina,
Caro suilla, or *bacon,*
Caseus, &c.

Their drink was water, mingled sometimes with a little vinegar, to take away the earthly taste, which they called *posca.*

For apparel, in the ancient common-welth, the quæstor was to make provision thereof for the soldiers, who pay'd for it some small things, and much under the just price, which was deducted out of his wages. Afterwards, by a law published by C. Gracchus, they had allowance of that also; at least, of some out-coat, or livery garment, without any deduction.

[1] Buccelatum.

THE IMAGE OF IRELANDE,

With a Discoverie of Woodkarne, wherin is most lively expressed the Nature and Qualitie of the saide wilde Irish Woodkarne; their notable aptnesse, celeritie, and pronesse to rebellion; and, by waye of argumente, is manifested their originall and offspring, their descent and pedigree: also their habit and apparell is there plainly showne. The execrable life, and miserable death, of Rorie Roge, that famous arch-traitour to God and the crowne (otherwise called Rorie Oge) is likewise described. Lastlie, the commyng in of Thyrlaghe Leonaghe, the great Oneale of Irelande, with the effecte of his submission to the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney, (Lord Deputie of the saied Lande), is thereto adjoyned. Made and devised by Ihon Derricke, anno 1578, *and now published, and set forth by the saied authour, this present yere of our Lorde* 1581, *for pleasure and delight of the well disposed reader. Imprinted, at London, by Ihon Daie.* 1581. *(12mo. Black letter.)*

Nothing more is known of John Derricke, the author of the following poem, than that he seems to have been the follower of Sir Henry Sidney, to whose son, the celebrated Sir Philip, he has dedicated his rude strains.

Sir Henry Sidney, as we have formerly had occasion to notice, served in Ireland eleven years, and with great honour to himself, and profit to Queen Elizabeth; being no less attentive to the regular administration of justice, than prudent in preventing, and active in putting down, rebellion. He was thrice Lord Deputy of the kingdom; yet he bade Ireland farewell with the expression of the psalmist, "when Israel departed out of Egypt, and the House of Jacob from a barbarous people." Those who shall peruse the following very curious tract, making every allowance for the national and religious prejudices of the writer, will see reason to sympathise with the feelings of the worthy Lord Deputy. For partly through native barbarism, partly through the cruelty and impolicy of the English conquerors, the inhabitants of Ireland, in Queen Elizabeth's time, those at least who resided beyond the English pale, were little better than tribes of absolute savages. The Lord Deputy lived like the general of an invading army in an hostile country, rather than the civil governor of a peaceful and allied province. The Earl of Kildare gave a lively picture of the life of an English nobleman in Ireland, when Wolsey, before the council, taunted him as King of Kildare. "As for my kingdom," quoth he, "my lord, I would you and I had exchanged kingdoms one month, I would trust to gather up more crumbs in that space, than twice the revenues of my poor earldom; but you are well and warm, and so hold you, and upbraid not me after so odious a form. I sleep in a cabin, when you lie soft on your bed of down; and serve under the cope of heaven, when you are served under a canopy. I drink water out of my steel cap, when ye drink wine out of golden cups. My courser is trained to the field, when your jennet is taught to amble. When you are be-graced and be-lorded, and crouched and kneeled unto, then find I small grace from our Irish borderers, unless I cut them short by the knees".[1] No man followed this perilous and painful duty more closely than Sir Henry Sidney, in so much that he wasted the best part of his life, and totally destroyed an excellent constitution, in the Irish wars. The praise of Derricke was but a poor compensation for the dreadful state of health to which he seems to have been reduced by the hard lodging, miserable diet, broken rest, and, above all, constant anxiety of mind which attended his Irish campaigns.[2] But the services rendered to that distracted

[1] "The cardinal perceived, that Kildare was no babe, and rose in a fume from the council board."—STOWE's *Annals, ad. an.* 18m. Hen. VIII.

[2] He brought on himself the racking diseases of gout and stone to a complicated and horrible degree.—See *Memoirs of the Sidneys*, prefixed to Collins' Sidney *State Papers and Memorials.*

country, were a better reward for his own sufferings. He subdued three formidable rebellions; the first, by Shane O'Neale; the second, by the Butlers; the third, by the Earl of Clanrickard and his sons. In peace, he put the statutes in force against the illegal and oppressive exactions of *coigne* and *liverye*, as they were called. He devised and enforced, under very difficult circumstances, the division of the kingdom into regular shires, so as to compel the regular currency of the queen's writs. He fortified the towns of Ireland; bridged her rivers; secured and preserved her records; tamed and civilized her inhabitants. The administration of public justice he rendered more equal; and, by the most rigid attention to his word, he laid the best foundation for public security and confidence, by establishing as inviolable the faith of the chief magistrate. "In these services," says his faithful secretary Molineux, "he spent his youth and his whole life; sold his lands; and consumed much of his patrimony, without recompence or reward." Such was Sir Henry Sidney, to whom the Image of Ireland is inscribed. He died at Ludlow, on the 5th of March, 1586, aged only 57.

The plan of Derrick's poem is far from being regular, or even intelligible. The first part is a description of Ireland, in which he gives an allegorical description of the inhabitants, characterizing the women as seductive nymphs, with all the beauty, and all the deceit, of syrens; and the men as a sort of fawns, or sylvan deities, quartered by the gods in Ireland as an out-post, which ought to be garrisoned, lest the giants should renew an attack upon Olympus. The wit or propriety of this allegory, it is difficult to discover; and indeed, it is probable that the author, like better poets, being determined to say something fine, was indifferent whether it were comprehensible or not. It must be owned, at the same time, that the wild, shaggy, half-naked appearance of the Irish Kerne, strongly recalled the idea of satyrs. Cleland has, a century later, described the Highlanders, who resembled the native Irish in dress, language, and manners, by the same simile:

> "Like fawns, or brownies, if ye will,
> Or satyrs come from Atlas' hill."

The Second Part of the poem is more intelligible, and contains a singular, and highly unfavourable, yet but too just an account, of the Wood-Kerne, or native Irish in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Not only were they behind all Europe, at least two centuries, in civilization; but the military oppression under which they groaned, added degradation to their natural ignorance and barbarism. The conquest of a civilized people over savages, is seldom to the advantage of the latter, when the disproportion between their attainments is so great, as to destroy hope of successful imitation by the vanquished. In such cases, they not only retain all the vices natural to their own state, but add to them those of their victors. When Dr Johnson asked a clergyman of the islands, which clans were accounted the most savage? he answered readily, those who lay nearest to the Lowlands. In this situation were the native Irish, the prey of a people superior to them in the arts of peace, in which they never endeavoured to instruct them; and in those of war, which they taught them to their cost, the objects at once of hatred and of envy; and, at the same time, so few, in comparative numbers, that even the terror of their discipline and arms did not exclude the hope of their final extirpation.

The Image of Ireland, though often quoted, is now, I believe, for the first time, reprinted entire. The copy transcribed for the press is that in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, the only one known to possess some, though not all the original wooden cuts.

To the right worshipfull Maister Phillip Sidney, Esquire, sonne and heire to the right honourable Sir Henry Sidney, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Lorde President of Wales, and merches of the same, Lorde Deputy Generall of her highnesse realme in Ireland, and one of her Majesties most honourable Privie Counsell in Englande, Jhon Derricke wisheth perfect felicitie in Christ, *amen.*

Consideryng with my self, (right worshipfull) that it is not onely sufficiente for menne towardes their benefactors, to beare an inward affection, and minde gratulatorie for benefites received, but also, that some outward and externall token of necessitie bee thereto adjoyned, lively to expresse outwardly, the secret affectes of the same;

though, notwithstandyng inwarde goode will be such an excellent vertue, as who so ever hath it, standes partly in securitie, but who soever hath and expresseth it, to hym is all thyng made sure: even so, and for because I have ever studied, and imployed my diligence, to flee unthankefulnesse, that notable vice detested of God and man, and to imbrace gratefulnesse, that heavenly sacrifice, approved of God, manifestyng it to the whole worlde, in discharge of my duetie towardes my lord your father, whom, for many respectes, unfainedly I honour, and in hym to your worship as a pattren of all benignitie, proceeding from so honourable a kindrede, with all semely reverence I worship, I saie with all humilitie, sinceritie, and integritie of mynde; as a notable argument of my unfained good will, these my labours, beyng the fruites of my travell, I humblie doe offer, assuryng myself of your favourable countenaunce therein, to whose protection I am so much the more bolder to commende them, by how muche I understande your excellent nature towardes all laudable exercises. And though (peradventure) some will impute me arrogante, and passing presumptuous in attemptyng the same; havyng respect but onely to the naked partes of the outward gift and giver, not waiyng the inward motion of the mynde, whereof the outward accions spryng, nor yet sufficiently ponderyng, that as it is impossible for fire to be without heate, or the sunne without brightnesse, no more can the good meanyng of the good bee for ever repressed, but that at the laste it bursteth forthe, and is made manifeste, shewyng it selfe openly, muche like the flames of fire, after a thicke and smoulderyng smoke; *not* [should be *nor*] yet diligently consideryng, like wise and cunnyng carpenters, that by how muche the weaker a house and buildyng is, by so muche the stronger ought the postes and pillers to be; (I saie) thei havyng regard to none of these thynges, or, at the least, not fullie consideryng theim, neither remembryng how commendable a thyng it is, for everie creature to yeelde his fruite, simplye in his naturall kinde, without colouryng or dissimulation, be it little or muche, but rather castynge their eyes like sencelesse beastes downe to the grounde, champyng uppon the outward elements, damnyng and condemnyng those externall actions, signes, and tokens, and as vaine, frivolous, and of no effect; yet, notwithstandyng this maie not discomfort me in that whiche I have here determined, but that (maugree their beardes) my good will must appeare, givyng them to understande, that it is as possible for them to put the whole seas into a leather bottle, and to drive all the Woodkarne of Irelande into one shepheardes bag, or satchell, as it is to drive me from my pretended purpose; because I knowe it consisteth in your worshippes free choise and libertie, to make bothe the gifte and giver seeme sufficient worthie, &c. Thus, beyng emboldened through fame of your courtesie, with hope of remission for this my temeritie, I duetifullie ende, besechyng God to preserve your worship in good health and long life, with much encrease of worship and honour, &c. At Dublin, her majesties cheef citie in Irelande, xvj. of June MDLXXVIII.

Your worshippes moste humble,

JHON DERRICKE.

To the right honourable and my verie good Lordes, the Lordes of her Majesties realme of Irelande, and to all other in generall of the saide lande, beyng lovers of vertue, and imbracers of civilitie: grace bee multiplied, and peace everlasting.

It maie be thought, (right honourable,) and likewise be imagined of some, who, (peradventure,) readyng this my little treatise of the Image of Irelande, with a conscience corrupted, to bee a thyng devised and sette forthe, in reproche of all the nobilite, and others, borne within this realme of Irelande, as though the partie ment nothyng else but a meere contempte of so many noble, and worshipfull personages, and that this title of Woodkarne, should be but a covert, to shroude hym from suspition of the former al-

legation: truth is, my verie good lordes, if credite maie bee given to the artificer, simplie as he meaneth, the substaunce is all one, (the matter I meane,) to the verie title, of that which is here called Woodkarne,[1] who disalowyng their karnishe manners, affirme their dissolute life, and inordinate livyng, better to pertaine unto infidelles, and heathen, then for those whiche in any respecte professe the name of Christe, (and what christians thei bee, right honourable, judge ye,) wherefore be ye not then offended, O ye freendes of virtue, and imbracers of civilitie, that I should so sore lothe, or envaigh their farre unseemely maners, setting out in lively protractours, in contempnyng the same, bothe their shape, and execrable accions; for, (in verie troth,) my harte abhorreth their dealynges, and my soule dooeth detest their wilde shamrocke[2] maners, yea so muche the rather, because there is no societie or fellowship betwene God, and the devill, little amitie betwene the wolfe and the lambe; like good will, betweene a rebell, and a faithfull subject. Now, for as muche then, as thinges with their contraries agree not, I moste humblie beseche your courtesies, not to deeme the reprehension of these wilde wanton Woodkarne, to bee spoken of all menne in generall, which is here ment, but of some, of those I saie, that are rebelles to our queene, enemies to peace, and disturbers of the common wealthe; as for your honours, in good tyme bee it spoken, and voide of flatterie recited, who knoweth not, what festination by your lordshipps hath been used, what godlie care taken, what meanes practised, what policie shewed, and diligence bestowed at all tymes, (as occasion served,) to serve, accompanied either with the lorde deputie, or by your lordshipps alone, against those whom I have here tearmed by the name of Woodkarne, bestowyng not only your travelles, adjoyned with greate charges, but also ventured your lives in advauncyng her majesties honor, shewyng thereby bothe a constant faithe, a perfecte fidelitie to her royal crowne, conflictyng by force of maine battell, many of these monsters, beeyng sworne enemies to her noble grace, the attempte wherof was laudable, and the action meritorious, before God and man. This I truste maie suffice, (right honourable,) your noble wisdomes, to withdraw all sinister suspicions from your suppliant, and his booke, givyng full credite, my purposed intent is not, neither yet ever was, to blemishe any mannes renowne, (beeyng approved servitours to her moste noble and dreadfull scepter,) whose continuance, I praie God, maie bee long and joyfull, peaceable as the daies of Salomon, copying with the long yeres of Nestor, to governe us her people, with an admirable regimente, and over her foes triumphantly to raigne. Amen. God blesse your honours, with all maner of spirituall and yearthly blessynges, the favour and love of God and manne, muche honour in your countrie, and, to conclude, life everlastyng &c.

Your honours moste humble,

JHON DERRICKE.

To the good and gentle Reader in all places wheresoever, but especially to my loving Countrimen of Englande, hartie salutations, and greetyng ever.

Divers were the causes (good reader) that moved me first to take in hande the carvyng forth of this image, and lastly to commende it to thy gentle devotion, hoping, that as with no small labour and travel I have finishte, and brought it to this perfection, and with no lesse willyng consent, and single mynde, have made it serviceable at

[1] The Irish word *Kern*, signifies originally and probably a foot soldier; but came chiefly to be applied to freebooters. The Gaelic word *Ketterin*, which is perhaps the same, has, in the Highlands of Scotland, undergone a similar change.

[2] "They," the Irish, "willingly eat the herb Schamrock, being of a sharp taste, which, as they run, and are chased to and fro, they snatch like beasts out of the ditches."—MORISON'S *Travels*, Part iii. B. iii. ch. 5.

thy good pleasure to use, so likewise on thy part thou wilt freendly accept the same, entertayning it as a straunger, or messenger come from a farre countrey, simplie to report and deliver unto thee the state and condition of his saied countremen the Woodkarne, without any imparyng of their credites, the more notable members of the same, who, differyng from theim in their rustical rudenesse, doe agree wholie with us in all laudable discipline. Touching whiche causes, though thei bee many, and, as I saied before, divers, twoo yet especially, I thought good to signifie, whereof the one came of a duetifull affection, and unfained good will (drawne of long continuaunce through graces received) towardes his persone, whiche undoubtedly I honor, and the other of a bounden duetie (through love inseparable) towardes my native countrey: Of whiche twoo, though either of them were sufficient to move any man (if he were not a forgetfull persone) to like indever, yet seeyng thei are variable, and eche of them so laudable, I might in nowise slacken my pretended purpose, but shewe my hartie good will bothe to freende and countrie. If you, therefore, (my beloved countremen) for whose sakes (as I said before) partely I framed it, and for whose greater delight I have clothed it with variety, shall deeme it worthie of your custodie, or receive thereby any profitable pleasure, I obtaine not onlie my expectation, touchyng suche curtesie, but also full recompence of all my whole charges, (who doubtlesse accoumpte theim nothyng to pleasure either partie). And if (by waie of digression) some, peradventure, (whose iudgementes are parciall in other mennes labours) shall cavill at this my imprinted image, or impugne the thinges therein contained, (as reportyng matters of untrouthe) especially the thirde leafe of this discovered Woodkarne, affirmyng no suche rudenesse in these our daies to be practised with the rudeste of that moste barbarous nacion,—to such I replie, (cravyng their pacience) saiyng, that it is not our Englishe pale, whiche in anye respecte I have touched; nor yet those of the southe, whom I have impeched; nor yet of the weste, whom I have nipped,—but a people out of the northe, whose usages I behelde after the fashion there sette doune; and those are thei whom I have detected, shadowyng notwithstandyng part of their maners with flowres of that countrey; and least peradventure ye might muse whom I meante, I will not be curious in dischargyng my conscience, lettyng you understande, that thei are a people sprong from Mack Swine,[1] a barbarous offspring, come from that nation, which maie bee perceived by their hoggishe fashion: So as (my beloved countrimen, and well disposed reader, if wilfulnesse blinde not the sightes of your judgementes,) it manifestly appeareth, and maie easily be conjectured, that it is not against any one good member of this commonwealthe of Irelande that I have made my discoverie, but onely against the pernicious vipers of the said lande; whiche thing I wish hartely eche one to beleve and credite, knowyng (for example sake) that warre is not waged against the queenes freendes, nor yet a battel fought, save onely against her enemies; which if you so credite, and therewithal accepte of my travelles, (which do represent my unfained good will,) I leave not this simplie as a pledge of a further benevolence with you, but there withal doe paune even my credite for accomplishyng my promesse; till whiche tyme farewell, as your hartes can desire.

Yours as his owne,

JHON DERRICKE.

[1] The Mac Sweynes were a powerful sept in Ulster, anciently, according to Spenser, of English descent, and of the surname of Vere, but who, in hatred of the English, thus (surely for the worse) exchanged their name for a Celtic patronymic. But Sir James Warner holds them to be of the ancient Irish.—SPENSER'S *Works, Todd's Edit.* Vol. VIII. p. 384, 385.

The Firste Parte of the Image of Irelande.

The [1] heavenly God, puissant Prince,
the 'ternal Kyng of Grace,
The Lorde which rules both heaven and yearth,
with his imperial mace:
Which caused first the cristal skies
in lively formes appeare,
And by the course of glistryng Pheabe,
devided eke the yeare:
Which did the loathsome chaos part,
and separate asonder,
And plaste the yearth above the sease,
for mortall men to wonder:
Which gave commaundement to the same,
in Nature's perfect kinde,
To multiply, and yelde the 'ncrease
to those that came behinde:
(Which was to man, as then not made,
a famous creature sure,)
Of all the workes of mighty Jove
renowned rare and pure:
Which gave him reason from above,
his will to understande;
Upholding heaven and yearth likewise
with his moste holie hande:
Whiche did reduce from bale to blisse,
the wretched state of man,
And in exchange the sacred heavens
allotted to him than;
(Not for the good desartes he sawe,
in mortal fleshe to be,
But meerly of his owne accorde
that grace extenden he:)
Which made the seate of Brittishe kynges
with honour to abounde,
And eke their juste deserved fame
through glom'ryng worlde to sounde;
Suppressyng all their mortal foes
that up against them rose,
And by the force of bloodie blade
afflicted ever those.
[2] This sondrie lands can testifie,
as stories witnesse yeeld;
And wee the fruite thereof doe reape,
as from a fartile feeld;
Whiche to relate in this discourse
I deme it not amisse,
Because I judge the same to shewe,
a pleasant storie is.

[1] The auethor, in this his first beginnyng, sheweth that God was the onely cause whiche moved hym to write and set out this his woorkes, helpyng, and favorably supportyng hym in the same, who being otherwise insufficient, and not able of hymself to doe the same, but by the goodnesse and furtheraunce of God, yeldeth to hym due honor therefore.

[2] Forraine princes, nations, and countries, can witnesse of the honorable estate and royaltie of the kynges of Englande, since the tyme it was enhabited.

Probations.

[1] Prince Arthure is here brought forth as an unreprovable testes, being, as it wer, a moste famous river, that watereth the face of the whole earth with the streames of his immortal fame and renowne.

[1] And to beginne with Marses knight,
that mightie man of warre,
Whose fame might not suffice the worlde,
but peerst the highest starre;
Who now, though shrowded in the yearth,
with bodie tournd to claye,
Yet ever livyng with the juste,
and shall from daie to daie;
Who never made his backe-retourne,
once enterde in the feelde,
Till he had made the stoutest foes
their stately scepters yeeld;
And brought, by marcial force of armes,
their honour to the duste,
By pluckyng doune their cheefest staies,
whereon their hope did truste:—

[2] The honour of King Arthure his actes, manhode, conquestes, magnanimitie, chivalrie, and what els, in chronicles are sufficiently set out, to the greate comforte and consolation of all Britishe and Englishemennes hartes.

[2] Prince Arthure is that noble kyng,
whose fame, and great reporte,
Stirde up the nobles of the worlde
to seek unto his courte.
This is the prince, whose courage stout
his credite did advaunce:
This is the man that raignde as kyng
in Britaine, and in Fraunce:
This is the knight, whose bloodie blade
obtained Cæsar's crowne:
This is the man that brought at laste
the haughtie Romanes doune:
This is that thrice renowmed knight
whom stories doe commende:
This is the prince, whose fame and name
dame Honour dooeth defende.
Thus here of this victorious knight
I make a finall ende,
And to the kyngs of like renowne
in later yeres descende;
Wherefore attentive lordyngs bee,
your listnyng eares to fill,
For breefly of them will I speake
accordyng to my skill.
And as with Arthure I beganne,
so will I heare proceade

[3] King Henry the Second, as chronicles record, for wisedome, knowledge, and judgement, was holden famous throughout the world, insomuche as emperours, (namely the emperour of Rome and of Constantinople,) hearing of his notable wisedome, sent by their ambassadors to have his resolution and judgement in great matters of strife and contention. Read more of this kynges glorie, his wealth, and possessions, in Maister Foxes Ecclesiasticall Historie, I meane the actes and monumentes.

[3] To write of Henrie's noble name,
the Seconde, as I reade;
To shewe his magnanimitie,
in wrightyngs comprehended,
And other graces specially
in chronicles remembred:
For he it is which mightily
augments our countries fame,
And in his time moste roially
defended eke the same.

He is that seconde Salomon,
as writynges doe importe,
Which filde all corners of the worlde,
with fame of his reporte;
Whiche movde bothe kyngs and emperours,
and princes farre and neare,
To drawe unto his noble court
his wisedome for to heare.
[1] For why, his domes were purely given
in matters of debate,—
He was an umpere equally
to every kinde of state.
He forste not principallitie,
nor yet regarded might;
In every cause especially
respected he the right:
For which, his actions purely doen,
by wisedomes rules approved,
Of princes, kynges, and emperours,
he highly was beloved.
Thus was he counted in his daies
the wisest under sonne,
Through Europe, and beyonde those partes,
so far his fame did ronne;
And as for his possessions,
so largely thei extended,
As never prince before, nor since,
had like, as is remembred.
O kyng, these thynges assuredly
deserve to be enrolde,
And graven in tables sumptuously,
made all of beaten golde.
[2] But did the glorie of the realme
from thence forth ginne to cease?
Or did't not, like the lawrell tree,
in freshnesse still increase?
Did not the princes of the same,
by marciall actes maintaine
The garlande of immortal fame,
that others earst did gaine?
Goe looke and searche the monumentes,
and there you shall beholde,
That there their names emong the beste
dame Honour hath enrolde.
There shall you see the famous prince,
in prease of worthies stande,
Even cheeke by cheeke to mightie Mars,
with dreadfull sworde in hande;
There shall you see dame honour brave,
amide the golden raies,
This noble prince's banner vaunce,
to his eternall praise.

[1] He sheweth the cause why Kyng Henry was had in suche honour and great admiration.

[2] The scepter of the noble realme of Englande, daiely more and more encreased in honor and fame, beeyng as the sunne in the firmament of heaven, that casteth the beames of his shine unto the uttermoste partes of the worlde, so that nothyng might bee hid from the heat and presence thereof.

[1] Prince Edward the Third is here a noble testimony to approve the above saied allegation, beeyng in his tyme moste excellent on yearth, as in chronicles is reported.

[1] Prince Edward is that noble knight,
the third kyng of that name,
Approved in the misteries
of Marse's warlike game;
This is the prince, whose roiall acts
were known by sea and lande:
This is the knight, whose presence durste
no forraine kyng withstande:
This is the prince, whose conquryng sworde
possest a double croune:
This is the manne that made his foes
on every side come doune:

[2] Kyng Edward not abiding the mallepartnesse of the dronken Pope of Rome, which needes would bee a stickler twixt him and the French kyng, standes at defiaunce bothe with Frenche kyng and Pope, and offereth to fight hand to hande with them bothe; whiche, when the Pope understandeth, like a coward, or rather like a snaile in a shell, draweth in his hornes, for feare of a broken costard, and quietly suffereth this noble Kyng Edward, accordyng his pleasure, to execute the force of his sworde against his adversarie. Whiche brave example, if al other kynges would followe and imitate, the beaste would beware how he entermedled with princes matters, impertinent to his callyng. *

[2] This is the manne whose valiant harte,
for triall of his right,
Did proffer gainst the Romishe Pope
even hande to hande to fight;
But durst the pope's heroicall harte
take thoffer of the kyng?
No, no; the foole was wise enough,
he feard an other thyng,—
He knewe, that if he had assaied
to tempt hym in his rage,
That captive should he yeeld hymself,
or leave his hearte to gage;
Wherefore, to save his credite then
he knewe no waie but one,
Which was to take the keyes, and leave
the sworde to hym alone:
For Peter needes must silence keepe
when Paule steppes forth in place;
And knowe we not how Paule withstoode
Sainct Peter to his face?
This thyng importes a misterie,
of whiche here to dispute,
I purpose not, but leave the same
for others to confute.
Yet might I saie my minde therein,
as some before have doen,
But that I see the daie forbiddes,
and tyme is almost ronne.
I see how Nox herself applies
to shade Sir Phebus' light;
But let the toothlesse crabbed queane,
boyle in her owne despight.
Yea, let her ever frettyng live,
and pinyng fade awaie;
A just reward for such a drabbe,
her mallice to bewraie.
But as for Phebe, you holie ones,
graunte he maie flourishe still;
And to the endyng of my worke,
Lorde guide my quiveryng quill.

* It can hardly be guessed whence Derricke took this extraordinary piece of history.

[1] When thus this high and mightie prince,
whose glorie did extende
Throughout all corners of the worlde,
even to the furthest ende,
Had rulde, and rainde, and wealde the mace,
and scepter of this lande,
Long tymes, and dayes, and many yeres,
as wrighters beare in hande,
At length, as all thyngs hath a tyme
to spryng, to growe, and crease,
And backe again in elder yeres
to wither, fade, and cease,
Muche like the sweete and pleasant hearbe,
or fragrant sentive flowre,
That risethe bravely for a tyme,
and falleth in an howre;
Or as the auncient aged oke,
sometyme of passyng strength,
But yet through sondrie winters storms,
a feeble tree at length;
Or rather like the gallant sunne,
that golden firie ball,
Whiche havyng passed the toppe of heaven,
declineth to the fall;
Even so this famous peerlesse prince,
that precious pearle of price,
Through all the hostes and cope of heaven
renowned famous thrice,
At laste by death arested was,
and forced to resigne
The thynges he conqu'red by the sworde,
as whiche from royall line,
Did erst descend, surrendring them
to other noble kynges,
Whose praises all eche sacred dame
in heavenly ditties synges.
[2] Emongest the whiche, though thei deserve
to have immortal fame,
Yet here of one his praise to wright,
it joyes my hande to frame.
[3] It gladdes my harte to name him once,
to bryng him forth in place,
For hym that onely durste defie
his enemies to their face.
[4] He, he it is, and none but he,
in these our latter daies,
Through Europe, and beyonde partes,
hath wonne like noble praise.
Kyng Henry that most famous prince,
the Eight I meane by name,
Whiche left behynde hym for his deedes,
so highe renowne and fame;

[1] Kyng Edward, havyng long ruled the scepter of his kyngdome with glorie and great honour, resigned the same up to his successors, who also augmente the fame thereof, and in his posteritie is more excellente than his antecessours, as in the tractations of histories is at large discussed.

[2] Though sonderie of Kyng Edwardes successours deserved immortal renowne, whom severally I omitted here to entreate of, yet, emongst them all, one of late memorie I thought fit, for proofe and argumente's sake, to set forthe as an undoubted paterne of all nobilitie, whiche is meant of Kyng Henry the Eight.

[3] The only looke and countenance of Kyng Henry the Eight was sufficient to discomfort an hoste of menne.

[4] Kyng Henry, beyng at warre with the French, retaines the Emperour to serve under his standred, and ther withall makes his foes to taste bitterly of the rod of his correction; for his majestie would not abide to be dallied withall.

This is the prince whose onely lookes,
made divers nations quake:
This is the manne that made likewise
huge towres and holds to shake:
This is the prince that did retaine
the emp'rour in his bande:
[1] This is the prince that of hymself
did holde the stately croune:
This is the manne that durst attempt
to throwe the Papistes doune:
This is the prince that freedome got
to this his countrie soile:
This is the manne that put the pope
and popishe foes to foile:
This is the manne that made his bulles
goe flittyng doune the streames,
And thrust out all his peltyng trashe
out of his highnesse realmes.
This is the manne whose roiall actes,
have wonne eternall fame,
Emongest the sainctes and sonnes of men,
deservyng well the same.
[2] But yet, O kyng, especially
thrice famous art thou calde,
Through her whiche in the self same throne
of honour now is stalde;
I meane our gracious soveraigne queene,
that sacred virgine pure,
Whose raigne God graunt thrice Nestor's yeres,
with honour to endure.
This is the prince whose worthie fame
doeth live and raigne for ever:
This is the queene whose noble name
can bee defaced never:
This is the prince which in her daies
wrought wonders in her lande,
And made her foes, like heards of sheepe,
amazed for to stande:
[3] This is the prince whose sacred arme
hathe wounded so the pope,
That to recover his former strength,
he liveth voide of hope:
[4] This is the prince which to her realmes
procureth reste and peace:
This is the queene that causeth warres
and bloodie broiles to cease:
This is the prince that little cares
to hazard life or blood,
This is the queene that nothyng spares
to doe her people good:

[1] Kyng Henry, waiyng with hymself what a miserable plague it was for hymself, his people, and kingdome, to be subject unto the pope of Rome, (that presumpteous prelate,) to the admiration of all the worlde, unhorseth the pope, and makes him go on fote, (with a mischief) where as before he spared not to ride in the neckes of Christian emperours and kynges farre better than hymself. So courageous was that excellent kyng, as therein he enterprised that whiche all the potentates of the world durst not attempt besides.

[2] The honour of Kyng Henry is triple augmented in his successors, especially in the governement of our gracious and soveraigne ladie, the quene's most excellente majestie, who not onely hath continued in the course of her father, by suppressing the pope, but with more severitie hath holden his nose doune to the grindestone, as by continual grindyng it is almost worne out to the gristle and bare stumps.

The honour of our good queene in her excellencie is here published.

[3] Queene Elizabethe's sacred arme, as the pope saieth, hath given him such a cut overthwarth his monkishe visnamye, that he is in dout, whether he shall ever be able to be cured of the wounde; his cardinalles are utterly discomforted, his chirurgians have given hym over, as all his doctours doe doubt.

[4] The great care of her majestie is ever in sekyng out the waie by which she may governe her people and countrie with all godlines, tranquilitie, and peace. The life and blood of her majestie (whiche God for his mercie preserve and maintain,) is not so deare in her grace's sight for the preservation of her people and countrie, but that she would, if occasion served, (as God forbid that wee should see that daie to be so distressed,) bothe venter and hazarde for defence of the same; for which God bee praised, and her majestie honoured, (a singular token of a most godly and Christian prince.) The aucthor stirreth up all Christian people and true subjectes to give forthe a sign of their hartie good will and love towardes her sacred majestie, by adding amen to that which he before praied for.

O giftes of rare varietie
adornyng princes grace;
Stande up, eternall memorie,
Eliza's fame to blaze.
O perfect magnanimitie
thy fame continue ever,
As doeth the sonne in circled skies,
whose light decreaseth never.
And everlastyng maiest thou live
to rule thy people then,
To whiche let every subject saie
unfainedly, Amen, (amen).
[1] O praie for her prosperitie,
you people of her lande,
That God maie prosper happely
what so she takes in hand:
That God maie favor graciously
the things she hath begonne,
That she with us, and we with her,
a blessed race maie ronne.
[2] In this, as in all other thyngs,
th' Almightie's will be doen,
Since nothyng maie prevent his grace,
or godlie purpose shonne.
[3] For why? he is that self same God
that never alters kinde;
A God, I saie, most excellent,
and of a constant minde;
Whiche never doeth forsake the thyng
once tane in his protection,
Nor yet rejecteth utterly
which is in his election.
He is a God omnipotent,
on whom the world dependeth,
Whose vigor, force, and celsitude
through everie part extendeth.
A roiall God immencible,
that can not be enclined
To chaunge, from all eternitie,
his sacred purpose minded.
But that which his devinitie
before all ages formed,
In his eternall secresie
shall doubtlesse be performed.
[4] This holie and immortall God,
even he, I must confesse,
Did stirre me up most studiously
my senses to addresse;
To write some pleasant historie
I musyngly began
[5] For to consider warely
of what it should be than.

[1] Here the aucthour exhorteth al estates and degrees of menne to praie for the prosperitie of her grace, that God would be on her right hande continually, givyng good succesee to all her highnesse enterprises, that she with us, her loyal and obedient subjectes, and we with her, our right dread and soveraigne queene, the true anoynted of the Lorde, maie raigne, and live together in all peace and godlinesse, to the honour and glorie of God for ever.

[2] In all our petitions, actions, and requestes, we must referre the successe ever to the good will and pleasure of God.

[3] The cause why wee should yeeld our will to God's will is, because he is even still the self same thyng, that never chaungeth nor alters his entent or purpose established in his secret counsell, but as he doeth and hath pruposed, so also in tyme convenient doeth likewise accomplishe; by which we may perceive his excellent puritie.

[4] This is a portion of that whiche in the beginnyng was alledged, where it is saied, that God was the cause principall whereby the mynde of the aucthour was mightily enflamed to write some pleasant historie, but wiste not what, till at length, by the self same cause, he was enstructed and taught what he should write, as more fullie hereafter is set doune.

[5] The aucthour is not ashamed to acknowledge his imbecillitie, of hym self unable to bring to passe any notable exploite, save onely that he dependeth on God's direction to finishe the thynge his goodnesse shall begin. Better to bee mere ignorante, then to bee over skilfull to the hurte of other.

I was no fitte astronomer
to treat upon the starres,
Nor yet trainde up in Marsis court
to tell of bloodie warres.
I was no famous oratour,
nor craftie manne of lawe,
Whiche from a but of muskadine
a tunne of malmessies drawe;
Nor yet recounted excellent
in those high mist'ries seven,*
By which I might upon myne othe
tell what is done in heaven.
I was not of god Neptune's court,
as pirates be on sease;
I deemde it farre a better life,
though poore, to live at ease.
[1] I was not skilful in their trades
which give out golde to gaine;
No, no, I dare avouche suche sainctes,
my pouch did never staine;
[2] Nor yet with marchant venterers,
those were too high for me;
Unneath to shew their famous sleight,
acquainted might I bee;
I founde not in me verelie
of wrighters that's required;
How might I then performe the thyng
my soul and harte desired?
But he that worketh all in all
did will me forward venter,
And he would aide me warlike wise,
stronge towres and holdes to enter.
Whereon I tooke such harte of grace,
as with a joyfull minde
I marched forthe in stedfast hope,
some good success to finde.
In whiche my travells surely
he dide so wel attende me,
As nothyng could bee deemed fit,
but forthwith did he send me.
He gave me to associate
a chosen crew of dames;
[3] Invention, with good Memorie,
these were their perfect names,
To whom Conveighaunce was adjoyned,
as corp'rall to the bande,
Convaiyng eche thyng pretily,
what so they tooke in hande.

[1] Meanyng not acquainted in the science of usurie, whereby he might have had good occasion and matter to write of.

[2] The aucthour, still procedyng on in the discription of his imperfection, and havyng felt the ground of his knowledge, seing him selfe to be altogether unfurnished of that whiche in historiographers is required, doth, as it were, aske a question, how it wer possible for hym to accomplish the thing he gladly desired? whereunto he makes aunswere, alledgyng, though in his owne eyes he seemed insufficient, yet God, who governeth all thynges, bids hym but adde to his good will, and he would further hym in the reste.

[3] Three principall thinges are to be retained of every chronicler and writer of histories, that is to saie, Invention, Memorie, and pleasant Conveiance, without whiche, whatsoever a man doeth is altogether unsaverie.

* The seven liberal sciences, as they were called.

With these I venterde forwardlie
to prosecute with speede
What so my harte assuredlie
had long before decreed.
[1] And havyng now the lothsome goulfe
of deep despaire well paste,
We did approche th' Elysiane feelds
of comfort at the laste;
Where all the crewe of heavenly dames
with one consente beganne
To sit them doune, and on my cause
advisedly to scanne.
In which high court of parliament
it was concluded on,
That of the famous Irishe soile
I should enlarge upon.
[2] And least thereof in any parte
I might relate amisse,
By reason of the longitude
or latitude there is,
A goodly brave Piramides,
erected passyng high;
From whence all corners of the lande,
I might at large discrie.
[3] From whence I did beholde and see,
most noble flowing streames;
Fit for the marchantes of the worlde
to sail from forraine realmes:
Wherein were sondrie store of beastes,
in waters that doe live,
To whom their proper names I am
unable for to give. *
Yet were thei suche as doe maintaine,
and serve for commonwealth,
By yeelding plentie to the soile,
where store of people dwelth.
Yea, suche and suche (if credit maie
be given unto me then),
As doe refreshe the hongrie soule,
and serve the use of man.
All which I sawe abondantlie,
aloofe where I did stande:
[4] But far more braver things than those,
upon the stable lande.
I there beheld how everie parte
and percell was convaide,
With hills, and woods, and champion ground,
moste artificiall laide.

[1] The aucthour at last, through many daies travail, obtaineth the porte and haven of reste, where his three foresaid companions, Invention, Memorie, and Conveighaunce, consultyng together, agree and conclude, that he should entreat upon the Irishe soile, and inhabitauntes of the same, with the fertilitie of the ground.

[2] Marke the preparation made for the aucthour, leste peradventure he might relate ought amisse, and so by false discoverie of thynges therein contained, ronne in danger of reproofe, whereunto the nature of the caviller is passyngly addicted.

[3] By these flowing streames are ment, the goodlie havens and rivers through everie parte of Irelande, most famous for marchantes, in whiche rivers also are store, change, and choise of all fine and delicate fishes, and that in most abondant sort, a notable pleasure and necessarie commoditie for a commonwealthe; and this is the first part concernyng the waters.

[4] As the rivers of Irelande are notable famous for the varietie of all maner of fishes, given in moste plentifull maner, so is the lande farre more renowmed for her situation, pleasant ayre, operation, and goodlie store of all maner of catell behofefull for the lande; and for all kinde of wild foule for pleasure and profite of man, as in the discourse thereof shall speedily be set out.

* The reader will find the most distinguished of the Irish rivers rather more poetically commemorated by Spenser, in the 11th Canto of the Fourth Book of the *Faery Queen*.

The hills directly ronnyng forthe,
and turnyng in agenne:
Muche like a sort of croked mates,
and overthwartyng menne.

[1] The description of the woodes of Irelande.

[1] The woodes above and neath those hills
some twentie miles in length;
Rounde compaste with a shakyng bogge,
a forte of passyng strength.
From whence a certaine fire * is drawne,
to sheeld from winter's colde:
Whereas Boh Morishe hides hymself,
as in a fenced holde.

[2] The discoverie of the Irish nimphes, their pleasures, pastimes, and accustomable usages, wherein daiely they are occupied, are figuratively expressed.

[2] The nimphes of sondrie matrones, I
have hard, doe there resorte,
As tyme and fitt occasions serve,
to use for their disporte.
Some for to shade them from the heate,
and some an other thyng;
According as the raine doeth fall,
so doe the flowers spryng.
One doeth rejoyce to spend the daie,
in plaiyng barlibrake;
An other doeth (I meane no harme)
as great a comfort take; †
This nimphe doeth joye to scudde alongest
the woode and river side:
But she in snortyng in a bushe,
receiv'th as great a pride.
These doe invite the murm'ryng brookes,
these dive and rise againe,
And bathyng in their sweete delightes,
so long thei doe remaine,
Till Cupid toul'th his sacryng bell
to enter other rites:

[3] This doe expound the true manyng of the rest that went before.

[3] Ah, would't revive a manne halfe dedde,
to see those naked sprites! ‡

* The turf, or peat, dug from the bogs, and used as fuel.

† The poet seems to talk of those light wandering women, called of the Irish, *Mona-Shul*, to whom their mantles were half a wardrobe. "For in summer you shall find her arrayed in her smock and mantle, to be more ready for her light services; in winter, and in her travails, it is her cloak and safeguard, and also a coverlet for her lewd exercise. And when she hath filled herself under it, she can both hide her burden and her blame; yea, and when her bastard is born, it serves instead of swaddling clouts." *View of the State of Ireland, Spenser's Works*, Todd's Edit. Vol. VIII. p. 869.

‡ A Bohemian nobleman, who had come out of Scotland by the north of Ireland, was at the house of O'Kane, a great Ulster chief, regaled in a manner worthy of Otaheite. He related to Fynes Morrison, that "he was met at the door with sixteen women, all naked, except their loose mantles; whereof eight or ten were very fair, and two seemed very nymphs; with which strange sight his eyes being dazzled, they led him into the house, and there sitting down by the fire, with crossed legs like tailors, and so low as could not but offend chaste eyes, desired him to sit down with them. Soon after O'Kane, the lord of the country, came in all naked, excepting a loose mantle and shoes, which he put off as soon as he came in, and entertaining the baron after his best manner, in the Latin tongue desired him to put off his apparel, which he thought to be a burden to him, and to sit naked by the fire with this naked company;" which courteous invitation, however, the guest thought it necessary to decline.—See Morrison's *Travels*, p. 181.

To see what games thei can devise,
and sondrie pastymes make,
'Twould cause, I do assure you,
a horse his halter brake;
To daunce attendaunce on those dames,
with reverent service then:
To waight upon them in that case,
it forceth sondrie men.
[1] O nimphes of lastyng memorie,
your vertuous actions rare
With Venus for integritie,
I freely maie compare;
With Venus for agilitie,
speake I of veniall sinne?
In her celestiall paradice
ought you to enter in;
[2] For you are thei whiche store the ground
with fruites of your encrease,
And make it dailly to abounde,
(meane I with rest and peace?)
With little nimphes and mountaine gods,
transformed now and then
From bores to beares, and yet sometyme
resembling honest men.
From whence there flowes, as from a spring,
an other generation,
[3] More subtill than the foxes are,
in their imagination.
Who as thei growe in elder yeres,
and springyng rise in strength,
So doe thei worke the realmes anoye,
and hinderaunce at the length.
So doe thei worke the landes decaie,
procuring what thei canne;
The ruine and undoying quight
of manie an honest manne.
[4] This is a thyng that everie one
had neede to look upon;
For els too late the doore is shutte,
when as the steede is gone.
And since the pale is often plag'de
with such a hellish sorte;
Let that suffice, and let us all,
be warnde by true reporte:
So shall we shun the dang'rous snares,
our secrete foes have sette;
And overpasse the hunter's toiles,
and fouler's craftie nette.
So shall wee flie the traitrous ginnes,
that treasons might procure:
And in a towre of stronge defence
our safties all assure.

[1] These nimphes deserves eternal memorie for their holy conversation; yea, though it were but with Asmodious, the devil of hell: for pitie it were if thei should not bee remembered somewhere; and since thei are not thought upon in heaven, give them leave to bee had in memorie in hell.

[2] The cause why these nimphes are worthy of such remembrance, is because of the great paine and labour thei tooke in the lande in bryngyng forth fruite after their kinde.

[3] The generation of these wood nimphes are in their kind more craftier than the foxes, more frettyng than bores, and terribler than beares, working by secret conspiracies the subversion, ruine, and destruction of the hurtlesse creatures of the lande.

[4] The aucthour, seing the grate inconveniences that happen daily by the retaining of suche a pestiferous generation, giveth counsell to all those that love their own saftie and securitie, to ridde their handes of them, least retainyng, and still maintaining them, they doe but foster a wolfe, and cherishe a serpent, which are redy daily both to devoure and destroye them.

[1] The aucthour, continuing in his exhortation, thereby to drive it more deeper into the hartes of men, bringeth forth a similitude of a tode and of a crocodile, signifying that it is all one equall securitie for a man to sleepe with all those poysonyng wormes, as it is to keepe about hym those members before specified, for (in conclusion) the wormes can but poyson them, and they murder them, so that both of them do worke all one effecte, which is death.

[1] We know by good experience,
it is a dangerous thyng,
For one into his naked bedde
a poysning tode to bryng;
Or else a deadly crocodile,
when as he goeth to reste
To lead with him, and as his mate,
to place nexte to his breste.
The mischeef thereof certainly,
is this that doeth ensewe;
Even nothyng but a sodaine death,
to careless persons dewe.
Then since the harme is manifest,
consent with willyng minde,
To ridde your handes from suche a sorte,
for catte will after kinde:
And be not witched evermore,
with their externall sight;
For why should men of the English pale,
in suche a crewe delight? *
Or eke repose suche confidence
in that unhappie race;
Since mischeef lurketh oftentimes
even in the smoothest face?

[2] It is a true saying, Prevent the worste, and the beste shall save itself.

[2] Be not deceivde, prevent the worst,
the beste shall save themselves;
And give not you your lives to keepe,
to suche dissemblyng elves.
Els if you doe, (as practice proves,
in these unconstant daies),
You doe but trust your mortal foes,
and seek your owne decaies.
This is my dome and counsell eke,
imbrace it who so can;
And to retourne unto my texte,
I deme it wisdome than.

[3] Here the aucthour renueth his storie, and setteth out the operation of the Irishe grounde, which neither breedeth, nor yet fostereth up in it, any venimous beastes or wormes.

[3] Within the compasse of this land,
no poysonyng beast doth live;
To adder, snake, nor crocodile,
no respite doth it give:
Whereby the same repast maie take,
to feed his appetite;
But with a deadly percyng blowe,
eche vermin it doth smite.

* Spenser, like Derricke, accounts the fostering and marrying with the Irish "two most dangerous infections." "And indeed how can such matching succeed well, seeing that commonly the child taketh most of his nature of the mother, besides speech, manners, and inclination, which are, for the most part, agreeable to the condition of their mothers, for by them they are first framed and fashioned; so that what they conceive once from them, they will hardly ever after forget."—*State of Ireland.*

As sone as thei doe touche the grounde,
even by and by thei dye;
And hope of longer life to live,
from every one doeth flye.
[1] For where tyme past it did possesse,
eche hurtful wicked beast;
The hissing serpent, with her mate,
and worme of poyson least;
Yet now no suche it will retaine,
it voucheth not to see
The frogge, the tode, nor viper vile,
Within her boundes to bee.
[2] If tyme have chaunged thus the ground,
I stande therein in doubt;
Or whether that the goddes themselves
have driven those serpentes out.
For thynges foreknowne to mightie Jove,
whiche after should ensewe;
Or for preservyng of some graftes,
which there at that tyme grewe.
Or if perhaps thei ment to place,
the wandryng huntresse theare;
Through hilles and dales the wolfe to chace,
insteade of savage beare.
Or if it were for Juno's sake,
who happlie begg'de the same;
In pasture for her newe given cowe,
that Io, Greekishe dame.
[3] Or if it hapte, when thondryng fame
did pearce the stately skies;
Affirmyng troupes of mortall men,
in warlike sorte to rise.
With engens framed for the nonce,
the sacred turrets high;
In maugre Jove, and Jove's despight,
by force and pollicie,
To take, and make the same a place,
mischaunces to expell;
If afterward by fatall happe,
should happe them ought but well.
[4] I think when as such brutes were made,
then goddes, both greate and small,
Consulted with th'infernal ghostes,
and mountaine sprites withall,
How and what sorte thei might repulse,
or bring to small effecte,
The worlde's entent that would so vile
dame Nature's lawes rejecte:
In whiche consult one stepped forthe,
as far as I can gesse,
Apollo was that reverende sire,
cheef in this businesse:

[1] Irelande, tyme past, had store of all kind of wormes, serpents, and venimous beasts, if fables be scriptures.

[2] Doubtfull objections whether processe of tyme, or the power of gods, abolished the serpentes out of Irelande.

[3] Emongest sondrie suppositions a very likely hoode, opening the tyme of the wormes explement.

[4] The aucthour yeelds his verdict and opinion in this pretie tale.

Who saied, you goddes that rul'dome holde,
above the circled skie,
[1] Good counsell never yet hurted the receiver.
[1] Let out the threates of fadyng men,
your graces terrifie.
[2] Mars confirmeth Appolloe's saiyng, verifying his great wisedome, shewing reason why they should exempt feare.
[2] In sothe, saied Mars (whose curled lokes,
did shade a doubtie face)
Appolloe's councell noble is,
and fruitfull in this case;
For why should wee, that moulded man,
of man be thus afraid?
Or for the soonnes of mortall men,
so greatly bee dismaied?
[3] The reason truly set downe for the abollyshyng of feare.
[3] If man by sleighte should scale the heavens,
wee goddes maie thinke no wonder,
To see the highest god of all,
to spoile them by his thonder.
But if wee would deferre no tyme,
for feare of worser happes,
But shunne as muche as in us lieth,
the brunte of after clappes;
[4] Bloodie Mars overthwarteth Apollo, annichillating his reasons, givyng contrarie counsell, to the confusion of the enemie.
[4] Let worthy Jove, in irefull rage,
restraine them by his might;
And suffer half his thonder boltes
upon their pates to light.
[5] Apollo, contending with Mars, manifesteth his notable wisdome in waiyng the royall estate.
[5] Peace (saied Apollo), conqu'ryng Mars,
that were not wisest lore;
For Jove to spende his warlike boltes,
if you beholde the store.
And now the Cicloppes are decaied,
(whose conyng science sure
Could make the seate of mightie Jove
for ever to endure.)
But if that ye will liste awhile,
and harken my devise,
I will relate a better waie,
whiche doubtlesse maie suffice.
[6] The device of Apollo is here most excellent, who opens a meane to save both men and money.
[6] There be a crewe of mountaine gods,
possessyng yearth below;
Praie that their godheades would a fewe
of marshall men bestowe;
To keep (saie ye) a little plat,
in which is most mistrust;
And through whiche the forain foe
perforce there travell must.
For it is next the Articke Pole,
it hoves you keepe it well,
And no device maie serve so fitte
their mallice to expell.
[7] Mars addicted onely to slaughter, gensaithe Apolloes counsell, objectyng it to be voyde of wisedomes forecast, not havyng regard to casualties, that might ensue.
[7] Though God Apollo spake full wise
Mars ganne againe replie:
My soveraigne lordes, let reason yet
have superioritie.

Since marshall knights have felt the last
of fortune sweete and sowre,
As those that fight in princes cause
do taste it daie and howre,
How maie the goddes that hilles posses,
graunt this unjust requeste?
Or who would deeme Apollo sage,
had follie in his breste?
[1] Knowe ye not in that savage soile,
the adder there to dwell?
And see you not the cocatrice,
and sleayng serpent fell?
Behold you not the sloworme there,
with vipers generation?
Maie ye not see the frogge and tode,
there have their procreation?
Cannot eche wight, (except the blinde,)
the savage beastes perceive?
As lion, wolfe, and rav'ning beare,
whose heardes thei oft deceive?
The tameless panther them emongest,
with tygers cruell kinde?
The leoparde with a thousand more
as nature hath assignde?
[2] How then maie man have companie with
this hurtfull generation?
Or sonnes of men with noysome worms
enjoye their consolation?
[3] Why, (said Apollo,) angrie Mars,
eche part maie well agree:
When as by Jove eche sleayng beast,
abstracted thence shalbe.
Jove first shall vanishe quite the bests;
yea he shall cleane destroye
The thing that might, in any wise,
the souldiers ought anoye.
And thei debared once from thence
in safe securitie;
The souldiers then in open field,
by daie and night may lye,
To watch and ward lest irefull foes,
through pilgremes slye pretence,
Should unawares against the gods
their warlike sute commence.
Yea thei maie sleepe in bushe or hedge,
for safetie shall be suche,
As neither snake nor lion fearce,
their slombryng corpes shall touche.
[4] A mantill maie suffice to shroude
their lethie naked skinne;

[1] Mars sheweth reason, why the gods should reject Apolloes counsell; he sets out the whole rabble of ill beastes bred in the lande.

[2] Mars makes here his conclusion.

[3] Apollo confuteth Mars, and his marshall reasons, being once experimented in the misterics of divinitie, havyng foreknowledge of Jupiters entent and promise.

[4] It appears by this, that Apollo was first devisour of the Woodkarnes glibbe and mantell.

And heare long growne, maie serve full well
to lappe their noddles in.
[1] In deede, (said Mars,) it maie be so,
if Jove thereto agree:
But first 'tis meete that every hill
in leavell sort should bee.
[2] Be whishte, (O Mars,) said thondryng Jove,
Apollo in degree;
The seconde to my sacred self
I hould hym next to bee.
Hath saied what might suffice eche one,
whose far forcastyng witte,
Perventeth daungers even at hande,
as els not extant yet.
Eche hurtfull beast that noysome is,
I will commaunde awaie;
Not one shall reste the mountaine men
by any kinde to fraie.
The crokyng tode that ougly semes,
with snakes and adders fell,
Shall be dismiste and sent forthe with,
to Pluto's ghostes in hell,
To feede thereon, themselves to glutte
sufficyng hongrie mawe:
Yea thei themselves without constraint
themselves shall thether drawe.
Let therefore little mountaine gods,
a troupe, (as thei maie spare,)
Of breachlesse men at all assaies,
bothe levie and prepare.
[3] With mantelles doune unto the shoe,
to lappe them in by night:
With speares and swordes and little dartes
to sheeld them from despight.
And let some have their breaches close,
to nimble thynges annexte,
With safer meanes to daunce the bogges,
when thei by foes are vexte.
[4] With glibbed heddes,* like Mars hymself,
their malice to expresse;
With irefull hartes and bloudie handes,
soone prone to wickednesse.
Jove spake; 'twas done, and I suppose,
then serpents were dismiste,

[1] Mars, convicted by reason, concludes with Apollo.

[2] Jupiter to Mars in Apolloes praise, ratefiyng, that Apollo had respecte to dangers as well extant, as to those that might after followe.

[3] The order of the Irishe Karnes apparel is here allowed by Jupiter, beyng first found out by Apollo.

[4] It is agreed upon by consent of the gods, that Woodkarne shall weare glibbed heads, signifiyng their monstrous mallice, irefull hartes, and bloodie hands, whiche most stricktly they to this daie observe.

* The lower Irish Kerne went usually bare-headed, being defended by their glibbes, "which is a thick curled bush of hair hanging down over their eyes, and monstrously disguising them." *Spenser's State of Ireland.* These glibbes, according to the same author, "were as fit masques as a mantle for a thief. For whensoever he hath run himself into that peril of law that he will not be known, he either cutteth off his glibbe quite, by which he becometh nothing like himself, or pulleth it so low down over his eyes, that it is very hard to discern his thievish countenance."—*State of Ireland.*

And sent awaie; whiche to be true,
now credite if ye liste.
[1] Againe, the Irish yong and old
presumeth for to saie,
Their sainct, S. Patricke, was the man,
that banishte them awaie.
And therefore is S. Patricke held
in passyng admiration;
Still worshipped of all that stocke,
with holie veneration.
[2] No beast that noyeth mortall man,
is procreated theare;
It brynges force no lion feare,
nor yet the rav'nyng beare.
No beastes, (I saie,) which do possesse
one jote of crewell kinde,
[3] Except the wolfe that nosome is, *
in Irishe soile I finde.
[4] But as for other sortes of beastes,
delightyng mortall eye,
Therein consistes her chefest praise;
who maie it here denye?
First for gallant stouryng steede,
mans helpe at all assaies;
And next for meate, whereby his life
is lengthened sondrie waies.
Dame Venus hath a portion eke,
observyng well her tourne;
Restoryng that whiche tracte of tym
and withered age, hath worne.
What this should be my mistresse deare
can construe verie well,
Who usyng it in tyme of neede,
sore combattes doth refell.
[5] And now as touchyng feather'd foules,
and birdes of eche degree,
The nomber doeth extende so farre,
that 'tis too hard for me
The multitude thereof to knowe,
or shewe in plaine prospecte;
Because I am no god at all,
my cunnyng hath defecte.
[6] Of hawkes whiche retaining sondrie names,
the countrie store doeth breede,
Whose names if pacience will abide,
in order shall proceede.

[1] The Irish men, contrarie to the former allegations, precisely saieth, that Sainct Patricke expulsed the venimous beasts out of Irelande, for which thei have hym at this daie in greate addoration.

[2] A renuyng againe of the historie.

[3] Greate store of wolves in Irelande.

[4] Ireland replenished with all kinde of necessarie and profitable cattell.

[5] Plentie of all kinde of wilde foule in Irelande, whatsoever maie be named.

[6] Irelande hath great store of hawkes bred in it.

* The Irish, according to Camden, sometimes chose wolves to be their gossips, terming them, "*Chari Christi*," praying for them, and wishing them well; and having contracted this intimacy, professed to have no fear of danger from their four-footed allies.

[1] The names of the hawkes that are bred in Ireland, with their estemations orderly, whiche are in nomber seven.

[1] The goshauke, first of the crewe
deserves to have the name:
The faucon next for high attemptes
in glorie and in fame.
The tarsell then ensueth on,
good reason 'tis that he,
For fliyng haukes in Ireland next
the faucon plaste should bee.
The tarsell gentels course is nexte,
the fourthe peere of the lande,
Combined to the faucon with
a lovers freendly bande.
The pretie marlion is the fifth,
to her the sparhauke nexte,
And then the jacke and musket laste,
by whom the birds are vexte.
These are the haukes whiche cheefly breed
in fertile Irishe grounde;*

[2] The Irishe hawkes peerles, for speedines of wing.

[2] Whose matche for flight and speedie wyng,
elsewhere be hardly founde.
(And to conclude,) of feathered foules,
there breeds the cheef of all,

[3] Many eagles in Irelande.

[3] A mightie foule, a goodlie birde,
whom men doe eagle call.
This builds her neast in highest toppe
of all the oken tree,
Or in the craftiest place, whereof
in Irelande manie bee.
Not in the bounds of Englishe pale,
whiche is a civill place,
But in the devils arse a peake,
where rebells moste imbrace.
For as this foule and all the reste
are wilde by natures kinde;
So do thei kepe in wildest nokes,
and there men doe them finde.

[4] The old saiyng is here founde true, that like loveth like.

[4] For like to like, the proverbe saith,
the leoparde with the beare,
Doth live in midest of desarts rude,
and none doeth other feare.
For as the Irishe karne be wilde,
in manners and in fashion,
So doe these foules enhabite with
that crooked generation.

[5] By pollicie, brute beastes are brought to a peaceable order of living, servyng, and

[5] Yet when as thei are taken yong,
though wilde thei be by kinde,

* "The hawks of Ireland, called Goshawks, are much esteemed in England; and they are sought out by many, and all means, to be transported thither."—Fynes Morrison's *Travels*, Part iii. book 3. chap. 5.

Enstructed through the fauconers lure,
by triall good I finde,
That thei doe come as 'twere at becke;
and when as thei doe call,
She scarce will stint on tuige or bowe,
till on his fiste she fall.
Thus thei obey their tutors hestes,
and doe degenerate
From wildnesse that belonged to
their forepossessed state.
[1] But Irishe karne, unlike these foules
in burthe and highe degree,
No chaunglynes are, thei love no whit
in civill state to bee.
[2] Thei passe not for civilitie,
nor care for wisdomes lore;
[3] Sinne is their cheef felicitie,
whereof thei have the store.
And if perhappes a little ape
be taken from the henne,
And brought from boggs to champion ground,
such things happe now and then.
[4] Yea, though thei were in courte trainde up,
and yeres there lived tenne,
Yet doe thei loke to shaking boggs,
scarce provyng honest menne.
And when as thei have wonne the boggs,
such vertue hath that grounde,
[5] That thei are worse than wildest karne,
and more in sinne abounde. *
[6] O holie sainct, O holie man,
O man of God, I saie;
O Patrick, chiefe of all these Karne,
if speake to thee I maie:
What moved thee the wriglyng snake
and other wormes to kill?
What caused thee on sillie beastes
to woorke thy cruell will?
What thyng incenst thee for to strike
them with thy heavie hande?
[7] When as thou leftest more spitefull beastes
within this fertile lande.
Thou smotest the serpents venimous,
and furies didst subverte:

obeying man orderly in their nature and kinde; yea the very foules of the ayre and beasts of the fielde, have a certaine kinde of reverence and feare towardes those whom they consider doe worke them any good; but onely these monsters of the worlde, these pernicious members of Sathan, these wretched wretches have no consideraiton, nor yet bear any kindly affection towardes her majestie, whose mercie doeth preserve them, whose gracious favour doeth protect them, whose royaltie not onely wisheth them good, but also doth them good, not for a day, a weeke, a moneth, or a yeare, but continually; for if her grace would their subvertion, if then she had but saide the worde onely, judge what had followed, even utter desolation, whiche thing these blinde idiots doe not, or at least, will not see or consider. O ingratitude most intollerable, and blindnesse irrecuperable!

[1] No pollicie, wisedom, or cunnyng, scarce altreth the wilde Woodkarnes croked nature.

[2] Instede of civilitie, Woodkarnes use villanie.

[3] The felicitie that Irishe Karne do moste of all rejoyce in.

[4] The sowe returnes to the mire, and the dog to his vomite againe.

[5] This hath been too well proved true in these late daies.

[6] An exclamation upon St. Patrick, cheef saint in Ireland.

[7] Irish Karne more hurtfull then serpentes.

* Spenser attibutes much of the disorder of Ireland, to the fry of rake-hell horse-boys, growing up in knavery and villainy, out of whom the Kerne were supplied. "And these also, which is a foul oversight, are for the most part bred up amongst the Englishmen, of whom learning to shoot in a piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the English, they are afterwards, when they become Kerne, made more fit to cut their throats."—*State of Ireland.*

[1] Sainct Patrickes preachynges, could never bring Woodkarne to holy perfection of life.

[1] And yet the footers of the boggs,
couldst thou no whit converte?
Couldst thou not bryng them to thy bende,
nor bowe them like a bowe?
Doeth not the parsone teache his clarke
his duetie for to knowe?

[2] Sainct Patrick is here excused, who doutlesse tooke great paine and labour, if it had been possible to have made Woodkarne become religious sainctes.

[2] But thou, good man, enstructedst them,
in schoole of vertues lore;
Though thei thy holie counsells did,
like gracelesse graftes, abhorre.
Thou tookest paine them to reduce
unto a godlie state;

[3] No strength maie prevaile whom God doeth withstande; no phisicke can cure, whom God in his ire striketh; showing that God hath given up Woodkarne to a reprobate sence, infectyng them also with an incurable botche.

[3] But could thy meanes prevaile where Jove
smightes with a curelesse fate?
Can phisickes art restore the lame,
or make the blinde to see;
When as the Lorde of Hostes doeth saie
this wretche was plagued by me?
No, no, I dare avow the same,
doe phisicke what it can,

[4] Signifying, it is mere madnesse to strive against the Lorde God.

[4] In eche respecte it must confesse,
it self a mortall man.

[5] Irelande hath no pies breeding in it:

[5] No pies to plucke the thatch from house,
are breed in Irishe grounde:*

[6] Better it were to have pies than prowlers.

[6] But worse then pies the same to burne
a thousande maie be founde.

[7] Where Irishe Karne have superioritie, ther thei commit all things to fire and sword, as house, corne, and cattell, men, women, and children.

Whiche will not sticke, without remorse,
whole tounes for to devoure;
[7] Committing house and housholde stuffe,
to sulphurs mightie powre.
Consuming corne and catell both,
(O heavie tale to tell!)

O viperous Woodkarne, right sons of the devil,
A hanging come to you rewarding your evil;
A poore onely hangyng, for this pestilent brood,
Bath hanging and drawing were for them too good.

Like Sathan's ympes regardying nought,
the endlesse paines of hell.
Who beying growne to sappie strength,
longe nourishte in their synne,

[8] By murderyng, spoyling, and burning, Woodkarne hope to come to heaven; but it must be by a halter.

[8] Suppose by plaiyng of suche partes,
eternall joyes to winne.

[9] The glorie of Irelande wholly extinguisht through Irish Karnes livyng.

[9] O pleasaunte lande deformed through
the life of Irish Karne:

[10] An exclamation drawn from the depth of the harte, wherein the aucthour seemeth to bewaile the deformation of the lande by or through the lives of these rebellious Woodkarne.

[10] O perverse flocke, that hell nor heaven
from livying ill may warne.
O frettyng bores more bloudier then
the wolfe or savage beare,

* "Ireland" saith Morrison, "hath neither singing nightingale nor chattering pye, nor undermining mole, nor black crow, but only crows of mingled colour, such as we call Royston crows."---P. III. book 3. chap. 5. In Dean Swift's time, magpies were not found about Wexford.---See *Journal to Stella.* They are now common through all Ireland.

[1] Was never beast more brutish like,
lesse voide of sovereignes feare.
[2] No men so beare of heavenly grace,
more foes to countries soile:
Nor traitours that doe more rejoice
when they their neighbours spoile.
[3] No monsters lovyng lesser peace,
delightyng more in warre;
Nor rebels seekyng feller waies,
a common wealthe to marre.
[4] No wight regardyng vertue lesse,
more prone to sinfull lust;
Nor creatures livyng under heaven,
that men maie worser trust.
[5] God tourne them to a better life,
reformyng whattes amisse:
For man mai not comprice the same,
tis not in handes of his.
If cunnyng had prevailed ought,
or toile might winne the game;
[6] Then Sidney had through labours paine,
long since atchieved the same.
[7] If execution of the lawes,
could make them to repent;
Or princes grace ablating crimes
might cause their hartes relent,
Then doubtlesse he had been of force,
whose carefull eare was suche,
As peace to winne to Irishe soile,
he demde no travell muche;
[8] But care he takes both night and daie,
and meanes that he did use,
Might make this gracelesse cursed race
their evill lives refuse.
[9] The more he seeketh them to win,
the further of thei straie;
As ympes that doe detest to walke
the high and pleasant waie.
I cease, I cease more to relate,
their stratagemes to showe;
Till place, and space, and heavenly grace,
shall fitter tyme bestowe.
And to conclude this formoste part,
herein I make an end,
Supposyng loial subjectes minds
in nought I do offende.
Though pictures and protractours made
by painters cunnyng skill,
With gestures of the Irishe Karne
set out by quiv'ryng quill,

[1] Irishe Karne brutisher than beastes.

[2] No men more gracelesse than Woodkarne, none greater foes to their country, nor yet any that rejoice more in unhappinesse than they.

[3] Woodkarnes armes artificially displaide.

[4] Woodkarne of all creatures least regardeth vertue, beyng given wholy to wicked sensualitie and lust, they are of least credite under heaven, a notable commendation.

[5] God's grace must support where man can doe no good.

[6] Sir Henry Sidneys indevour in reducyng of Ireland.

[7] Two thynges practised by Sir Henry Sidney, drawyng the Irishrie to a conformitie of good livyng, that is to sai, judgement and mercie.

[8] Sir Henries care, wisdome, and policie, could not bryng the Woodkarne to a better order and conformitie of livyng.

[9] Marke here the obstinacie of these Woodkarne, whiche by how muche lenetie they are better used, ordered, and governed, by so muche the more wilfulnesse, frowardnesse, and stubbornesse, they are alienated and enstranged from all good discipline and loyal obedience; a moste evident signe and token of an untowarde generation.

I published have, whereby the world
maie know their inclination;*
As how they passe for wicked life,
the synfulste generation.
And if for want of better arte,
some things I pretermitte,
Which rightly here to this discourse
might be adjoyned fitte;
[1] Let pacience, lordings, yet supplie
the things so doen amisse,
Or let correctyng of the faltes
amende that faltie is.
At least declare when you have redde,
in what I have offended;
And if it resteth in my hands,
it shalbe then amended.

[1] A reasonable reqnest to be graunted in consideration of the paines.

The Prolog to the Seconde Parte.

Since sacred Jove, whose royall throne
is plaste in circled skies,
Beholdeth things far distant thence,
With vewe of godly eyes,
And seying that the Lorde doeth guide
eache thyng with heavenly might,
As well the sonne and orient daie,
as moone in frostie night;
Conductyng them as seemes him best,
disposing all at will,
Whereby his creatures diversly
his pleasure might fulfill:
Support, good God, with heavenly grace,
my penne, for to relate
The Second Parte, that doth belong
unto the Irishe state.
Illuminate my senses all,
that I maye rightly tell,
The nature of the Irishe Karne,
as how they doe rebell;
And every thyng to shewe aright,
thou Lorde direct my course;
And lead me to th' Elysian fieldes,
by thy triumphant force.
I seeke no helpe of forraigne gods,
nor ayde of suche a crewe,

* The wooden engravings here referred to, are destroyed in every copy of Derrick's book, known to exist, except in that belonging to the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh; and of twelve, which seems to have been the complete number, only eight are now left even in that book.

Because to trust in senselesse thynges,
small comfort can ensewe. *
But thy good ayde is that I crave,
wherefore grant me the same,
That I by it maie have the strength
a pleasant verse to frame;
And in the same a matter fit,
applied to the thyng,
Whiche is the chiefest cause whereof
my sillie verse doeth spring.

FINIS.

The Second Part of the Image of Irelande.

Though that the royal soyle,
and fertill Irish grounde,
With thousand sondrie pleasant thinges
moste nobly doe abounde;
Though that the lande be free
from vipers generation,
As in the former part I made
a perfecte declaration;
Though that the yearth I saie,
be bliste with heavenly things,
And though 'tis like the fragrant flowre
in pleasant Maie that springs;
Yet when I did beholde
those whiche possesse the same,
Their maners lothsome to be told,
as yrksome for to name;
I mervailde in my mynde,
and thereupon did muse,
To see a Bride of heavenlie hewe
an ouglie feere to chuse.
This Bride it is the soile,
The Bridegroom is the karne,
[1] With writhed glibbes like wicked sprits,
with visage rough and stearne;
With scullest upon their poules,
in steade of civill cappes:
With speares in hand, and swordes by sides,
to beare of after clappes;
With jackettes long and large
which shroude simplicitie.
Though spitful dartes† which they do beare
importe iniquitie.

[1] The description of the Irishman, as well of the lordes as of the galliglasse and horseboy, fully set out.

* Iron head-pieces.

† The use of the dart seems to have been long retained by the native Irish. Spenser, according to his favourite theory, derives it from the Scythians.

[1] The Irishe Karnes apparell most lively set out.

[1] Their shirtes be verie straunge,
not reachyng past the thie;
With pleates on pleates thei pleated are,
as thicke as pleates may lye.
Whose sleves hang trailing doune
almost unto the shoe;*
And with a mantell † commonlie
the Irishe Karne doe goe.
Now some, emongest the reste,
doe use an other weede;
A coate I meane of strange devise,
which fancie first did breade.
His skirtes be verie shorte,
with pleates set thicke about,
And Irishe trouzes moe to put,
their strange protactours out. ‡
Loe lordynges here the draught
sett out in open vewe;
For by instructions I am taught,
false forgynges to eschewe. §

I.

Like as their weedes be strange,
and monstrous to beholde;
[2] So doe their maners far surpasse
them all a thousande folde.
For thei are tearmed wilde,
Woodkarne thei have to name;
And mervaile not though strange it be,
for thei desarve the same.
[3] In maners thei be rude,
and monstrous eke in fashon;
Their dealynges also thei bewraie,
a crooked generation.

[2] Woodkarnes manners are more straunger then his apparell.

[3] The fruite sheweth the goodnesse of the tree, Approvyng all Woodkarne strong theeves for to bee.

* "The long *cota* or *cotaigh*, the *camisia* of the Latin writers, was a kind of shirt of plaided stuff or linen dyed yellow, and ornamented also with needle-work, according to the rank of the wearer. This shirt was open before, and came as low as mid-thigh; the trunk being thus open, was folded round the body, and made fast by a girdle round the loins. The sleeves of some were short; but, in the figure before mentioned, long, coming down to the wrist, and turned up with a kind of military cuff. The bosom was cut round, leaving the neck and upper part of the shoulders bare."—WALKER's *History of Irish Bards*, p. 14.

† This mantle is subject of the poet Spenser's bitter reprehension. He terms it a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and a fit cloak for a thief. The outlaw covers himself in it from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of earth, and from the sight of man. When it raineth, it is his house; when it bloweth, it is his tent; when it freezeth, it is his tabernacle. To the rebel it is equally serviceable in his predatory warfare. Wrapped round the left arm, it will serve him as a target, is light to bear, light to throw away; and being, as they commonly are, naked, is, to him, all in all. For the thief, it is his best and surest friend; saves him from discovery, when muffled in it; and when he is disposed to mischief, conceals his head-piece, his skene, or his pistol. These are the abridged reasons for which Spenser wishes the mantle to be abandoned.

‡ This second sort of dress, namely, a short woollen jacket, with plaited skirts, and long trowsers, made tight to the body, and chequered with various colours, was precisely that of a Highland gentleman, the plaid coming in place of the mantle.

§ The picture referred to is unluckily torn out.

[1] For why thei fear not God,
nor honour yet their prince,
Whom, by the lawes of mightie Jove,
they ought to reverence.
[2] Eche theef would be a lorde,
to rule even by a becke,
[3] The faithfull subjectes often times
thei shorten by the necke;
And those that would be true
to God and to the croune,
[4] With fire and sworde and deepe despight,
thei plucke suche subjects doune.
[5] Thus thei be mortall foes
unto the common wealthe,
Maintainyng rackhelles at their heeles,
through detestable stealthe.
Thei harpe upon one stryng,
and therein is their joye;
[6] When as they finde a subtill sleight,
to work true mens anoye.
For mischeef is the game
wherein thei doe delight;
[7] As eke thei holde it great renowne
to burne and spoile by night.
When tyme yeelds true men ease,
such reste thei pretermitte;
[8] And give them selves to other artes,
for their behofe more fitte.
To wounde the harmlesse sorte,
it is the karnishe guise;
And other some to stiffle quight,
in slumbrynge bed that lyes.
An other sorte thei spoile,
even naked to the skin;
And leave hym nothing for to wrappe
his naked body in.
[9] Thei leave no kinde of thyng,
that maie be borne awaie;
The potte, the panne, the horse, the cowe,
And muche more maie I saie.
Now thynges that are to sadde,
that mai suppresse their powre,
Thei doe committ to flames of fire,
the same for to devoure.
[10] And when thei have their luste,
the sillie captive beaste
Must presentlie be knocked doune,
to make the knaves a feaste.
[11] But who shal be the cooke?
it is no question here;
[12] Nor for the pantlers chipped loves,
thei aske for once a yere.

[1] Irishe rebelles feare neither God nor man.

[2] The hautie hartes of Woodkarne desire ruledome, but they shall have a rope.

[3] The rebelles envie toward a good subjecte; whereto may be joyned, the affection of a pernicious papist towarde a true christian.

[4] Marke the most pestilent nature of the wilde villanous Woodkarne.

[5] Woodkarne are as grasshoppers and catterpillers to their countrey and people.

[6] The joye of rebels is in plagyng of true men.

[7] Spoyling and burnyng is the Irish Karnes renoune.

[8] Woodkarnes exercises when true men take rest;

To robbe, burn, and murder,
when true men take rest,
With fire, sworde, and axcesse,
these traiters are preste;
Thei take no compassion of
men, children, nor wives,
But joye when they do them
deprive of their lives.

[9] Irishe Karne seldom leave any thyng worth the bearyng awaie behind them, but either thei take it, or else do set it on fire.

[10] The stolne poore cowe must be knocked doun, as sone as they come home, to make the theeves a feaste.

[11] The Woodkarnes cookes.

[12] Bread seldomly used amongst Woodkarne.

Eche knave will plaie the cooke,
to stande his lorde in steede;
[1] But tagge and ragge will equal be
when chiefest rebell feede.
Well, beeves are knocked doune,
the butchers plaie their parte,
Tho take eche one the intrails forthe,
the liver with the harte; *
[2] And beyng breathyng newe,
th' unwashen puddyngs thei,
Upon the coales or embers hotte,
for want of gredyron laie,
And, scarce not halfe enough,
(draffe serveth well for hoggs),
Thei take them up and fall therto,
like ravnyng hongrie doggs.
[3] Devouring gutte and limme,
no parte doth come amisse;
Whose lippes and chappes with blood doe swim,
most true reporte is this.
[4] As for the greatest Karne,
thei have the cheefest stuffe:
Though durtie tripes and offals like,
please under-knaves enoufe.
Whereof thei parte doe roste,
and other some thei boile:
Thus what betwene the sodde and roste,
fearce hunger thei assoile.
[5] No table there is spread,
thei have no courtlike guise,
The yearth sometimes standes them in steede,
Whereon their victuall lyes. †

[1] Master and man all one at eatyng of meat.

[2] A moste perfecte description of Irishe hors-boyes eatyng their meate.

[3] The rudenesse of horsboyes is herein set open,
Who fill them with driffe-draffe, farewell the good token.

Beholde here the difference 'twixt Karne and their men,
The Karne have the best meate, the horsboyes eate then;
Of inmeates and puddings, which to lucke is imputed,
Their lippes with greene oyntment beyng fouly poluted.

[5] The very order of the wilde Irish, their sittyng, table, dishes and cushens described:
O brave swinish fashion, found out emongst hogges,
Deservyng for manners to sit amongst dogges.

* The coarse and filthy feeding of the Irish is thus exemplified by Morrison. "The wild and (as I may say) meere Irishe, inhabiting many large provinces, are barbarous and most filthy in their diet. They skum the seething pot with an handfull of straw, and straine their milke, taken from the cow, through a like handfull of straw, none of the cleanest, and so clense, or rather more defile, the pot and milke. They devoure great morsels of beefe unsalted, and they eat commonly swine's flesh, seldom mutton; and all these pieces of flesh, as also the intralles of beasts unwashed, they seeth in a hollow tree, lapped in a raw cowes hide, and so set over the fier, and therewith swallow whole lumpes of filthy butter. Yea, (which is more contrary to nature,) they will feed on horses dying of themselves, not only upon small want of flesh, but even for pleasure; for I remember an accident in the army, when the Lord Mountjoy, the lord-deputy, riding to take the ayre out of the campe, found the buttocks of dead horses cut off; and suspecting that some soldiers had eaten that flesh out of necessity, being defrauded of the victuals allowed them, commanded the men to bee searched out; among whom a common souldier, and that of the English-Irish, not of the meere Irish, being brought to the lord-deputy, and asked why hee had eaten the flesh of dead horses? thus freely answered, Your lordship may please to eate pheasant and patridge, and much good doe it you that best likes your taste; and I hope it is lawfull for me, without offence, to eat this flesh, that likes me better than beefe. Whereupon the lord-deputy, perceiving himself to be deceived, and further, understanding that he had received his ordinary victuals, (the detaining whereof he suspected, and purposed to punish for example), gave the souldier a piece of gold to drink in Usquebagh, for better digestion; and so dismissed him."—*Travels ut supra.*

† "These wild Irish," says Morrison, "never set any candles upon tables. What do I speak of tables, since indeed they have no tables, but set the meat upon a bundle of grasse, and use the same grasse for cushions to wipe their hands."—*Travels*, Part III. Book 3d, p. 164.

Their cushens are of strawe,
of rushes, or of haye:
Made banckest-wise with willies,
their tailes to underlaie.
Their platters are of wood,
by cunnyng turners made,
But not of peauter (credite me),
as is our Englishe trade.
[1] Now ere the lorde sitts doune,
with concubine or wife,
[2] Whereof he often makes exchaunge,
in compasse of his life; *
Before he takes his rome,
a frier doeth beginne,
To blesse the rebell with his wife,
the place and theeves therein.
[3] Whiche, when he blessed hath,
in highest place of all;
The cheeftaine then, this traitrous knave,
like honest man doeth stall.
And next his surgion he
doeth sette at frier's side; †
And then himself his rome enjoyeth,
adorned with his bride.
[4] In fine, the hellish route,
like luckie fellowes mette,
Doe sitt them doune on strawe or grounde,
their victualles for to gette.
[5] Long stabbers plucke thei forthe,
instead of handsome knives;
And with the same thei slashe me out,
good God! what pretie shives.
Not shives of bread I meane,
for that were verie rare, ‡
But gobbes of fleshe not boyld inough,
whiche is their common fare.

[1] The order of Woodkarne is to have a frier blesse hym and all his householde before he sits doune.

[2] Irishe Karne every yeare once or twice, peradventure make exchaunge of their wives; as thei like them so will thei keepe them, for thei will not be bounde to them.

[3] Friers have cheefest and hiest roomes at feastes amongst the Irishrie, and why should not we give them like honour at the gallowes.

[4] Like unto like, saide the devill to the collier.

[5] A foyner of three quarters of a yarde longe, is the Woodkarnes knife.

* "They seldom marry," says Camden, "out of their own town; and contract with one another, not *in presenti*, but *in futuro*, or else consent without any manner of deliberation. Upon this account, the least difference generally parts them, the husband taking another wife, and the wife another husband; nor is it certain whether the contract be true or false till they die. Hence arise feuds, rapines, murders, and deadly enmities, about succeeding to the inheritance. The cast-off wives have recourse to the witches, these being looked upon as able to afflict either the former husband or the new wife, with barrenness or impotency, or some other calamity. All of them are very apt to commit incest; and divorces, under pretence of conscience, are very frequent."

† The etiquette observed between the stations of the soul curer and the body curer, as mine Host of the Garter terms them, is worthy of notice.

‡ A Bohemian baron, whose curiosity led him through Ireland, in the heat of Tyrone's rebellion, during eight days journey, found no bread, not so much as a cake of oats, till he came to dine with Tyrone himself.—Morrison's *Travels*, Part III. p. 163. Con-more, the great O'Neal, cursed any of his pedigree who should learn English, build houses, or sow corn.

[1] The Irisheman's drinke.

[1] Their chiefest drinke is milke;
for want of milke, the brothe *.

[2] A thyng of necessitie proved to be phisicke, havyng his confirmation upon the othe of a perjured caitiffe Karne.

[2] Thei take; which thing the surgion sweares,
is phisicke by his trothe.
And if that brothe be scante,
yet water is at hande;
For every river yeeldes enough,
within that goodly land.
Againe, if fortune fauneth,
or on them chaunce to smile,

[3] Uskebeaghe is aquavitæ.

[3] She filles them then with Uskebeaghe, †
and wine another while.
O that is cheare in bowles,
it beautifith the feaste,
And makes them loke with dronken noules,
from moste unto the leaste.
Now when their gutts be full,
then comes the pastyme in:

[4] The woodthives loue mirth after meate.

[4] The barde and harper mellodie,
unto them doe beginne.

[5] A barde and a rimer is all one.

[5] This barde he doeth report,
the noble conquestes done,

[6] The barde, by his rimes, hath as great force emongest Woodkarne to perswade, as the eloquent oration of a learned oratoure emongest the civill people.

[6] And eke in rimes, shewes forthe at large,
their glorie thereby wonne.
Thus he at randome ronneth,
he pricks the rebells on; ‡
And shewes, by suche externall deeds,
their honour lyes upon.

* "Neither have they beer made of malt and hops, nor yet any ale, no not the chief lords, except it be very rarely; but they drink milk like nectar, warmed with a stone first cast into the fire; or else beef-broth mingled with milk."—MORRISON, *ibid.*

† *Usquebaugh* does indeed, like *Aquavitæ*, signify the water of life; and hence, too, the word whisky, by contraction or way of eminence, termed *the water*. But the Irish Usquebaugh, properly and pre-eminently so called, is mingled with saffron, raisens, fennell-seed, &c., which ingredients, according to our traveller Fynes Morrison, so often already quoted, mitigating the heat, and making the taste pleasant, render it less inflammatory, yet refreshing to the stomach. The gentlemen of good sort, according to Lithgow, and indeed all other authorities, reserve ever stores of Spanish sack and Irish Usquebaugh, "and will be as tipsy," adds he, "with their wives, their priests, and their friends, as though they were naturally infeoft in the eleven royal taverns of Naples."

‡ We may excuse Derricke's disrespectful treatment of the bards, since Spenser himself seems to have proposed an extermination of their order. "There is, among the Irish, a certaine kinde of people, called bardes, which are to them instead of poets; whose profession is to set forth the praises or dispraises of men, in their poems or rhymes; the which are had in such high regard or esteem amongst them, that none dare displease them, for fear of running into reproach through their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouths of all men; for their verses are taken up with a general applause, and usually sung at all feasts and meetings, by certain other persons, whose proper function that is, who also receive, for the same, great rewardes and reputation amongst them." Spenser, having bestowed due praise upon the poets, who sung the praises of the good and virtuous, informs us, that the bards, on the contrary, "seldom use to chuse unto themselves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems; but whomsoever they finde to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience, and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorify in their rhythmes; him they praise to the people, and to young men make an example to follow.—*Eudoxus*—I marvail what kind of speeches they can find, or what faces they can put on, to praise such bad persons, as live so lawlessly and licentiously upon stealths and spoyles, as most of them do; or how they can think, that any good mind will applaud or approve the same?" In answer to this question, Irenæus, after remarking the giddy and restless disposition of the ill-educated youth of Ireland, which made them prompt to receive evil

[1] And more to stirre them up,
to prosecute their ill;
What great renowne their fathers gotte,
thei shewe by rymyng skill: *
And thei moste gladsome are
to heare of parents name;
[2] As how by spoyling honest menne,
thei wonne such endlesse fame.
Wherefore like gracelesse graftes,
sprong from a wicked tree,
Thei grow through daily exercise,
to all iniquitie.
And more t' augment the flame,
and rancour of their harte,
[3] The frier, of his counsells vile,
to rebelles dothe imparte,
[4] Affirmyng that it is
an almose deede to God,
To make the Englishe subjectes taste
the Irishe rebells rodde.
[5] To spoile, to kill, to burne,
this frier's counsell is;
[6] And for the doing of the same
he warrantes heavenlie blisse.
He tells a holie tale,
the white he tournes to blacke;

[1] The pollicie of the barde to encense the rebelles to doe mischiefe, by repeating their forfather's actes. O craftie Apostle, as holy as a devill.

[2] Marke howe apt and prone these theeves are to doe mischiefe, in whiche is verified the saiyng that is witten, Like as the father is, suche is the sonne, knave father and knave sonne, to the twentie generation.

[3] A wicked man never wants ill counsell.

[4] The frier perswades the rebels that it is an high worke of charitie, to kill loyall subjectes, which thyng thei beleeve though never found on scripture. O ghostly frier, as innocent as Judas.

[5] Beholde the plaguy counsell of a pockie frier, the very fruit of papistrie.

[6] This flatteryng frier promiseth to the rebels everlasting life, if they perceiver in rebellyng against the queene.

counsel, adds, that such a person, " if he shall find any to praise him, and to give him any encouragement, as those bards and rhythmers do, for little reward, or a share of a stolen cow, then waxeth he most insolent, and half-mad, with the love of himself and his own lewd deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewdness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted show thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to virtue itself. As of a most notorious thief, and wicked outlaw, which had lived all his lifetime of spoils and robberies, one of their bardes, in his praise, will say, ' that he was none of the idle milk-sops that was brought up by the fire-side, but that most of his days he spent in arms and valiant enterprizes; that he never did eat his meat, before he had won it with his sword; that he lay not all night slugging in his cabin under his mantle, but used commonly to keep others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses to lead him in the darkness; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yield to him; but, where he came, he took by force the spoil of other men's love, and left but lamentations to their lovers; that his music was not the harp, nor lays of love, but the cries of people, and clashing of armour; and, finally, that he died, not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly bought his death.' Do not you think, Eudoxus, that many of these praises might be applied to men of best deserts? Yet, are they all yielded to a most notable traitor, and amongst some of the Irish not smally accounted of. For the song, when it was first made, and sung to a person of high degree there, was bought, as their manner is, for forty crowns."

* A wooden cut, representing these scenes of festivity, is almost torn out. Upon the remaining part, the following imperfect lines are found:

" ————yes the ape, by counterfetting Paul:
———, ——rd him then the highest roome of all:
——— the cheere, is deemed little worth
——— intermixt, and lac'de with Irishe myrth.
——[h]arper is preparde, which by their cunning art,
—[c]heare up all the gestes with comfort at the hart."

And through the pardons in his male.
he workes a knavishe knacke.*

Beholde the self same thyng,
set forth by carver's arte;
With pictures framed pretely
expoundyng every parte. †

II.

[1] When frier's tale is doen,
and rebells waied have
The circumstaunce of ev'ry worde
reported by the knave,
[2] From supper then thei rise;
with frier's blessing thei
Unto the Englishe borders next
doe take their onward waie;
And all in warlike wise
the Borders thei invade;

[1] The ende of the frier's oration, is the beginnyng of rebellion; he is a sharpe spurre, to make them gallop hedlong to all kinde of mischiefes, and last to the gallowes and devill of hell.

[2] The karne goe forth with the frier's blessing to spoyle loyall subjectes, but looke what enseweth.

* Lithgow, the Scottish traveller, makes the same complaint:

"And now, amongst many, there are two intollerable abuses of protections in that kingdome; the one of theeves and woodkarnes, the other of priests and papists: I discourse of these corruptions now as I found them then.

"The first is prejudiciall to all Christian civillnesse, tranquill government, and a great discouragment for our collonized plantators there, belonging to both soyles of this iland, being dayly molested, and nightly incombered with these blood-sucking rebells.

"And notwithstanding of their barbarous crueltie, ever executed, at all advantages, with slaughter and murder upon the Scots and English dwellers there; yet they have, and find at their own wills, symonaicall protections for lesser and longer times; ever as the confused disposers have their lawfold hands filled with the bloody bribes of slaughtered lives, high-way, and house-robb'd people: And then thereafter their ill-got meanes being spent, like unto dogs, they returne backe to their former vomit; so jugling with their in and out-goings, like to the restlesse ocean, that they cannot, nor never did, become true subjects to our king, nor faithfull friends to their countrey: unlesse, by extremitie of justice, the one still hanged before the other, the remanent, by the gallowes, may exemplifie amendment, contrarywise that land shall never be quiet: for these villanous Woodkarnes are but the hounds of their hunting priests, against what faction soever their malicious malignity is intended; partly for intertaynement, partly for particular splenes, and lastly, for a generall disturbance of the countrey, for the priest's greater security and stay."—*Lithgow's Travels*, p. 431.

† The wooden print accordingly represents a body of the kerne, surprising and burning a house. Some are carrying off household stuff, and others are driving away horses and cows. A man and woman (Irish in their dress) stand at the door of the house, making lamentation. In the front is a large body of kerne, armed with battle-axes, the bag-piper in the van, whose instrument is blown with the mouth. The bag is of a great size, like that used by the Calabrian shepherds. These words are written beneath:

"Here creepes out of Sainct Filcher's denne a packe of prowling mates,
Most hurtfull to the English pale, and noysome to the states:
Which spare no more their country byrth, then those of th' English race,
But yeld to each a lyke good turne, when as they come in place.
They spoile, and burne, and beare away, as fitte occasions serve,
And thinke the greater ill they doe, the greater prayse deserve:
They passe not for the poore man's cry, nor yet respect his teares,
But rather joy to see the fire, to flash about his eares.
To see both flame, and smouldring smoke, to duske the christall skyes,
Next to their pray therein, I say, their second glory lyes.
And thus, bereaving him of house, of cattell, and of store,
They do returne backe to the wood, from whence they came before."

C
A
B

A
B
C
D

Supposing subjectes for to quell
by force of Irishe blade.
[1] But loe whom traitours serve,
deceives them now and then,
Deliv'ryng them and all their strength,
captives to loiall men.
For lovyng subjectes rise,
the captaine with his band,
With strokes doe lode these filchyng theeves
as long as thei maie stande. *
[2] The pray then rescude is,
and Woodkarne buyes it deare;
For heddes are swapt from shoulders quite,
a sause to stealyng cheare;
Whose heddes are taken up
their triumph to declare;
[4] And more, to make their doyngs known,
to Dublin thei them beare.
Now, if it were a theef
whiche had a bloudie hande;
Or if he were as rancke a knave
as liveth within the lande,
His hedde is poled up,
upon the castle hye,
[5] Behildyng starres, as though he were
in high astronomie.
[6] Their bodies, lackyng life,
are left unto their frends:
To beare awaie, as to deplore,
their lucklesse fatall ends.

[1] Whom the frier doth blesse, them doth God curse, bringing their wicked purposes to a wonderfull ende.

[2] The praie is recovered to the rebels damage.

[3] Sweete meate must have sowre sauce.

[4] As a notable rebell had, in his life tyme, greater dignitie then many of like profession, so beyng dead, his head receives a more stately place of exaltation.

[5] Suche astronomers God sende us enough daily.

[6] Now God be thanked, hedlesse Woodkarne are not to bee feared; fortune goeth beyond their expectations, which bringeth rebels, with all their revels, to shame and dishonour.

* There is here a print which represents, at the lower left-hand corner, the friar, in a shaggy or rug mantle, blessing the Irish chief, who, having reverently laid aside his leathern helmet, chequered with bars of iron, and his large broadsword, receives the benediction on one knee. At the upper corner the benediction is repeated, the chief stooping from his horse to receive it ere he departs. In the centre is represented the chief and his party. He is on horseback, and the rest on foot, armed with pikes and swords. He wears the helmet formerly mentioned, which resembles a mitre, and his leathern quilted jacke appears beneath his shaggy mantle. In the upper corner, on the left hand, is the skirmish, in which the English soldiers, dressed in corslets and trunk-hose, and armed with calivers, are putting the kerne to flight. Beneath, two retainers are bearing off the body of the chief. These lines are subjoined:

And when with myrth and belly cheere, they are sufficed well,
Marke what ensueth, a playne discourse of Irish sleightes I tell:
The fryer then absolves the theefe from all his former sinne,
And bids him plague the prince's frendes, if heaven he minde to winne.
Which beyng sayd, he takes his horse, to put in practice then
The spoyling and destroying of her grace's loyall men.
But loe, the souldiers then, the plague unto this karnish rowt,
To yeld them vengaunce for their sinnes, in warlike sort rise out.
They presse the rancoure of the theeves by force of bloudy knife,
And stay the pray they filcht away, depriving them of life.
The frier then, that traytrous knave, with Ough, Ough-hone, lament,
To see his coosin Devill's sonnes, to have so fowle event.

Thus hedlesse thei retourne,
from whence thei did proceede;
Receivyng for their proude attemptes,
a traitours rightfull meede. *

[1] The frier mournes for the losse of his poore Woodkarne, he curseth, as blacke as pitch, their oppressors.

[1] The frier seyng this,
lamentes that lucklesse parte,
And curseth to the pitte of hell
the death man's sturdie harte:

[2] The kindness of the frier towardes the rebelles, after their death,
By purchasyng their pardons with booke, bell, and candell;
Whiche thyng artificially the knave doth handell.

[2] Yet for to quight them with
the frier taketh paine,
For all the synnes that ere he did
remission to obtaine.
And therefore serves his booke,
the candell and the bell;

[3] A notable question, which demaundes, If pardones from Rome maie bring damned soules from hell.

[3] But thinke you that suche apishe toies
bring damned souls from hell?
It 'longs not to my parte
infernall things to knowe;
But I beleve till latter daie,
thei rise not from belowe.

[4] Friers perswasions cause rebelles still to persever in rebellion. O blinde fooles, to beleeve all that Papisticall monkish momes tell you to be scripture, when in the end they seek your utter destruction and desolation!

[4] Yet hope that friers give
to this rebellious rout,
If that their soules should chaunce in hell
to bryng them quicklie out,
Doeth make them lead suche lives
as neither God nor man,
Without revenge for their desartes,
permitte or suffer can.

[5] The friers in Irelande are chiefest instrumentes of Irishe disturbaunce, they are the onely spurre to pricke them onward to rebell against the queen, procuryng the meanes of their utter distruction, beyng the hed welspryng of all sinne and wickednesse.

[5] Thus friers are the cause,
the fountain, and the spring,
Of hurleburles in this lande,
of eche unhappie thing.
Thei cause them to rebell
against their soveraigne quene:

* Here a wooden cut presents the triumphant return of the English soldiers. They are armed in corslets and morions, or open helmets, and wear trunk-hose. The foremost of the band carries an Irishman's head by the hair; the next two bear heads set upon sword points. In the back ground are soldiers driving cattle, one beheading a prisoner, and another dragging a captive by a halter. Some have guns or calivers, and some pikes; they march with drum and colours. These lines are placed below:

And though the pray recover'd be, yet are not all thinges ended;
For why? the souldiours doe pursue the roges that have offended;
Who never cease till in the bloud of those light-finger'd theeves,
Their blades are bathed to teach them how they after prowle for beeves.
To see a souldiour toze a karne, O Lord it is a wonder!
And eke what care he tak'th to part the head from neck asonder;
To see another leade a theefe with such a lordly grace,
And for to marke how lothe the knave doth follow in that case;
To see how trimme their glibbed heades are borne by valiant men,
And garded with a royall sorte of worthie souldiours then.
All hese are thinges sufficient to move a subject's minde,
To prayse the souldiours, which reward the Woodkarne in their kinde.

A
B
C
D

And through rebellion often tymes,
their lives doe vanishe clene.
So as by friers meanes,
in whom all follie swimme,
The Irishe karne doe often lose
the life, with hedde and limme.
[1] Yet that availeth not,
thei so bewitched are;
The losse of freends cannot disswade
the rest from mortall warre.
But still thei busie are,
leage subjectes to disease;
Their native countrie for to spoile,
and princes to displease.
[2] In pleasyng whom is reste,
and thereof riseth gaine;
As in displeasyng of her grace,
procureth nought but paine.
[3] Thei raise still fearcer warre,
and marche in warlike wise
Unto the feeld with sworde and speare,
which Mars did first devise.
[4] Thei bragge to fight it out,
their quarell just to trie:
[5] Thei sweare, that all the princes freendes
through bloudie sworde shall die.
Thus in their rage thei frette,
and in their moodes doe fume;
[6] Whereof doe rise a sodaine plague,
these traitours to consume.
[7] Our valiaunt Sidney lord,
who governes Irishe soile,
Doth poste himself with marshall knightes,
those braggyng beastes to coile.
[8] And captaines thei doe vowe,
who did the heavens create,
Their hands should strike that warlike stroke,
Karnes courage to abate.
[9] The souldiers doe rejoyce
to see that happie daie,
In whiche Caliver's vaunting foes
their juste reward maie paie.
[10] And many Irelande lords,
beyng faithfull to the crowne,
Protest, through force of horse and speare,
those crakyng knaves shall doune.
The pot now ginnes to seeth,
the fire is so greate;
And smith assaies, with mightie sleadge,
the iron hotte to beate.

[1] Rebelles bewitched, or deluded by Sathan, measure not their owne estate by other mens harmes or calamities, but still marche forwarde in the pursute of sinne, till thei come to like end of destruction.

[2] As by obaiyng the prince, there springeth rest, peace, and tranquillitie; so, in displeasing her grace, groweth trouble, vexation, confusion, and death.

[3] The Karne goe still on in their malice, growyng from pettie fellonie to main treason.

[4] They boste of their manhood.

[5] They vowe the Englishe hostes destruction.

[6] The successe of reachlesse enterprises.

[7] The celeritie of Sir Henry Sidney, to encounter with the rebels.

[8] The noble stomacke of the captaines described.

[9] The courage of the souldiers lively expressed, who had rather then their lives be upon the jackets of these fiskyng and skipping rebelles.

[10] A commendation of the good subjectes of Irelande, their fidelitie, loyaltie, and service to their prince, described.

[1] The daie of battaile is appointed, if Wodkarne will abide it.

[2] In this is manifestly proved, how the lord-deputy attempteth nothyng unadvisedly, either in rearyng up of warr, or in puttyng it doune, whereby the Irishrie might finde any occasion of rebellion, or cause to rebell, for beyng come into the fielde in hostill araie; yet before he soundeth to the battaile, mercifully allureth them to submitte themselves to the queene's good grace; who, refusing this offer, fallyng upon them, showeth no mercie or compassion; whose eye doeth neither pitie them, nor his hande spare them, but, like a most severe warrior, executeth the function and office appertaining to warre.

[1] The daie appointed is,
the place likewise assignde:
[2] The messenger he trotteth forth,
to knowe the rebells minde,
Who makes his backe retourne,
with answere of the foe;
And word for worde, as he did speake,
he doeth relate it soe.

Agen beholde the thyng,
in figures well requited;
Expoundyng breefly every point,
*that was even now recited.**

III.

Now forward marche our hoste,
in bataile raie beset,
Who with couragious hartes goes on,
the karne to paie their debt.
Against whom comes the karne,
farre of in warlike wise,

[3] The marche of the Irishrie, and their notable bragges, beyng farre from their enemies, wherein they discover openlie their couragious dasterly hartes.

[3] With three and three in ranckes beset,
to doe some enterprise.
Thei make a goodlie shewe,
till nere thei come at hande;
Thei set themselves moste lively forthe,
like conquerors of the lande.
But when thei are in reache,
or compasse of the bowe,

[4] The stately courage of the rebelles is sone put doune, at sight of our prince's hoste.

[4] Doeth not the viewe of prince's hoste,
karnes courage overthrowe?

* The cut here annexed, represents Sidney's army drawn up and ready to march; on one side the horse, and on the other the foot soldiers. Sidney himself is delivering a letter to an Irish Karne, who has a very rude kind of spear in his hand. Under his feet is written "Donolle Obreane, the messenger," and out of his mouth proceeds the word "Shogh." The following lines are placed beneath:

Which for to prove in every poynt, to his eternall fame,
He standeth forth in open field, for tryall of the same,
Rounde compast with a worthie crewe, most comely to be seene,
Of captaines bolde, for to uphold the honour of that quene.
And they be garded with the like of valiaunt souldiers then;
Whereof the meenest have bene founde full often doughty men.
All which are in a readynes to venture lyfe and bloud,
For safegard of her happy state, whereon our safeties stoode.
But, ere they enter mongst those broyles, Syr Henry doth prefarre,
If happ to get a blessed peace before most cruell warre,
Which if they will not take in worth, the folly is their owne,
For then he goeth with fire and sworde to make her power knowne.

Somers Tracts Vol. I. Page 696

Their pride, Got wot, must swage
where feare doeth plucke it doune:
[1] What rebell would not stande agaste
to meete the roiall croune.
[2] Now warlike raie thei leave,
and on a heape thei clunge,
Supposyng safer for to bee,
as better foes repunge.
And with a mightie crie, *
our hoste thei doe invade;
But sone rapulsed backe againe,
by warriours peercying blade.
The trompetts sound me forthe,
the scirmishe to reveale;
And murderyng gunnes their secret grudge
no further maie conceale.
Here bullets flye abroade,
there dartes againe are sent,
And blowe for blowe, in recompence,
to either parte is lent.
The horsemen scoures the coaste,
with shakyng speares in hande;
[3] And rebells whiche before did boaste,
now ginne to flye the lande.
Still sounde the trompetts forthe,
eche souldier's harte to cheare;
And captaines with two-edged swords,
doe give the traitours geare.
Here lies a rebells hedde,
from shulders taken quight:
[4] And here the lions tearing pawes
on Woodkarnes costard light.
The griphon here assaies,
to have his manhoode knowne;
Whose valure hath sufficientlie
from time to time been showne.
The eagle, with the reste,
no lesser honour hath;
When as his bill and tallentes bothe
in rebells bloud he bath.
[5] And all the lustie youthes
belonging to the traine,
To purchase fame by marshall acts,
their azure vaines doe straine.
[6] Now goe the foes to wracke,
the Karne apace do sweate;

[1] Feare a suppresser of the sturdiest rebel's harte.

[2] The order of the Irishe warre is plainly set out, who leavyng the order of battaile raye, beyng neare the combat, fall into a cluster; therein they suppose their saftie to consiste, makyng a moste terrible noyse of crying, to terrifie (if it were possible) the whole hoste of Englishe men.

[3] Vauntyng Woodkarnes doe first give backe.

[4] Under these covert tytles, the valure of all our English captaines are expressed.

[5] O soldiers of renowne,
Shielde you from mis-chaunce,
Whiche doe in spight of Irish karne,
Your countries praise advaunce.
Woodkarne must 'needes sweate.
For their labour is great.

* The Ubooboo, Ceannan, or yell of the Irish, became proverbial. Spenser, always attached to his theory, says, that the Scythian mode of charging with a horrible yell, as if heaven and earth would come together, is the very image of the Irish hubbub.

[1] And bagge pipe ther, in steade of trompe,
doe lulle the backe retreate.
Who eares the bagpipe now?
the pastyme is so hotte,
[2] Our valiant captens will not cease
till that the feeld be gotte.
But still thei forward pearse
upon the glibbed route;
And, with their weapons meete for warre,
these vauntyng foes thei cloute.
Loe, yet behold a knight,
our princes proved frende,
In armour readie for to fight,
the quarell so to ende.
[3] This seekes by warlike meanes
his credit to augment;
And for his prince and countries sake
his pistoll forth is sent;
Whiche doeth relate the cause
of her exceading ire;
[4] As how her juste conceived wrath
surpasse the flames of fire
That maie not be extincte,
(signes verifie the same:)
[5] Till cuttyng sworde, and pearcyng speare,
rebellyng foes doe tame.
Here lyes a breechlesse knave
smote juste from coursers backe;
Thus through the souldiers doubtie harts,
the Woodkarne goe to wracke.
[6] Now faint the ouglie beastes,
for lyon plagues them soe,
As thei are like to bedlem folke,
that wote not what to doe.
[7] To flie they dare assaie,*
for so thei thinke it beste,
As for to stande to fight it out,
their soules do it deteste.

[1] The piper seying the Karne to have the worste end of the staffe, doe lulle the Irish reteate.

[2] Commendations worthie of right to belong to our Englishe captaines, who never shrinketh, but with great valure and manhood tarieth the finall ende of the battaile.

[3] No daunger ought to be eschewed, nor labour refused, in the defendyng our prince and countries cause.

[4] The gelousie of a prince devoureth like the flames of fire.

[5] The anger of a prince ceaseth not till he hath brought his purpose to perfection.

[6] The Irish karnes hartes now more and more doe faint.

[7] Irish Woodkarne had rather flie then fight, and good reason they have so to do, for who would take blowes if he can shun them?

* A plate represents here the flight of the Irish. In the front, English horsemen are pursuing Irish cavalry. Both are armed with spears, which the latter throw backwards to defend themselves. Several are thrown down, and employing their two edged swords. Behind, two bodies of English horse appear in battle array. Still farther in the back ground, the Irish foot are flying, annoyed by the arquebusses of the English. The piper is thrown down with his bagpipe beside him; and the word "Pyper" is placed beneath. The cut is illustrated by the following lines:

For if his valure once be mov'd revenge on them to take,
Whiche doe our soveraigne princes lawes like beastly beasts forsake;
'Tys not the cruell stormy rage, nor gathered force of those,
Nor yet the crooked crabtree lookes of greasye glibbed foes,
Can make him to revoke the thing his honor hath pretended,
But that dame Justice must proceede 'gaynst those that have offended.
For Mars will see the finall end of traytrous waged warres,
To plucke the hartes of rebells downe, that lately pearst the starres.

Somers Tracts Vol. I. Page 648.

Their heartes are molified,
with feare thei are opprest;
[1] And now thei waile the thing which wrought
them this unquiet reste.
[2] But will repentance serve?
I put herein a case;
Or maie it satisfie the wrong
doen to her noble grace?
[3] When lyon once is stirde,
he by and by doeth rage,
And 'twill be long—who knowes it not?—
before his anger swage.
And when he once beginnes
to shewe his princely force,
He stintes not till he tournth his foes
into a breathlesse corse.
[4] Even so the Irishe karne,
whiche doe our queene provoke,
Doe throughly feele by Sidneis hande
the weight of lyons stroke.
For why? he mailes them doune,
he strikes them in the chase;
[5] When gentlenesse prevaileth not,
then rigour taketh place;
And rigour beyng showne,
the terrour of the same,
[6] Perforce doeth make them celebrate
her thrice renowned name.
[7] But then it is too late,
for Justice commeth in
With Fortitude, that worthie wight,
to contribute their sinne.
[8] Thei prosecute the chase,
pursuyng fast the foe,
And, with their weapons framde to warre,
the Karne thei overthrowe.
Here lieth a packe of Karne
distracte of limme and life:
[9] Here headlesse knaves abide the bront
of warriours mortall knife.
The Karne receive the foile,
beyng overcome by might;

[1] Marke traiters, in the midst of battaile is no place to repent.

[2] A notable question that demaundes, if the repentance of a vile caitife, and rebellious Woodkarne, maie satisfie the *injuries committed against our queene.*

[3] *A similitude of the lyon.*

[4] The princes pleasure put in execution by Sir Henry Sidney.

[5] Rygour is meetest where clemencie availeth not.

[6] That which is doen by compulsion, is no godamercie.

[7] Justice and fortitude yeeldes rebels their hire.

[8] The souldiers wrecke their anger and displeasure upon the poore Irish karne without all pitie. O harde harted men, that takes pitie of none!

[9] Woodkarne abides the brunte of fortune.

To yelde them guerdon for desertes by rigour of his blade,
And with the same to gall their hartes, which such uprores have made,
Loe, where it is in open sight, most perfect to be seene,
Which sheweth the fatall end aright of rebells to our queene.

In the equipment of the Irish horsemen, we may remark the peculiarities pointed out by Spenser; the sliding reins, (or snaffle bridle,) the shank pillion without stirrups, and the fashion of charging the lance over head, instead of couching it like the English cavaliers. Their armour is the chequered quilted jacke, which the same poet likens to a player's painted coat, and open casques, also of a chequered appearance.

[1] Irishekarne fight with their heeles with greater courage then with their handes.

[2] The piper and his bagpipe laide both flatte on the grounde.

[3] The Woodkarnes legges must helpe them when handes will not serve them.

[4] Very good counsell given to the remnant of Woodkarne, warnyng them how they doe attempt any thing prejudiciall to the honour of the crowne.

[5] As the lyon is feared and reverenced of all the beastes in the forest, so ought a king to be feared and loved of his subjects within his realme.

[6] The rewarde of rebellion is death.

[7] A caviat for Woodkarne.

[8] Good reason that the asses calamity should make the fox to beware.

[9] The corde that rebellion did binde, maie not be loused by any meanes, but by the ingen of death.

[10] The Irishkarnes crie.

[11] The remnaunt of the unslaine Woodkarne, doe parte take the bogges, and other some the wood.

[1] And for the savyng of their lives
eche one doeth take his flight.
[2] The bagpipe cease to plaie,
the piper lyes on grounde,
And here a sorte of glibbed theeves
devoide of life are founde.
[3] Now flye whose lucke is beste;
the lucklesse man let staie;
And now bewaile, thou Irishe karne,
thy haplesse happe, I saie.
[4] Lament thy wofull state,
deplore thy fatall chaunce,
And warefull be, against our queene,
how ye yourselves advaunce.
Yea, good advicement take,
before you doe provoke
[5] The lyon; for no mortal wight
his purpose maie revoke.
For as he is the prince
and kyng of everie beaste,
So would he have obedience showne
from moste unto the leaste.
[6] Els, if you should repunge
against his noble minde,
You might expecte at hands of his
nought els but death to finde.
[7] Let this a lesson bee
to this rebellyng route;
To Macke, and O! to Rorie Ogge,
to all the traitours stoute.
[8] Let Brians fall suffice,
let wolfe and fox beware,
How, with the noble lyon, thei
the gotten prey doe share.
Still sounde the trompetts forthe,
the foe to terrifie:
And souldiers with courageous harts
upon the Karne do flye.
[9] The karne apace doe fall,
like leaves through blustryng winde,
And maie no whit unlose the corde
that thei themselves did binde.
[10] Bohbowe, now crie the knaves,
and lullalowe the karne;
And Englishe youths a cavate sende,
rebellyng foes to warne.
[11] Here part do take the bogges,
and some the woods retaine;
And other beyng hedlesse made,
like witlesse geese remaine.

O Sydney worthy of tryple re-
nowne,
For plagyng the traytours that
troubled the crowne. 1581

Thus vauntyng foes are tamde,
by glives of warlike youthes,
Receivyng strokes in steede of meedes,
for their inconstaunt truthes.
[2] The victors do retourne,
thei have their hartes delight:
For Woodkarne thei are knocked doune,
the reste are put to flight.
Untruste remaineth not one,
which maie the least anoye;
For windes are stilde by mightie Jove,
O cause of endlesse joye.
[3] Sir Henry is renoumde
with fame unto the skie,
And is receiv'de to Dublin toune,
prais'de for his chevalrie.
[4] Thus peace ensewes by warre,
the ende of warre is peace;
God graunt the warres of Irishe soile,
by Sidneys meanes maie cease.
Loe, lordyngs, here the draught
of that whiche went before;*
And lande descride, the wished tide
hath brought my shippe to shore.

[1] Irishes coltes are tamed by the snaffle of warre.

[2] Englishe men returne conquerers.

[3] Sir Henry Sidney is worthely renowned for prudence and magnanimitie.

[4] Peace commeth of warre.

[5] A godly praier that Irelande ought to use.

FINIS.

*A cut, representing the entry of Sir Henry Sidney into Dublin, is here annexed. The gate is delineated in the back ground, through which some houses appear, and over which the word "Dublyn" is placed. Sir Henry, preceded by two trumpeters, two yeomen of the guard, a herald, a mace-bearer, and a sword-bearer, and followed by his army, is received by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on foot. In one corner of the plate these two lines occur:

"O Sidney, worthy of tryple renowne,
For plagyng the traytours that troubled the crowne.—1581."

At the bottom the following lines are placed:

"When thus this thrice renowmed knight hath captive made and thrall
The furious force of franticke foes, and troupe of rebells all;
When he by marshall feates of armes hath nobly them subdude,
To princes dome, whose heavy wrath their treasons have renewde;
When he their glory and their pride hath trampled in the dust,
And brought to naught, which doe pursue the bloudie rebells lust;
When he by conquest thus hath wonne the honour of the field,
And fame unto our sovereigns courte report thereof doth yeld;
And to conclude, when honor brave, his travells to requight,
Hath clothde him with eternall fame, meete for so great a knight:
When all these thinges are done and paste, then doth he backe revart
To Dublyn, where he is received with joy on every parte."

AFTER that I had finished the First and Seconde Parte of the Image of Ireland, and had there somewhat disclosed the nature and qualitie of the wanton Irishe wilde Woodkarne, I thought it expedient for the volume's augmentation, as more ampler by examples to prove the thinges therein contained, to put next in sequence the picters and protractours of the moste notablest rebelles in Irelande, who as they are many, so doe thei aske sondrie operations, if of eche severall one I should make relation. And, again, musing in my mynde with whome I might encounter, as best beginne withall, having sondrie choyse to chose upon, I supposed it a thing necessarie, and at this instant fittest to serve my turne, to laie the foundation of my attempt, and sure substanciall corner stone, upon Rorie Ogge, our next neighbour, at this present a lively image and patterne of rebellion, who, after manie pagentes of treasons plaid, and notable offers of grace refused, beyng brought into greate miserie (by Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputie's daily instigation,) and seyng hymself utterly forsaken bothe of God and man, at last moved, through a desperate and condemned conscience, confessing his folly, manifesteth to the whole world his croked nature, complaineth of his fatall destinie, and finally, as it were through a certaine conjecture, foretelleth of thynges that shortly shall happen hym. Wherefore behold in plain protractour, a grose and corpulent man, lapped in a mantel over whelmed with miserie, beyng in a wood, (an ill favord churle,) standyng on a hillocke enclosed with a shaking bogge, (his onely refuge in the tyme of trouble,) utteryng moste lamentably, with brynishe salte wolvishe teares, his life, as enseweth.*

FINIS.

* There is, accordingly, a print of Rorie Ogge, in the wilderness, a wild Irish kern, shrouded in his mantle; from his mouth proceed the words, "*Ve mihi misero,*" to which certain wolves, which are prowling around him, answer, "*Ve atque dolor.*" These verses are placed at the foot of the page:

"This rebell stoute, in traytrous sorte, that rose agaynst his prince,
And sought by bloudy broyles of warre her scepter to convince,
So long as fortune did support his devilish enterprice,
So long ambition blinded quight his karnysh knavish eyes,
And movde him proudly to usurpe the title not his owne,
As one that might enjoy the fruite which other men had sowne.
But when his mistres did revoke her former good successe,
And left the roge in greevous bandes of sore and deepe distresse,
He then bewaylde his former lyfe, and pagentes playde in vayne,
Repentyng that her highnes lawes he held in such disdayne;
But all to late his folly sought his greef for to recure,
When that agaynst his will he must her heavy stroke endure;
For though at first he founde successe, the sweet, once past, came sowre,
And overthrew his glorious state in minute of an houre,
So as his raigne endurde not long, but tombled in the myre,
Because he sinde in that he movde our noble queene to ire.
O lamentable thyng to see ambition clyme so high,
When superstitious pride shall fall in twynkling of an eye!
For suche is every rebeles state, and evermore hath bene,
And let them never better speede that ryse agaynst our queene."

Somers Tracts Vol. I. Page 602.

Rorie, or Roderick Oge O'More, whose plundering feats and distresses Derrick here commemorates, was a Leinster chief, who gave the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, a great deal of trouble. Being distinguished for courage and agility, and thus highly qualified to be a leader of Woodkerne, he set up some title to the county of Kilkenny, under pretext of which he committed every sort of violence. In December 1575, however, he found it necessary to submit to the Lord Deputy, whom, for that purpose, he attended in the cathedral church of Kilkenny. Sidney endeavoured to exhort him to a better course of living, for a worse than he had already led he could hardly chuse, and dismissed him upon promise of fair amendment, but under a threat, that if he ever again acted upon that aspiring imagination of having a title to the country, he should lose land and life.[1] But in a month or two after his submission, Rorie Oge again assumed arms, and with his kinsman, Cormac Mac Cormac O'Connor, burned the town of Naas, consisting of seven or eight hundred houses, to the ground. The Chronicle of Hollinshed described him as sitting in state on the market cross during the conflagration, while his followers ran through the town like madmen, setting fire to the thatch of the houses. To revenge this outrage, and his other acts of insolence, the Lord Deputy pursued him so closely, and assailed him so frequently, that, to use his own expression, never was rebel better followed.[2] Yet Rorie Oge, by personal activity, and the favour of his friends and countrymen in Leinster and its frontiers, evaded every attempt to secure his person. "Touching the rebel Rorie Oge, and his complices," says the Lord Deputy, in a letter to the council,[3] "it is straunge that the prosecution of hym, havinge been so fervent, his escapes so beyonde all opinion, the execucion so blouddye, by cuttinge of his company from 500 to 50, which are nowe his remayne at the uttermost; those also distressed by lacke of victualls, nor daringe to abyde in any place of the Irishe countries, nor the borders adjoyninge, no not so long scarce as they may relieve theim selves with one meale's meate; that neverthelesse they fynde favor in the Pale, and other Englishe counties, and namelye, Caterlaugh and Kilkennye, and do some outragies without hewgh or crie, or any followinge of any other person in effecte, then of the English soldiors in your majestie's pay, which have and doe so hunt hym, as there is small opinion conceived of his contynuance in any abilitie to do hurte." The rebel chief, thus reduced to utter extremity, shortly after fell in a skirmish with the followers of the Earl of Upper Ossory, an Irish nobleman, of which the Lord Deputy sends the following account to the council, in a letter dated 1st July, 1578.

"This day, in the morninge, word was brought me of the killinge of the rebell, Rorie Oge Omoore, who, although sondrie tymes before he hath bene so hotlye pursued, and so hardly sett, as leaving targett, skull, sworde, mantle, and all, he hath escaped beyonde all expectation, either by swifteness of his footemanship, or ells rather (if it be lawfull so to deme) by sorcerie or enchantment; for nere wretche, beinge so longe and earnestlye followed, hath contynued on foote so longe; yet nowe, in the ende, he is chaunced, by a devise of his owne he laied to entrapp others (as it is geven forth) into the handes of theim he sought to betray, which was on this sorte: On the 29th of June, Rorie put forthe a spiall, which he had framed apt for that purpose, to go to my Lord of Upper Osserie, to tell hym, as it were by way of great freindshipp and secrecie, that Rorie had bene of late in the countie of Kilkennye, and there had taken a great pray and spoile of pottes, pannes, pewtor, napperie, lynnen, and store of other household stuffe and implements, which easilye he might come by; and, with all hazarde, Rorie, and all his companie (which he pretended were but fewe in nomber), so that he would attempt the matter boldlye with a meane force: for, saieth he, if you come with maney, you will be discovered, and then the enterprise will quayle. My Lord of Upper Osserie, neither fullye believinge the report of this companion, nor yet altogether mistrustinge hym, put hym selfe in a readynes, to followe the occasion that was presented; and comminge niere the place where the baite was laied (as it should seame) to have entrapped hym, he sent thirtie of his men into the woodes to searche the rebell, and he hym self stayed with certeine horsemen and shott in the plaines, to attende the issue of this matter, and, if neade were, to reskue his men he had sett a woorcke. This companie were no soner entered the woodes, but the rebell shewed hym selfe with a few in nomber, not exceedinge twentie or twentie-four persons, the reste beinge in ambushe; beinge of opinion, that he carried that fame and estimacion amongest the Irishrie for his valor, as no kerne durst venter upon hym, if they once sawe his presence, wherein he found hym selfe verye moche deceived. For, at the first viewe, the Lord of Upper Osserie's kerne gave the chardge upon hym, and at their rencounter one of them light upon hym, and thrust hym presentlye through the boddie with his sworde, which was no soner donne, but two or three more likewise hacked upon hym at once, and gave

[1] Sir Sidney's Letter to the Lords of the Council, 16th Dec. 1575, in the Sidney Letters and Memorials edited by Collins, Vol. I. p. 83.

[2] Sidney Papers and Memorials, Vol. II. p. 243.

[3] Dated 29th April, 1578, Sidney Letters, Vol. II. p. 250.

hym soch mortall woundes, as downe he fell; and thus was the ende of this rancke rebell, the last day of June, in the morninge, who, by the maintenaunce of his neighbors, and supplie of ayde and reliefe of somme of his friendly borderers, which he wanted not in the tyme of his necessities, had so longe contynuaunce, to the chardge of her majestie and the disquiett of the state. The remayne he hath leaft are not maney, and I hope either, verie shortlye, to scaile theim, or ells to make your lordships as good accompte of theim, as I have donne of hym. And, in the meane tyme, I humbly beseach your lordships effectuallye to thanke my Lord of Upper Osserie, who, of his owne chardge, and with his owne forces onelye, without her majestie's pay, hath adventured hym selfe in this service, and so happelye hath atchieved it to his greate estimacion and creditt, which I am the gladder of on his behalfe, for that all men have not had that sound opinion of his fidellitie, which he, aswell in this service as in maney other thinges, hath verye well deserved, in myne opinion." *Sidney Papers*, p. 263.

The lamentation which Derrick has composed for Rorie Oge, was written, as he has himself informed us, between the period of his last surprize and that of his death, which forms the subject of his concluding poem.

Rorie Ogg showeth here his countie wherein he dwelleth, and his naturall inclination whereunto he is addicted.

I RORIE OGGE, inhabitant of Leasse,
A rebell false against my soveraine quene;
I love debate, expellyng godlie peace,
I lead my life in boggs and thickets grene;
What mortall wight my compere then hath seene,
Which of the Lorde nor prince doeth stand in awe,
Nor passe not for the rigour of the lawe.

Marke whereunto this rebelles harte is bent; that is to saie, to all kind of mischiefe, sinne, and wickednesse.

My harte is bent to evrie kinde of ill,
Whose outward deedes doe well relate the same.
I love the thyng, supporter of my will,
I spoile and burne, thereby t'increase my fame;
Thus by such actes I gotten have a name,
Even traitour false, that never shall decaie,
Nor be extinct by any kind of waie.

Rorie, in accusing hymself, is not to be judged of other; for here he showeth, that he is as craftie as a foxe, an extortioner like the wolfe, falser then a theef, and a traiter to the queene, in whiche I beleve hym, though he never swore for the matter.

I vilaine vile, and craftie as the foxe,
Yea like the wolfe, which doeth extortion use,
I falser am than theef that pickes the lockes,
In devilishe sorte myself I so abuse;
My noble queene for cheef I doe refuse,
Whose roiall name doeth mounte unto the skie,
And evrie where is in aucthoritie.

Rory Ogge, goyng forwarde in the settyng out of his disposition, telleth, that he doeth all this kinde of mischefe of set purpose against the queene, who, notwithstandyng, laieth al the blame and falte upon the devill

What maie displease her princely roiall grace,
I like a theef doe put the same in ure,
Her highnesse lawes I daiely doe deface,
And through the same her heavie wrath procure.
Thus Sathan he my sences doeth allure,
Who makes them thrall, to serve his appetite;
So that in nought but synne I doe delight.

In this he manifesteth the great goodnesse of the queene, whose mercie is dailie extended towardes those which are willyng to yeelde to the observation of her statutes and lawes; but he in no wise maie yeeld thereto, till by compulsion he bee constrained.

She would me good, if I would loyall bee,
But my ill happe and crewell destinie,
In parte, or whole, that thyng forbiddeth me,
Till Ize constrainde through Sidneis pollicie,
Her mightie hande perforce to testifie,

Prostratyng me before her fearfull lawe,
Though of the same I stoode not erst in awe.

And forste perforce, God knowes, what doth remain
But cruel plages, for my desartes are just,
Suche is the meede, which evrie rebell gaine
That doeth pursue the chase of ragyng luste.
O carelesse karne, O rebell false to truste,
O Rorie Ogge, thrice cursed maie I be,
Who movde to wrath the quene's high majestie.

Rorie Ogg, beyng compelde to acknowledge the greate authority of the prince, is therefore worthie of small Godamercie.

[1] Where Rorie bid the three curses light upon him, I wish hym for every one twentie (savyng my charitie.)

Wo maie I be, for movyng her to ire,
The M. woes, through which my soule possesse,
In eche respect surpasse the flames of fire.
I languishe still, but hopelesse of redresse,
My wicked life I needes must now confesse,
Through which I feele, even live the panges of hell,
That neither penne, nor tongue of man can tell.

[2] A good note for rebelles. Marke the effecte of rebellion, and whereunto it driveth this wretched roge, even to the brincke of desperation, who, as he saieth, beyng yet alive, feeleth moste apparently the tormentes of helle; and here it is proved true, that a man's owne conscience is better then a thousande witnesses.

I am expelde from crewe of honest men,
None but my mates me traitour maie abide;
As for the good, thei hunte me now and then
From woddes to boggs, beset on evrie side;
And where that I so ever am espide,
There waight is laied to catche my sillie soule,
And with the axe to shorte me by the poule.

There be two sortes of people on earth, knaves and honest men, whereon I gather, that Rorie Ogge, beyng banished the companie of honeste men, muste be entertained of his like equall companions, who, as him self saith, is daily pursued of the good in most wofull sorte.

Whiche thyng to taste I well deserved have,
Since freedome once was offerde unto me.
Vaine is the gift that's profferde to a knave,
Who nought estemes his prince's clemencie.
O rebell, cause of all thy miserie,
Which mightest have had remission of thy sinne,
What greater gaine supposedst thou to winne?

Rorie is here a very penitent persone, whiche confesseth his life to have deserved death, which refused the princes pardone once offered hym.

O haplesse wight, refusyng prince's grace,
O dismall daie, wherein I it denide,
O perverse harte, that couldste not it imbrace,
But, like a theef, such courtesie denide.
O brutishe beaste, who doeth not now deride
The vauntyng harte, aspiryng over hye,
Whose haughtie thoughts did match the rouling skye?

Here Rorie Ogge taketh on with hymself for refusing the pardone, and acknowledgeth hymself an asse and a beast in deniyng the same.

But true it is, that fatall letters saie,
Who takes no tyme, when as the same is lent
And holde it faste hymself thereby to staie,
Whom if it passe the croked waie it went,
He maie not finde the taverne, house, or tent,
Though them to seeke he spendeth daie and night,
And all because he helde not when he might.

Rorie calleth to memorie the saiyng that is written, Tyme beyng once past is not easily cald back; whereby we are learned to take the tyme present whilst it is offered.

He verifieth and approveth the above saiyng by hymself, whiche rejectyng grace beyng offered, now seeketh after it; but maie not have it, though with weeping he doth request it.

Even so, alas! when noble Sidney he
My pardon sent for faltes I did comit,*
Though there I saw eche crime forgiven to be,
I not contente with that his pardon yet
Lette passe the same, as gift for me unfit,
Whiche to revert now lyes not in my might,
For God and time have wrought me this despight.

Rorie Ogge sheweth for pardone, but maie not obtaine it; for princes by rebells will not be deluded.

Now do I seke, though sekyng nought prevaile,
Faine woulde I finde the favour of my prince;
But craft serves not that stately forte to scaile,
For well she knowes my subtill hartes pretence,
Who hath a tyme the same to recompence,
As seemeth good unto her royall grace;
For God and time bid justice to take place.

Rorie Ogge seyng hymself environed on every side with enemies, manifesteth his miserie, showing not one craftie hole, or denne, to be free from the knowledge of the lord deputie, but that he hath intelligence and knowledge of it.

And Justice she sendes forthe her warlike crew,
With sondrie spies, my haunte for to disclose,
Who conyngly poore Rorie's tracte doe vewe,
Relatyng it unto his mortall foes;
As nought is left wherein he maie repose
Mongest all his dennes, a bulwarke for his health,
Nor yet a hole to shroude his gotten stealth.

Rorie sheweth how spitefull greedie the English captaines and souldiers are in chasyng and hunting hym.

Like greedie hawkes, pursuyng faste their praie,
All fully bent the same for to devoure,
And as the night the orientall daie
Doeth captive make by his externall powre;
So time from time small distance from an howre,
Pursude I am, and brought to suche a baie,
As I expecte nought but my dismall daie.

Rorie acknowledgeth the lord deputie's notable wisdome onely to have brought hym to this miserie.

Sir Henry now, who governes Irishe soyle,
Hath made an othe to breviate my daies,
Whose stratagemes have given me such a foile,
As all the lande soundes out his noble praise;
For he it is that breaketh doune my staies,
And who but he might Rorie overthrowe,
Though Mars himself had sworne my mortal fo.

He proveth his affirmation by a moste manifest example, which was brought at that time to pas.

Who might have tane out of my bloodie hande,
Whom by my sleightes I captive made to bee,
That marshall knight, and captain of a bande,†
No second one, excepte againe 'twere he.
In fine, 'twas he whiche made of bondmen free,
[1] Rorie Oge's wife is slaine. [1] And put to sworde, for my unstable truthe,
My spoused wife, the garlande of my youth,

* Alluding to his submission to the lord-deputy in the cathedral church of Kilkenny.

† This refers to the misadventure of a Captain Harington, whom Rorie Oge besieged in a castle called Cath lough. Being forced to retire from the place, he inveigled Harington, and another Englishman called Alexan Corbie, to a meeting, under pretext of a truce, and thus made them both prisoners. A bargain was commen

With many mo, my deare and speciall frends,
Whose brethlesse corps were given to flames of fire,
Good cause had I to waile their lucklesse ends,
Though Jove agreed to yeeld them such a hire.
O heavie plague to move the heavens to ire,
Throughe whose outrage the just ofte suffers pain,
To cause the rest from wicked actes refraine.

Rorie's frendes, to the nomber of sixtene, are slaine in a cabbin, being in a wood of the Englishemen, and afterwarde, the cabbin beyng set on fire, all their bodies are burned also.

And I myself, in danger of my life,
Rounde compaste then by men of worthie fame,
Sought out to shift how to escape the knife,
That readie was my courage for to tame;
Whiche when that I well pondred had the same,
I tooke good harte, it stoode me then upon,
And leapt me forthe, tyme wild I should be gon.

Rorie Ogg, beyng at that tyme in the foresaid cabbin with those that were killed, hardly escapeth, though not without a good knock of a halbert upon his costarde.

Now with that leape, I got me quight awaie,
Most joyous that I skaped had the trappe;
My leggs were good, to vow that thing I maie,
Whiche set me free that tide from that mishappe,
Not over free, for one gave me a rappe,
Whiche thing I sweare did pinche me to the hart,
The blowe was greate, and came so overthwart.

To leape well is very necessary some tyme, as appeareth here by Rorie Ogge.

But scape I did; * so muche the more their greef,
And got me soone into another denne;
None fledde with me, but one poore onely theef,
As for the rest thei were saluted then.
That instant tyme were xvi of our men
Put to the sworde, in cabband where we laie;
[1] O my ill happe, but happie theirs I saie!

Rorie here sheweth that the Englishe men were very sorie for his escape out of the cabin, and from their handes.

[1] This happines is to be referred to the Englishe men, whose chaunce was to kill those rebellious knaves.

for their deliverance; "but, before the same was fullie perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole, constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a draught upon Rorie; for, he knowing where the said Rorie was woont to hant, and by good espials learning where his cooch and cabine was, he being accompanied with Parker, lieutenant to Capteine Turse, and fiftie of his band, earelie in the morning, about two houres before daie, he went and marched to the verie place where Rorie laie, and beset the same. Rorie hearing an unwoonted noise, and suspecting the worst, he came suddenlie upon Harington and Corbie, thinking to have slain them, and gessing in the darke to the place where they laie gave him diverse wounds; but none deadlie: the greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left hand. Robert Harepole, when he had broken open the doore of the cabin, he tooke as manie were within prisoners; but Rorie himselfe and one other privilie in the darke stole awaie, and crept among the bushes, so that he could not be found. The souldiers, in the meane time, making spoile of all such goods as they found, killed all the men who were there; but saved Capteine Harington and Corbie."—HOLLINSHED, *Chronicles of Ireland*, (done by John Hooker,) p. 148. 1587.

* This escape seemed so wonderful to the English, that Sir John Harrington quotes it as parallel to the enchantments of the Orlando Furioso.—"In the quarrel between Orlando and Ferraw, we may see the common original of all quarrels, namely, honour and women. Of Ferraw, I spake in the First Book of his strength and stature; but whether it be true, or might be true, that his body should be made impenetrable by sorcery and witchcraft, I can neither affirme it was so, nor maintain that it could possible be so; yet I know some that believe the contrary, and, as they think, upon good grounds. And some say, it is a great practise in Ireland to charme girdles, and the like, perswading men, that, while they wear them, they cannot be hurt with any

Rorie Ogge especially doth bewaile the death of one Shaue Mack Rorie Reagh above the rest that were slaine at that tyme.

Emongest them all one auncient aged sire,
Whose councels I eche while did well alowe,
Though old he was, yet pearcyng as the fire,
A craftie fox as any liveth now;
Was murdered then by chance, I wot not how,
Whose crewell fall, given by the sisters three,
Alas! alas! full sore disquiets me.

Here he setteth out the cause why he so deploreth his destinie.

For whilste he lived, my harte possest his lust,
And luste enjoyed what so it could invent;
But since the poste whereon my hope did trust
Receivde his dome by warriours fearce assent,
Like thraldomes slave, I sithens have been pent
[2] In ceaslesse holde, not wittyng what to doe,
Or what were best to put my self unto.

[2] Rorie Ogge, being bereaved of his counsellers, is all moste out of his wittes.

When rebels lacke fawterers and helpers, then fall they to miserie.

My men wer slain, which onely wer my staie;
My wife, through whom I often got releef;
My frendes, which brought to Rorie, daie by daie,
The stolen horse, the mutton, and the beefe,
Which thinges to want, who holds it not a greef?
Yea suche a plague, as aucthours tell to me,
That to a man no greater plague can be.

The first stoppe to Rories miserie.

Loe! first the woe my soule doeth overquell,
Behold the straight whereto I now am brought;
Marke well the place where caitife I do dwell,
As eke the knight this alteration wrought;
Then shall you se, if throughly you have sought
The perfecte waie that leadeth to the hall,
Where are the plagues on Rorie Ogge shall fall.

The Lord Deputie is in armour against Rorie Ogge, whose fame is spread universally throughout the realme of Irelande.

For Sidney now, that thrice renowmed knight,
T'augment the fame and service of his queene,
Stands out in feeld, by sworde to trie her right;
Whose valiant hart, like to the laurell greene,
For courage stout, and prudence mixt betwene,
Is had in price, renowmed for the same,
Through Irishe soile, with trompe of happie fame.

weapon; and who can tell whether the devil may not sometime protect some of his servants? But one notable example I have hearde, tending much to this effect: Rorie Oge, (a notable rebell of Ireland,) having taken in a vile and trecherous parlee my valiant cosin Sir Henrie Harington prisoner, had one night his cabin, or little hovell where he lay, beset with one hundred soldiers of the said Sir Henrie his band, meaning to rescue their captaine by force, sith the rebels demaunds for his delivery were such as Sir Henrie himselfe (being his prisoner) would not condescend unto, but would rather hazard his life, as he knew he should. I say, these hundred men, well appointed, beset the house strongly, being made of nothing but hardels and durt; yet the villain, ere they could get in, gat up in his shirt, and gave the knight xiiij wounds very deadly, and after gat thorow them all without hurt, where a mouse almost could not have got between them; and I have heard it affirmed in Ireland, that it was with mere witchcraft."—HARINGTON'S *Orlando Furioso*, 1634, p. 94.

He sondrie waies doeth aggravate my smart,
He, he, I saie, hath wrought me sore anoye,
His wisedomes skill hath daunted sore my hart,
And my attemptes doeth utterly destroye;
He daie from daie his accions doeth imploye,
False Rories daies to breviate with speede,
Because that he so vile a life doeth leade.

Sir Henry Sidney encreaseth Rorie Oges miserie, and worketh his subversion by his notable industry.

His marshall knightes and experte men of warre,
By hym are sent to put the same in ure,
Who me of all my freedome doe debarre;
Wherby I maie not long their force endure,
But force no force, since I did so procure
Both heaven and yearth to be my mortall foe,
If in their rage thei Rorie overthrowe.

Souldiers are sent out to put in practise the Lord Deputies purpose.

Behold a starre, apparent in the weste,
Whose fiery streames I finde by learned skill
Betokeneth peace, tranquilitie, and reste,
When M M's & C's to serve false Rories will
Debarde shalbe, for thereof come the ill;
Or if that H. had serv'de his queene aright,
Long sithens R. had been extirped quight.

Rorie plaieth the astronomer. This starre was sene from Dublin south west, by which blasyng starre, Rorie Oge conjectures his speedy fall, which accordingly happened. By these ems and cees, are ment the Mores and Comores, Rories cheefe frends.

When H. doth well, to deale with double hande
Els from his kinde he should degenerate.
But ill that S. his slight did understande,
H. should be turnde, augmenter of debate,
In little space into a viler state,
Though yet not spide he goeth uncorrected,
Whiche is the botche wherewith R. is infected.

This H. doeth signifie Howe Macke Shane, which is Rories father-in-lawe. This is a true and good confession of Rorie Oge uttered in his extremitie.

Like as that house whereon himselfe to staie,
Hath sondrie postes, by workmen fastned sure,
With evrie puffe maie not be blown awaie,
So long as thei in linked state endure,
Even so myself, I doe you all assure,
Shall scarce betrapt with fortunes fatall chaunce,
Whilst freends with aide my mischeef do advaunce.

Rorie Oge is in his similitudes up to the harde eares, provyng with manifest arguments, unlesse he had been bolstered up by his saide father-in-lawe and his frendes, it had been unpossible that he should have continued so long unexecuted or taken.

But postes remov'de, the house sone hath a fall
And building goeth with violence to wracke,
No parte maie stand, the rofe nor yet the wall,
When as the same his understaies doth lacke;
Even so myself no whit could hold out tacke
Except that I had underpropped been,
By hym or them, that seme frends to the queene.

Marke here Rories reasone, whiche speaketh by experience.

Gods blessyng haste thou, good Rorie, for speakyng the truthe.

Which if thei were from Rorie once remov'de,
Who would misdoubt the peace that should ensue?
This by his like the wise hath often prov'de;
As now by me, it maie bee holden true,
If that the cause whereon the phistoll grewe,
Had first been tane, from pacient cleane awaie,
No phistoll then had sprouted there I saie.

[1] Rorie Ogge taketh upon hym here to have skill in phisick.

As the Lord Deputie abridged the daies of Rorie Oges fosterers in this his visitation, so he prophesieth of the ende of the rest of his said frendes, together with hymself.

But as a party is filde through fatal chaunce,
Or by the sleight of Sidnies prudent skill,
So, in good tyme, the rest shall trace that daunce,
Whiche hetherto have serv'de my wicked will;
And since that thei have nourst me in myne ill,
Thei shall receive with me, for their rewarde,
A guerdon due, long since of Jove preparde.

Rorie seeth by some secret waie, that his prophecie is at hande, ready to be performed, and so muche the more he is certaine of it, because he doeth see Sir Henry Sidney bent wholly to his destruction.

That tyme drawes nye, and howre is at hande,
In which the cept of my rebellyng race,
Shall be extirpt and bolishte cleane the lande;
For God hymself doe sitte in judgement place
To judge, I saie, with justice now the case,
Which tyme from tyme hath ever been defard;
So that the right at no tyme could be hard.

Rorie Ogge taketh this sithe to be the swerde of justice, which the Lord Deputie hath plucked out of the sheath onely to do execution upon all transgressors.

Lo! lo! I see in Mowers cruell hande
A fearfull sithe, whiche doeth prognosticate,
Both here and there, throughout this Irishe lande,
That growth of things are at their ripned state,
Whiche must be cropt by sithe of dismall fate.
For God and tyme hath sworne by sacred othe,
That reede and huske shall suffer penance bothe.

The harolde of death is sent to Rorie Oge, certainly to make manifest his ruin and fall.

It is at hande, for feelds declare the same,
The date is out, and tyme appointed spent,
And reapman now, the vanter to recleame,
In ireful rage from mightie Jove is sent,
Whose message thus, unto me doeth present,
Affirming R. to come to desolation,
And his supportes to suffer like destruction.

The peace is described that shall be after the death of Rorie Oge.

Then men shall walke upon the mountaines hie,
And feare no whit the tyger, wolfe, nor beare;
The kids shall slepe with leopard quietly,
And yet no whit his fearfull visage feare,
For why? no cause of trembling shall be there,
When as the thing whereof thei were afraied,
Shall be by sword and crewell conquest laied.

Then H. and S. through whom this peace doth spring,
For his desartes, shall crouned sitte with fame;
And over that, which is a better thyng,
He shall possesse an everlastyng name
Emongst the just, that well deserve the same;
And though that tyme shall turne his corps to clay,
Yet shall his name still flourishe as the baie:

The Lord Deputie in prosecuting his purpose against Rorie Oge, and through procurement of the said Rories fall, deserveth everlastyng remembrance, with all good and famous men.

Lo you that live, and I that soone shall dye,
Beholde, I saie, the salarie for synne;
Now let my cause teache other impes to flye
From treasons lure, lest stipende like they winne;
For though tis long ere justice cometh in,
Yet when it comes, it paieth once for all,
And suffreth plagues by heaps on plagues to fall.

Rorie Oge maketh here his conclusion, and giveth forth a good exhortation to all men, councelyng them to eschewe and flee treasons; and showeth, though sinners be for a while let go unpunished, yet at length they are recompensed at full.

FINIS.

ENTERYNG into the discourse of Rorie Ogge, at the firste, I was purposely bent, frendly with hym to adjoine the lives of many the professed open enemies of her majesties government within this realme of Ireland: but before I had ended that portion (even in the middest thereof) I behelde many impedimentes, wonderfull obstacklesse, stoppes and staies, perswadyng the contrarie, whiche beeyng replenished with sufficient matter, grounded upon reason, wisedome advised me to consider thereof; least peradventure, ranging on rashely, I might seeme to prosecute an endlesse worke, making a volume, more grater then gratefull, and more painfull then pleasaunt, whiche thyng, doubtlesse, I utterlie abhorre. Seeyng that praise consistes not in the quantitie, but rather in the qualitie and grace of a thing doen. And thus I breviated my former entent, though in effect nothing deminishyng that whiche I promised. For in this discourse you may perfectly se, as in a glasse, perceive, learne, and understande, to what vexations of minde, troubles of bodie, anguishe and wretchednesse in conscience, all the rable of rebels are captived unto. Wherfore leavyng theim with their ungracious patrons, phisniognamies, externall and infernall, to thy consideration (gentle reader) it came then into my minde freshely to gather my wittes together, to the settyng forthe of an other maner of thyng of greater valure then as yet thou hast seen; that is to saie, the commyng in of O'Neale to Sir Henry Sidney, our lorde deputie of Ireland, at the Newrie, with his submission, the othe that the saied O'Neale then and there made, touchyng his perpetuall fidelitie and inviolable continuaunce of his duetifull aledgaunce to the quenes majestie, her royall croune and dignitie, with sondrie other promises moe, decently becomyng everie good subjecte: not barely in wordes to saie, but actually in deedes to accomplishe and performe; whiche, if I had passed over in silence, some perhaps would have blamed me of parcialities, who in this image so sharply enveighing against the wickednesse and rudenesse of Woodkarne, should have omitted such a presidente of humble submission. Wherefore beholde the saied O'Neale here making his submission, as before is saied, whom the lorde deputie, in the queenes majesties behalf, moste noblie accepteth, renderyng such honour as to his persone appertaineth. The effect whereof hereafter followeth.*

* A wooden cut is here annexed, upon which the submission of Turlogh Leinagh O'Neale is delineated. He appears in the foreground with other Irish Kerne, all kneeling before Sir Henry Sidney, who receives them sitting

O'Neale, here mentioned, was distinguished by the name of Tirlough Leineagh. He succeeded to the title of The O'Neale upon the death of his cousin Shane, who exercised all the authority of a king, or rather tyrant, of Ulster. At length becoming odious even to the native Irish chiefs, they solicited Sir Henry Sidney, in 1565, to march against him. Shane O'Neale, being defeated, fled for shelter to a body of the Hebridean Scots, who were then in Ireland in a character somewhat between invaders and settlers. O'Neale was at first courteously received; but, in their cups, chancing to recal to memory an ancient feud, in which O'Neale had slain one of their brothers, Alister Oge, Surly Buy, and other Highlanders fell upon him, and cut him to pieces with their broad-swords. Tirlough Leineagh then, by the Irish tanistry law, succeeded to the chieftainship, and continued for some time in rebellion against the lord deputy. Early, however, in November 1568, he was so closely pressed by O'Donnell, Macguire, the Highland Scots of Clandeboy, and other enemies, that he sought to make submission to Sidney, but not in such humble sort as could be accepted of. In 1576 the Lord Deputy went as far as Newry, to have a personal interview with O'Neale, who nevertheless made excuses, and came not to the meeting, being deterred by the artifices of his wife, who was a Scottish Highlander or Isles-woman, and an enemy to the English. But in the following year, in the month of August, either this evil counsellor was divorced, or else had changed her note, for Sidney gives the following account of the absolute and unconditional submission of Tirlough Leineagh O'Neale, at Newrie: —"And during the time of my abode there, Tirlough Leineagh came unto me in humble and dutifull manner, shewing such tokens of obedience and loyaltie, as greater could not be found in a subjecte, (farre above his trayninge) offeringe to do soche service upon the Scotts, or any others, where I should directe hym, as the lyke offer hath not bene made unto me by any of his sorte, since my governement. And his simple and playne manner of proceedinge was soche, as comminge thether chiefelye to seeke justice at my hands, and redresse of such injuries as had

in his tent with his knights around him. In the back ground the same event seems to be represented, with this difference, that Sir Henry, followed by his mace-bearer and knights, comes out of his tent, and very courteously embraces O'Neale. The following lines are placed below:

"When flickering fame had filled the eares of marshall men of might,
With rare report of Sidney's prayse (that honourable knight);
And though the bruite in Iryshe soyle did well confirme the same,
As who coulde say in Inglands claime of justice there he came;
And to mayntayne the sacred right of such a virgine queene,
For seeking of her subjectes wealth, whose like hath never bene.
The great O'Neale, to strike the stroke, in sealing up the same,
And to prepare this noble knight a way to greater fame,
Amazed with such straunge reportes, and of his owne accord
Came in, prostrating him before the presence of this lord,
With humble sute for princes grace and mercy to obtayne,
With like request upon the same, his friendship to attayne;
Who promiste then by pledge of life, and vertue of his hand,
For ever to her noble grace, a subject true to stand,
And to defend, in each respect, her honour and her name,
Agaynst all those that durst deface the glory of the same.
Which things, with other accions moe, redound unto the fame
Of good Sir Henry Sidney, knight, so called by his name.
Loe where he sittes in honors seate, most comely to be seene,
As worthy for to represent the person of a queene."

Shane O'Neale, Turlough Leineagh's predecessor in the chieftainship, had made his submission in 1562, before Queen Elizabeth herself. Camden gives the following singular account of the ceremony:

"And now came Shan-Oneal out of Ireland to perform the promise he had made a year ago, with a guard of Gallo-glasses armed with hatchets, all bare-headed, their hair flowing in locks upon their shoulders, on which were yellow surplices dyed with saffron, or stained with urine, with long sleeves, short coats, and thrum jackets, which caused as much staring and gaping among the English people, as if they had come from China or America. He was received with much kindness, when howling and falling down at the queen's feet, he owned his crime, and received her majesty's pardon."—CAMDEN'S *Annals, apud ann.* 1562.

Somers' Tracts Vol. I. Page 612.

bene offered hym; he exhibited his peticions in writinge, wherein, and in all the rest of his proceadings, I found hym so conformable to reason, and so yelding to order, as greater conformitie I have not founde, at any tyme, in any Irishman. He remayned with me there some few dayes, while his causes were in hand, without hostage, pledge, or protection; and in the ende, delyvered me a lettre, addressed to your majestie from hym, and besought me, that I would accompanye the same, with my commendacions to your highnes; which, in trothe, madame, I thinke he hath very well deserved. His peticions, be, to be created into degree of honnor, and that his sonne may be made baron, and he to have some enterteinement and stipend from your majestie, such as you shall thinke hym worthy of, to inhable hym the better to serve against the Scott, or any other rebell, where he shall be directed by the governor. And for better proofe of his loyaltie and fidelitie, he hath, since his departing from me, made a jorney upon the Scottes, and killed Sorley Boyes sonne and his brother, so that I am to crave your majesties answere and resolucion for hym. And for this order of obedience, and dutifull manner of proceedinge, I humbly beseech your majestie to bestowe a garment upon her, as a token of your favour."* We know not whether the lady of O'Neale received the promised "garment," or what other mode was used to keep the chief to his obedience; but it is evident that Tirlough Leineagh never rebelled against the deputy, but lived and died in union with the English, and only indulged his military inclinations in warring upon the Scots, who had slain his predecessor Shane O'Neale.

If sillie beastes, long pent in droopyng stale,
Or if the harte, sore pincht with chillyng cold,
No mervaile, joyes to see the sommer fale,
Through whiche the plantes, kept doune in massie hold,
Their fragrant sentes and beauties may unfold;
Or if the larke, when cloudes are paste awaye,
Te Deum singes to see the sunnie daie,

If beastes, which have no understandyng, do rejoyce at winter's departyng, and at the comming in of sommer, the encreaser of their delightes, much more ought that man, who being long without the princes favour, and kept in disgrace, be trebble joyous, received at length to mercie and favour.

Why should not man, the highest firmament
Whose thoughtes did pearce, where Jove resplendent sit,
Whose outward shape the same doth represent,
As nexte extende for his forecasting witte,
To whom alone he only doth committe
The vastall worlde, with ruledome of the same,
The fishe in seas, and beastes on lande to tame,

Rejoyce, I saie, unbounde from thousande cares,
From greef of minde, with sorowes over preste,
From sighing sobbs, far fetcht with trillyng teares,
From heapes of cares, closde up in pantyng breste,
From every thing that might gainsaie his reste,
And now in place and steade of suche anoye,
To reape at full his long expected joye?

* SIDNEY *Letters and Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 218.

The favour of the prince is an inestimable treasure to that subject which hath it, surmountyng pearles and precious stones.

This joye at full, I meane my prince's grace,
The chefest wealth that subjectes can require,
A learned judge to soile eche doubtfull case,
As readiest waie whereby men maie aspire
To honour's seate from youth, whiche all desire.
A perelesse pearle, extem'de moré worth then golde,
And more of price then diamonds to be solde.

This setteth out most lively, in sondrie formes and fashiones, what a thing the favour and grace of our queene is.

A tower of strength, and fort of fortitude,
A Samson strong to rive the gates asonder,
A mightie sea, that lande from lande exclude,
A doubtie Mars, which nations bringeth under,
A second Jove, that worketh mickle wonder,
A passyng starne to guide man's shipp aright,
A pleasant feeld and gardeine of delight.

The happie estate and condition of good subjects is without all comparisone.

O who can tell, expressyng every parte,
Thexceedyng joye, that loyall subjects winne?
Or who can shewe the thrice redoundyng smarte,
That reachlesse lives to rebells bringeth in,
Whiche make things seem as though th'ade never bin?
O pearle of price to honour princes lawes,
Of health and wealth the sole and only cause!

In deede, I think, if there were any grace at al in hym, whiche is once brought to be a subjecte, he maie not lightly be turned to be a rebel again.

Whoso did taste once of that sugred life,
And reape the fruite that spryngeth of the same,
B'it wildest karne, b'it infant, child, or wife,
Wearte fearcest foe, by conquest worthie fame,
Weart Macke, or O'Macke, devil weart by name,
I think, if grace did them conduct aright,
Theilde no exchange, though change at will thei might.

Truly the condition of rebelles in Irelande is very tickelish, and their chaunces very harde, as in this parte is described.

If happe to change, they change for worser parte,
As triall tells eche where in Irishe soile,
In reachlesse change things light overthwarte;
For though the foe in treason's feeld do moile,
Yet dreades he sore eche while to get the foile,
And though for once he passeth by the trappe,
Yet at the length in pantell he shall happe.

A most plain and true discription of rebelles timerositie.

Yea though their straightes hard fortune to expell
Are hundred Karnes preparde at all assaies,
Yet evrie rushe their haughtie hartes doeth quell,
As whicly wind their courage sore alaies,
Thus feare them daunt by 1000 kinde of waies,
They feare to see the shiv'ryng of the daie,
Thei feare as faste when it is paste awaie.

Thus feare eche while environth traitor's minde,
And cares againe to sheeld them from mischance,
Thei are disturbde at evrie puffe of winde;
The dusked cloudes, which over them do glance,
Thei saie foreshewes some sodaine fatall chaunce;
And often tymes the shadowe of a tree
Makes them beleeve a bande of men to see.*

Feare every while and where troubleth the rebell, waking, sleepyng, and at all tymes and seasons.

Suche feare turmoiles the sturdest of them all,
Suche feare, I saie, eche rebell doeth retaine,
Suche feare, I vowe, upon the beste doeth fall,
Suche feare, I sweare, the chefest foe doeth paine,
Suche feare againe in loftest harte remaine;
And thoughe suche feare doeth overwhelme their hartes,
Yet cease thei not to plaie disloiall partes.

The traiter that thinketh hymself in moste securitie, is often tymes brought into greatest perplexitie, such an horrible thing is treasone.

Suche plaie maie well be counted fooles game,
For none but fooles therein doe take delight,
Juste was the cause, whereof it held the name,
As eke acurste that brought it first to light,
In steade of foode, to glutte man's appetite,
And bande are all in citie, feeld, or toune,
That holde suche plaie against the royall croune.

Rebellion is a very foolish plaie and pastyme, and moste foolish is he that filleth his hart and stomack with treason, as if it were with moste holesome meat.

But bleste are thei that doe refuse the same,
And treble blest, that love their prince aright;
Blest shall he bee, which pretermittes that game,
Yea bleste, I saie, bothe mornyng and at night;
Bleste shall he bee, whiche hath his whole delight
In good attemptes and furdryng prince's cause,
Conductyng hym by tenour of her lawes.

Those that live welf, and love well their prince, is every wher counted happie and blessed.

My princes freende I vowe myself to bee,
And loyall eke unto her noble grace,
A freende to her, a freende likewise to me,
As tyme shall trie the utmoste of her ease;
And who that seekes her honour to deface,
I doe protest by all my force and might,
My blood to gage but I'll maintaine her right.

This is the protestation of O'Neale to the lorde deputie.

* This description of the life of a rebel Kerne may be contrasted with that of Spenser:—"The proofe wherof I saw sufficiently exampled in these late warres of Mounster; for, notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentifull countrey, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet ere one year and a halfe, they were brought to such wretchednesse, as that any stony hart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts, crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and, if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall, that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentifull countrey suddainly left voyde of man and beast; yet sure, in all that warre, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremitie of famine, which they themselves had wrought."—SPENSER'S *State of Ireland*, in Works, Ed. 1805, p. 430.

This is largely profferd of hym.

In princes cause my hande shall strike the stroke,
And who that dare her cepter to defame,
As he that will not yet again revoke,
By marshall actes that person I reclame,
And make hym yeeld submission to her name;
Yea, though he were a second Mars, I vowe,
Ile make hym stoope to breake, to bende, or bowe.

O'Neale promiseth to expell al Scots out of the north of Irelande, if the quene's majestie would but give him ayde, or if her grace would have it so.

Fewe Scottes in North (if quene will have it so,)
Shall there abide the grounde for to manure,
Excepte that thei their homage yeeld her to,
Avowyng eke their fealtie to endure,
Conjoynyng it with compliments most sure;
Not one, I saie, (if queene will me supporte,)
Shall there possesse one castell, toun, or forte.*

Since I have reapte the thyng I did desire,
And wonne at last the favour of the croune,
My harte is set, as twere in flames of fire,
By service juste t'augment her greate renowne,
Whiche shall appeare by rebells pluckyng doune;
Withstandyng them that shall withstande her right,
In midste of feelde (I vowde it to her knight.[1])

[1] Meanyng Sir Henry Sidney, to whom O'Neale made like protestation.

An admonition to the enhabitantes and borderers neare to the North.

Let them beware that border nere my holde,
In any case how thei their lives doe leede,
For with an othe to vowe I maie be bolde,
If to their cuttes thei take not better heede,
In harte and minde I fullie am agreed
The beste to quell that shall molest her grace,
Demissyng them from honour, life, and place.

O'Neale promiseth not onely to be a scourdge to the evill livers and disturbers of her majestie's people, but also a freude and helper of her good subjectes to the uttermost of his powre.

But those that leade a faithfull subjectes life,
I their defence doe put myself to bee,
Supportyng them in evrie kind of strife,
Defendyng them from cruell tyrannie,
By waie, I saie, of noble chevalrie.
And whereas I maie doe them any good,
For princes sake Ile hazard life and blood.

FINIS.

* Tirlough Leineagh kept the promise which the poet (if he may be called so) puts into his mouth.

The Aucthour's exhortation.

Come eche wight, which now do haunt the wood,
Submit yourselves unto your soveraigne's lawe;
Come forthe, I saie, receive my councell good,
Let not fonde luste your sences thence withdrawe,
But of the croune, like subjectes, stande in awe;
So shall you finde such favour of the queene,
As hetherto the like you have not seene.

In steade of woodes then houses you maie use,
In steade of boggs, the cities at your will;
Procede, therefore, lest tyme you should abuse.
Now reape the fruite of pleasure even your fill;
Let loyall love rebellyng fancies kill.
In fine, submit you to her royall grace,
So mercie shall areste you with her mace.

FINIS.

The miserable calamitie of Rorie Ogge set out by meanes of the deadly pursute of valiaunt servitures daily pursewyng him, remained nothyng to the concludyng of my labours, but the finall endyng of his wretched race, which thing I constantlie beleved would shortly come to passe, (admirable both to the beholders and seers,) for as his life was notorious and passyng knavishe, so could it not otherwise be, but that his death must agree, fallyng out equall in eache condition to his traiterous usage; for seldome is it seen, that wicked rebelling hath a blessed ending; and as men oftentimes hope not in vain, so I, expecting, or rather wishing, the cuttyng of of such a botchie member, received at length the reward of my expectation, in the fulnesse of the thyng I so long thursted for. For, as God would, it came luckely to passe, (long tyme predestinated by his unsearchable and secret councell,) eftsone as I had ended with the description of O'Neale, that this cursed caitife (cursed of God's own mouth,) was [through] the sworde, by the meanes of the lorde [of Upper Ossorie] [an]d his serviters, a faithfull subjecte [1] bereaved of his life, to the greate tranquillitie of Lease, and elswhere, her majestie's leage people there inhabityng, accordyng to the true prophesie in his livyng story, at large set out. Wherefore, and for as muche as I suppose your desire is to hear some discourse consernyng his death, as you heard before touchyng his life, suppose that you see a monstrous devill, a truncklesse head, and a headlesse bodie livyng, the one hid in some miskin and donghill, but the other exalted, yea mounted upon a poule (a proper sight, God wot, to behold,) vanting itself on the highest toppe of the castell of Dublin, utteryng in plaine Irishe the thynges that ensewe.

FINIS.

[1] The printed copy is here defective.

In this part Rorie Oge sheweth the state of that man to be sure, so long as he kepeth hymself dutifull to his prince and countrie.

WHILST feare ioynde with hope, liege people retaine
A feare to offende the prince or her lawe,
And hope for desartes suche goodnesse to gaine,
As shall be imposde to the line they drawe:
Whilste one uprightly twixt these standes in awe,
He dreadēs no turbulent stormes that maie chaunce,
For tyme trieth falshood the trothe to advaunce.

That man whiche tasteth of feare falleth into many mischefes.

But feare expulsed clene out of the mynde,
Not waiyng justice, detectour of sinne,
And hope of correction, whiche subiectes doth binde
Their lives for to leade the statutes within,
Are lightly extende, when rancour beginne,
To plaie her pagent, as wily she can,
She spoyleth wholy the nature of man.

He that hath wicked rancour in his breaste, hath with it also a greate nomber of evill vices. Tyme is a detectour of treasone.

Procuryng envie, grudge, strife, and debate,
Anger and malice, bothe fit for the turne,
Dissimulation, a principall mate,
That other vices doeth neatly adorne,
Holdyng them smouldryng, and never to burne,
Till tyme descries it, detectyng the treason,
Which then is maintainde by colour of reason.

Treason espied is excused by reason.

Alledgyng reason suche folly to cover,
Though treason, not reason, is chefest pretence;
Thus whilste in malice the rebell doe hover,
Raising a powre to be his defence,
To subiectes disquiet, the realme, and the prince.
Good God, what reason iste then to defende
The thyng, that treason is found in the ende.

That traiter whiche is wilfully given to plaie the rebell, hath never regard to the cause, be it good or bad, for whiche he riseth.

But man, addicted to fancie and will,
Forced by Sathan to followe his luste,
Regardes not the cause, be it good or ill,
For whiche in hazard his life he doeth thruste,
He passe not a myle, b'it just or unjust:
For as the Pouke leades hym, so forward he must,
Not ceasing till bayarde laith hym in the dust.

A rebell doeth not remember what is the ende of his treasons.

He nought forcasteth, enflamed with yre,
At last what guerdon false treason awarde,
Nor yet diserneth, through passyng desire,
What plague for traitours the law hath preparde;
But ronnyng forwarde, not having regarde
To thinges before hym, or after ensewe,
He sone possesse what for treasone is dewe.

Although for a tyme dame Fortune doeth smile,
Favryng moste frendly the thing set abroche,
Whose craftie suggestions, compact in a wile,
At last bringes the rebell to shame and reproche;
Deludyng his rashnesse that darde to encroche
So much on fortune, abusing her wheele,
That leaste puffe of winde doeth make for to reele.

Though fortune doeth favor the traitour for a while, yet at last she leaveth hym in the bryers.

What here is spoken a thousande have tride,
Who maie, be triall, the truth well declare;
The course of fortune thei likewise have spide,
As how she seketh but people to snare,
To snarle and entangle with sorrowe and care;
And they, thus hampred, from them to flie,
Suffryng those captives in fetters to lie.

Many have founde fortune very deceiptfull.

Yet she forsakes not still men in their neede,
But sometyme favreth their hardlesse distress,
As who that listeth in stories to reede,
Shall see how frendly she seekes their release,
Though for no true love, yet more to encrease
The plague of vengeaunce, that after ensewe,
A stipend justly to traitours b'yng dewe.

To augment the miserie of man, fortune doeth some tyme seeme frendly, riddyng hym out of one small trouble to bryng hym in to fowre greater, and then byds hym adewe.

These thinges to confirme, I Rorie, am he,
Who sometyme mounted alofte in the skie,
And fortune castyng a favour to me,
Provoked me higher and higher to flie;
Thus, like an eagle, I neastled on hie,
Full little thinkyng againe to descende,
Or that my glorie would ever have ende.

Rorie Oge is a sufficient witnesse to tell of Dame Fortunes variablenes.

In all my actions moste happie successe
Dame Fortune ever allotted to me,
For what I mynded in harte to suppresse,
The same accomplisht she caused to bee;
Thus will and fortune did ever agree,
Which thing espied, puft up with aspiraunce,
I stoode with Sir Henrie, alas! at defiaunce.

Marke how fortune did favor Rorie Oge, accordyng to his owne saiyng; who, beyng muche besotted therwith, fell to utter confusion and shame *at last.*

Muche like a champion, addicted to warre,
Tyme servyng fitly to anger my foes,
I sommonde a nomber of neighbours from farre,
Twice eightie persons, the beste I coulde chose, *
For manhood and sleightes; in whom to repose

Rorie Oge gathereth eight score men to maintaine his knaverie.

* The clans of Moore and O'Connar, so far as Rorie Oge O'Moore could bring them into the field, seldome exceeded, according to the lord deputy, one hundred men.

I might in saftie my life and my lande;
No dasterdes nor shrinklinges, but those that would stande.

Rorie Oge troubleth both toune and country with his karne, and setteth more than a hundred houses on fire in one night.

With these I marched from place unto place;
With these I troubled bothe village and towne;
With these, in one night, I fired the Nace; †
With these my recisters I spoylde of renoune;
With these I made many a castell come doune;
With these I yeelded, augmentyng my fame,
The people to sworde, and houses to flame.

Rorie Oge maketh the farmers of Lease to give over their plowing, by reason of his daily robbing and burning.

With these I wasted the countie of Lease,
The places likewise that bordred it nye;
I made from tillage the farmors to cease,
I made them gladly awaie for to flie,
Inviting them nightly with a freshe supplye,
Givyng my Woodkarne, their states to maintaine,
The fruite that growed of other men's paine.

The just justice of God permitteth not Rorie Oge to rage stil on in his furie, but, calyng hym to accompt, yeildeth hym his duetie.

But God, detestyng this horrible life,
Might not of justice permit me furder
To rage in suche furie, delightyng in strife,
Contemnyng vertue, addicted to murder.
His justice and judgment, meetyng together,
For my demenure, since wilful I swarved,
Awarded me death, long sithence desarved.

Rorie Oges hed is set uppon the top of the castel of Dublin, for a spectakle to all the whole lande.

And here I lye groulyng, poore wretch, on the ground,
Spoylde of the jewell I cheefly loved.
Thus God of justice doeth traitours confounde,
When from their sinnes thail not be removed;
With shame and confusion I now am reproved,
My hed, from the bodie parted in twaine,
Is set on the castell a signe to remaine.

† The town of Naas. Sidney gives this account of the conflagration: "Rorie Oge Omore, and Cormocke Mack Cormocke Oconnor, accompanied not with above 140 men and boyes, on the third of this monethe, bourned betwene vii or viii c. thatched howsies, in a markett towne, called the Naas; they had not one horseman, nor one shot with theim; they ranne thorough the towne, beinge open, like haggs and furies of hell, with flakes of fier fastened on pooles ends, and so fiered the lowe thatched howsies; and beinge a great windie night, one howse took fier of an other in a moment; they tarried not halfe an howre in the towne, neither stoode they upon killinge or spoylinge of any. There was above fyve hundered mennes boddies in the towne, manlyke enough in apparaunce, but nether manfull, nor wakeful, as it seamed; for they confesse they were all aslepe in their bedde, after they had filled theimselves and surfeyted upon their patrone day; which day is celebrated, for the moste parte, of the people of this country birthe, with glottonye and idollatrye as farre as they dare."

All men that heare this, take warnyng by me,
Least that ye fall in like predicament;
The art of treason see likewise ye flee,
Wisely forecastyng whereto ye consent;
Against the croune royall doe nothyng attempt,
For if against it ye, falyng at odde,
Doe feele as I felt, the strength of the rodde.

Rorie Oge maketh here his conclusion, and giveth wholsome counsel, more better than he ever could take, how they attempt any thyng that might be prejudiciall to the prince, for feare of like destruction.

FINIS.

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